

UNIFORM WITH THIS VOLUME  
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF OLIVER CROMWELL  
by  
Wilbur Cortez Abbott  
Harvard University Press, 1929

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The Writings and Speeches  
of  
OLIVER CROMWELL  
VOLUME IV

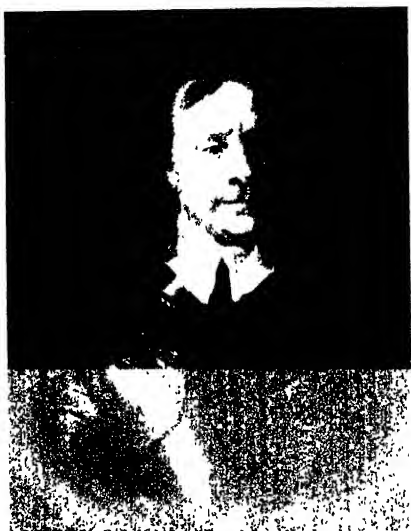
THE PROTECTORATE  
1655-1658

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CROMWELL AT ABOUT THE AGE OF 58  
FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE AUTHOR — IF SIR PETER LEE HAS  
PAINTED THE PROTECTOR THIS IS ALMOST CERTAINLY BY HIM

# The Writings and Speeches of OLIVER CROMWELL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND AN  
ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE

BY

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VOLUME IV

THE PROTECTORATE  
1655-1658



*Cambridge*

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## PREFACE

This fourth, and last, volume of the *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* covers the period from October, 1655, to the Protector's death on September 3, 1658, and is therefore essentially an account of the period of his greatest ascendancy. It is, in consequence, concerned chiefly with questions of administration and of foreign affairs, and the number of conversations through a great number and variety of publications—where they have been published at all—and are derived largely from the reports of the diplomatic agents of foreign powers. They seem to provide a more complete view of his methods, his policy, and to some extent his character, than do either his letters or his speeches. They are the more important in that, as he himself said to one of these men, "It was quite a different thing to say a hasty word than to write it down," and it is therefore easier to judge a man by what he says than by what he writes. The reports of these ambassadors moreover provide what has hitherto been more or less lacking in previous accounts of Cromwell—that is to say, how he appeared to men outside of the circles of his personal influence, whether followers or opponents. Viewed in that light, he seems a somewhat different character than the Cromwell of most of his biographers; as to what kind of a man, better or worse, it must be left to the reader to decide, for each reader will probably differ from all others, as to each painter—and to each observer—the features of any given individual never seem quite the same.

One other conclusion inevitably emerges from the mass of documents, orders, reports and like material from which these pages are drawn. It is the attitude of the country at large toward the government of the Protector and toward Cromwell. It has been commonly assumed, as a matter of course, that while the English people may not have altogether approved of such a military dictatorship as that which the Protector imposed on them, they were, save for the unreconciled and irreconcilable Royalists, more or less willing to endure it for the sake of a successful foreign policy and certain blessings conferred upon them even against their will. On the surface that has in it certain elements of truth. The inclusion of Scotland and Ireland in the Parliamentary system has seemed to many in later years a measure of great and far-reaching statesmanship. It may have been, as some

of the revisions of the Scottish system certainly were, but the more immediate reason for such a course was a desire for uniformity of examination, rather a desire for uniformity of treatment than concern for the interests of Scotland and Ireland. Again it has been generally assumed that Cromwell's difficulties with his Parliaments were due to the stubborn and self-willed inclinations of their members; but again, viewed more closely, it appears not only that every possible means was taken to secure assemblies which would be subservient to the Protectoral will, but that, when it was found that it was not possible to assemble groups which would entirely conform to the Protector's desires, and that stringent measures were taken to suppress the independence of Charles I's attempt on the other hand, but it is apparent that neither of these was more drastic or more "tyrannical" than the steps taken to drive from the Commons any who might embarrass the position of the Protector. It has, finally, been generally assumed that Cromwell was in favor of Parliaments; but nothing seems more apparent than that, in fact, he did not like them, that he took every means to avoid them, and that, when he was more or less compelled to summon them, he used every device to keep out of them any who seemed likely to oppose him, and that he had no hesitation in dissolving them when they ran counter to his plans.

Such statements may well be challenged as hostile to Cromwell. It is not, however, a controversial issue. No one can study the facts of the case without perceiving that they confirm this statement, nor is it to be expected that such a military dictatorship as that of the Protectorate could or would act otherwise than it did. He himself confessed that the summoning of his 1656 Parliament was forced on him by the "officers" and not by the "people."

The fact that Cromwell, who had overthrown Stuart monarchy and brought a king to the block, was welcomed by generations to which the word "king" had become anathema, and the fact that the Protector championed the cause of what he called religious freedom was welcomed no less by generations to which "liberty" became a shibboleth, have tended to obscure the circumstance that Cromwell was a military dictator whose rule was more distasteful to the men of his own time— even in his own party— than even the Stuart "tyranny" which it replaced. In the long resolution of events the movement which he headed and the system which he endeavored to set up may have been a blessing to his country and to the world at large, but that should not conceal the fact that his immediate methods and results were not so different from those of the dictatorships of our own time as we should like to think. The views of any historical period or character are inevitably affected by the time in which they appear, as the last chapter of this volume en-

deavors to point out. It would be idle to deny that the events of the generation just passing have shed no new light on the events of the seventeenth century—

in the nineteenth century, the latter will, in turn, be transformed in the twentieth century. If, as we are told, the opinion of foreign observers is a kind of contemporary forecast of what the opinion of posterity is likely to be, that observation gives additional weight to the inclusion here of the judgments of the foreign envoys who saw Cromwell at first hand, with a perspective not granted to his fellow-countrymen, and may serve as a further excuse, if one were needed, for their inclusion here and it may be noted incidentally that they are, in the main, the judgments of the eighteenth century and not those of its predecessors.

There is one other observation which may be made in connection with these pages. It is that, as the evidence shows, the position and powers of the Council were much greater in the Protector's later years, partly, no doubt, owing to the fact of his ill health and his failing powers. In consequence a considerable part of the later pages of this volume is concerned as much, or sometimes more, with the activities of the Council than was the case in earlier years. It is, therefore, unfortunate that we know, or can know, so little of what actually took place in the Council meetings and of the discussions between its members and the Protector. The formal minutes give us little clue as to the more important matters which were then undoubtedly debated, and we are forced to rely rather on what the Council did than on what it said. But from all the evidence we have it seems apparent that the Protectorate had begun to break down.

He died at the moment that his reputation was secure. Had he lived some years longer, it seems that not only could he have done more, but that he was in some danger of being out by all the laws.

There are, moreover, two things which may be noted here, if only as pleas in confession and avoidance. The first is that this is not only the most nearly complete collection of Cromwellian documents,

ever be made in the future, for it is not improbable that some, if not many, of the documents here printed have already disappeared. Photostats used for these volumes have been deposited in the Harvard College Library. The second is that the collection is by no means

complete. Other materials, however, have been discovered since the publication. In any event before the materials are dispersed or lost forever, it may seem worth while to embody as many of them as can be discovered in such form as this, however much that form may fall short of that more perfect which the author might desire.

It remains to be said that the work is indebted to the assistance of

Without the assistance of Mrs. Catherine D. Crane, whose labors very largely ended with volume three, and that of Mrs. Madeleine R. Gleason, who took up the work where Mrs. Crane left off, it would have been impossible to

My thanks are very helpful at the outset of the work, and more recently to Dr. T. C. Mendenhall of Yale University who generously supplied materials from the Berlin archives; to Miss Esther Gustafson for her translations from the Swedish and to Dr. Bernard H. M. Vlekke for his translations from the Dutch. These are only a few—though the chief—among those who have assisted in this work, the list of whom is too long to be included here, though the contribution of each has been duly set down in the notes to various of the documents.

More especially my thanks are due to the trustees of the Milton Fund of Harvard University, to the authorities of the Carnegie Corporation of New York; to the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College, to the Social Science Research Council of New York for assistance in preparing volume four of this series, and especially to the Committee on Research in the Social Sciences in Harvard University, whose generosity has made the publication possible, and finally to my friend the Honorable [Name] whose encouragement and assistance it would never have been completed. To these as to a great many other in various parts of the world who have kindly contributed a mass of materials which had hitherto lain neglected in many different places, my most sincere thanks are due.

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The Writings and Speeches  
of  
OLIVER CROMWELL

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## CHAPTER I

### THE WAR WITH SPAIN

OCTOBER, 1655-JANUARY, 1656

With the appearance of the English manifesto against Spain in October, 1655, the somewhat transparent veil which had served to obscure rather than conceal the purposes of the English Protector was drawn aside and continental rulers were able to gauge more closely the effect of the injection of this revolutionary element into European politics. They were not profoundly impressed by the manifesto which was not, as it has sometimes been called, a declaration of war but rather a defence of a war already begun. With all of its high-sounding and long and tedious argument seemed specious if not disingenuous. Though there were, perhaps, enough excuses for hostilities between England and Spain, if excuses were desired, most of its arguments were devoted to an Anglo-French war. It was natural that the French attributed the fact that England went to war with Philip IV instead of with Louis XIV to the superior adroitness of Mazarin's diplomacy. It would be idle to argue that this was not a factor in the situation; but it would be equally idle to argue that it was the chief, much less the decisive factor, for many elements entered into the final decision, not least the fact that Spain afforded better opportunities for plunder.

But the war and its apology offered a peculiarly favorable opportunity to assess the opinions of European diplomats as to the situation of the English revolutionary government and its leader, of which they hastened to avail themselves, and at few times during his career is it possible to find as many evaluations of Cromwell, his country, his policy, and his intentions. They appeared to the world outside of the British Isles. The shrewd and well-informed Venetian envoy hastened to write to his government that,

Those who have an intimate acquaintance with affairs here think that the English revolution is now firmly established and there is no slight risk in undertaking foreign and distant enterprises. But the most dangerous question for the future is that the losses



London merchants had wished that the dispute could have been accommodated, but excitement against the Spaniards had risen, with the news of the confiscation of English goods and the abuse of English merchants and factors, to such an extent, he had heard, that several army officers who had resigned their commissions out of dislike for the Protectorate had offered their services against Spain.<sup>5</sup>

Much of this judgment was confirmed by Thurloe who testified five years later that a French alliance was most agreeable to the Protector in view of his intention to come to terms with Sweden and to prevent

"the French from being able to do anything which would not aid

Charles Stuart and would help him in case of trouble with the Dutch. He intended especially to keep a good correspondence with the French Protestants and to intercede with Louis XIV for them, "that their edict for liberty of conscience might be observed to them." By such means he hoped to draw the Huguenots into dependence on him and preserve an interest in France, besides becoming the head of Protestantism in Europe, "the house of Austria, the head of the Catholic Church."

The Genoese envoy, Bernardi, who seems to have been on good terms with the Spanish ambassador, took pains to advise his government of the treatment of Cardenas before his departure. According to him, Cardenas made five futile attempts to have a farewell audience with the Protector, and on his request for a passport, his messenger was kept waiting four hours at the door of Thurloe's office and finally told that his Highness had given no order in regard to the matter and that a passport was unnecessary. It was, in fact, finally issued, but Cardenas' departure was as possible.

Meanwhile the government was sending ships there and, Bernardi continued, "His Highness certainly knows that the decision in Spain in favor of the embargo was based on the news of the failure in the island of St. Domingo," adding that "his Highness said 'the King of Spain is treating us like the Genoese, seizing our goods and believing in this way to compel us to send him some ambassador of ours, but he will find just the opposite come true because we will send his ambassador to him'".<sup>7</sup> In a later letter he went on to say that the great majority of the people were pleased with the peace with France, the navy was prepared, and 6,000 "pairs of fire-arms" with other arms for 20,000 infantrymen had been secured

<sup>5</sup> Nieupoort to the States General, Oct. 26/Nov. 5, and Nov. 3 (7<sup>2</sup>), *ibid.*, pp. 115, 117.

<sup>6</sup> S. von Bischoffshausen, *Die Politik des Protectorats Oliver Cromwell* (Innsbruck, 1899), pp. 198-203.

<sup>7</sup> Bernardi to the Senate, Jan. 10, 1656, *Soc. Liguria di Storia Patria*, xvi, pp. 310-1.

though he they change their minds they will employ all these forces in a much nearer region."<sup>8</sup>

Cardenas himself was naturally chagrined at the outcome of his as no fault of his. Many

The counties, especially those engaged in the woollen trade, were much dissatisfied and proposed to petition the Protector, though the Spaniard evidently anticipated that this would not alter the government's resolution nor weaken its authority.<sup>9</sup> The French were naturally delighted not only with the addition to their power in their war with Spain but in having escaped an English attack on their own shores. More especially were they pleased with the conclusion of Bordeaux's long negotiation for a treaty which came as a natural pendant to the formal announcement of war with Spain. The signature of the

of the same maneuver. Though it did not comprehend the alliance against Spain which Mazarin desired to procure, the combination against France which he had feared, it was an express to Brienne his pleasure in the signature of the treaty with England.<sup>10</sup> In view of the situation as it appeared to representative

was apparent that the Protector must secure both at home and abroad for his great adventure, for every one—and the Cromwellians not less—it involved considerable risks. One of their first steps was to draft another declaration, chiefly the work of Brienne<sup>11</sup> but probably dictated or partly written by Cromwell, in which the Council, "shewing the reasons of their proceedings for settling the peace of the Commonwealth upon occasion of the late insurrection and rebellion."<sup>12</sup> To this was added an assurance from the Protector to Monk that affairs had been put "into so good a posture," by establishing a militia to keep the people from insurrection, and this was reinforced by the enclosure of the declaration including an account of the appointment of the county committees.<sup>13</sup> To day there came in

<sup>8</sup> Same to same, Dec. 3/13, *ibid.*, p. 319.

<sup>9</sup> Cardenas to Philip IV, Oct. 29/Nov. 8, 1655, quot. in Guizot, *Cromwell* (Paris, 1854), II, 454-55.

<sup>10</sup> Mazarin to Brienne, Nov. 10, 1655, quot. in Jusserand, *Recueil des Instructions* (Paris, 1919), "Angleterre," I, 210n.

<sup>11</sup> Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot* (1903), III, 327-28.

<sup>12</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Oct. 29-Nov. 5. Issued Nov. 3 under date of Oct. 31. Cp. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655), pp. 405-11, *Parl. Hist.*, XX, 435-60.

<sup>13</sup> Noted in Monk's answer, Nov. 8, Thurloe, IV, 162.

reports of the activities of those authorities in their "proceedings for securing the peace." Both were ~~examined and taking evidence~~ examinations and taking evidence.

extra precautions were due in part to the foreign war, it seems no less certain that the widespread dissatisfaction, despite which the Protectorate, vigilant, well-informed and well-armed, was seldom in less danger than at this moment.

Its very activity, however, testified to the national discontent with the government and its policies, especially the war. Nominally in retaliation for Spanish seizure of English ships and goods, the generals at sea were ordered to seize any and all ships and goods of the

tion" of English goods and ships by the Spaniards consequent on the English attack on the West Indies. This not only crippled or destroyed English trade with Spain itself, with the Spanish Netherlands and the Spanish empire overseas, but, as Sagredo had pointed out, gave opportunity for privateers and pirates of all sorts to prey on English commerce. Though these were the inevitable hazards of war, they did little to reconcile mercantile, manufacturing and shipping interests to their losses, and these the Protector endeavored to inflame against the Spaniard by declaring that "the sequestration was too great an insult, and although the attack on the Indies had not proved a success they must not lose heart on that account, as even Caesar was not always victorious."<sup>17</sup>

This was the usual technique for rousing war spirit, but he was not. No doubt in view of the situation of trade, on the first of November he added twenty-four men to the twenty already on the Committee for Trade,<sup>18</sup> and ordered that committee to report to him in the Painted Chamber on November 27.<sup>19</sup> To this was added the appointment of a chamberlain of receipt of Exchequer:

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 125-268 *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655), p. 405.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* (1655-6), pp. 2-3.

17 C. munda e o nome Nara e/cq. Col e D Vasa (vhsr-5) n. 109

13

20

*Appointment of Chamberlain of the Exchequer*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging To all to whom these presents shall come or may any ways appertain Greeting.

well beloved Scipio le Squier Esq the office of one of the two Chamberlains of the receipt of our Exchequer to cleave and examine the tallies and keep the records, writings and other things in our Treasury and to do all other things as one of the Under Chamberlains of the Receipt of our Exchequer heretofore did . . . To hold the said office by himself or his sufficient deputy or deputies so long as he should well demean himself therein . . . And whereas since that time we have (by and with the advice and consent of our C . . . each of the said two Chamberlains of the Exchequer the yearly stipend or salary of fifty pounds

le Squire the said office of one of the two Chamberlains of the Receipt of the Exchequer . . . with all and singular the fees & allowances . . . together also with the yearly stipend or salary of . . . to commence and to be payable from . . . one thousand six hundred fifty . . . on the 29th day of

And these our letters patents or the inrolment thereof shall be a sufficient warrant & discharge to the Commissioners of the Treasury . . . and to all others the officers and ministers of the Receipt of the Exchequer . . . In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster the third day of Nov in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty five

Meanwhile he seems to have held various conversations with foreign envoys to the new situation created by the new situation created to the Council some mysterious business which arose from his conversation on Friday with the Swedish envoy, Bonde<sup>21</sup>

In the existing situation of affairs, that conversation, on November 2, . . . unusual . . . ion of the Protector's proposal to intervene in the matter of the Dutch "preparing themselves for sea" and noted that "the alliance and

of the . . . Exchequer, Beale"

-Nov 5. The Protector also received in Whitehall and Widdrington the petition of Lord Baltimore against Richard Bennet (*Maryland Archives*, iii, 324), and wrote the Council in Ireland directing them to grant some leases for 21 years to Sir Timothy Tyrell (Thurloe, iv, 198)

assistance which the King [of Sweden] had given the Protector were such end he was prepared to oppose the treaty already drawn up between England and Holland. The argument offered by the Dutch that they wished merely to protect their own commerce and therefore might harass others was more plausible for the Dutch than for the English, but in their own manner they desired, whereas Sweden desired to preserve freedom of navigation and commerce. Thus the English were bound to help Sweden and so would have to break their treaty with the Netherlands. All this, Bonde added naïvely, he knew would not be acceptable to the Dutch adherents in the English Council and he "therefore turned his conversation to the subject which he knew the Protector liked very much, and talked about the great changes which had taken place in a short time in Europe, how the King [of Sweden] had now taken almost all of Poland; about the English war with Spain; and the intrigues and plots of the Catholics to sow disunity among the Protestants." This theme he enlarged on with the moral that nothing would keep the Catholics and the Emperor from turning their whole strength against England. Finally he mentioned the rumor that the Dutch intended to seize Riga and if they gained a firm footing in the Baltic, not only would England's hopes of trade there disappear, but her greatest enemy would acquire strength which "would not be greater were it to plunder the Indies." He was certain, he said, that the Protector knew that the last Spanish fleet was, in fact, Dutch, that in these very days Amsterdam was preparing ships to sail under the Spanish flag against England, and that it was fear, not affection, which forced the Dutch to maintain friendship with England.

To all this and much more the Protector seems to have listened closely and replied by pointing out "the interest of the Dutch in the Prussian trade" and that "it was not strange they were concerned about that." Then "assuredly and eloquently," as Bonde reported, "he enlarged on the state of affairs of both the Catholics and the Protestants, and also said that God's honor was the only reason for his discourse, and finished by saying that he would use all his efforts to maintain unity among the Protestants." After some diplomatic sparring in which Bonde hinted at giving England certain tariff advantages and suggested that any Dutch attack on Sweden would be due to the fact that Sweden had not joined them in war against England, the Protector replied that,

this dissension would only cause great harm. An alliance with Brandenburg would be advantageous to the Protestants, but controversies between the



Dutch and Swedes should be cast aside. He wished, therefore, to offer his mediation either here on the spot or by a mission to the King.

To this Bonde demurred strongly, declaring there had been no enmity between the Swedes and the Dutch and they could, therefore, not accept outside mediation. If the Dutch needed what the King of Sweden had secured by conquest, they should seek it by friendly means, not otherwise. To this the Protector replied,

how necessary it was for the Dutch that Danzig, which was their bread-basket, should be open, declaring at the same time his inclination to keep unity with them and serve them in every way possible. His only interest was to maintain unity between Sweden and Holland for the interest of the Protestant cause. He said that he would do all in his power to see that the Dutch should be achieved.

That, said Bonde, could best be accomplished by assuring the Dutch that their conduct displeased the Protector. If the English did not wish to accept the Swedish proposal for trade advantages for fear of Dutch jealousy, means could be found for mutual defence in the Baltic and the Channel. This seemed to be "well received" by the Protector, who said, however, that,

he wished to think it over and expressed his inclination to ally himself in friendship with the King and to do all in his power to see that the Dutch should seek with it.

This interview with Bonde, which seems to have been one of the longest of which we have a record, reveals two things with great distinctness. The first is the fear of the Swedes that the Dutch might join the Brandenburgians in an attempt to limit the activities of Charles X Gustavus then engaged in his war with the Poles. The second is the determination of the Protector to keep peace with the Dutch and, if possible, among the Protestant powers. The bogey of Imperial and Catholic designs raised by Bonde seems to have disturbed him, for the moment at least, as little as the warning that the Dutch were preparing to aid the Spaniards. It could have been no news to him that the Dutch feared rather than loved him. An Anglo-Swedish alliance was desirable but not absolutely essential, and neither Bonde's hints, his promises nor his threats were able to break down the Protector's resolution.

None the less they had some result. Sydenham, Fiennes, Strick-

<sup>22</sup> Pehr Kalling, *Christer Bonde's Ambassad till England 1655* (Upsala, 1851) pp. 33-36.

land and Pickering were ordered to attend the Protector on the occasion of his visit to considering its importance. Nieupoort suggested to the Brandenburg agent, Schlezer, that some effort be made to induce Cromwell to send a delegation to the States General to try to bring about an agreement between Sweden and Brandenburg without a formal request to that effect from the Elector;<sup>34</sup> but for the moment, at least, nothing seems to have come of this effort to compose the rivalries of the northern powers.

To this succeeded another interview on November 2 of different character, between the Protector and the Venetian envoy, Sagredo. That accomplished diplomat, whether by his own astuteness or through some hint from his fellow envoys, notes that he "tried to attract him [Cromwell] on the score of religion," adding that "he makes a great show of his zeal for this, and even goes every Sunday to preach to the soldiers and exhort them to live after the Divine law. He does this with fervour, even to tears, which he has ready at a moment's notice, and in this way he stimulates the troops to second his designs." To Sagredo's appeal to send a fleet to help Venice to defend Christendom against the Turk, urging "inducement of glory and general applause," however, the Protector replied characteristically that

the noble and steadfast resistance of the republic to the common enemy was an immortal action which obliged every Christian prince to share the obligation with your Serenity [the Doge], who was fighting with so much glory for all. He frequently had sudden pricks and goads of zeal for the service of God, and it could be wished that I had come sooner to this Court, when I should have found the conditions very favourable to my purpose. Nevertheless he would not fail to consult his Council, and was very ready to do anything to serve your Serenity, for whom he has a peculiar esteem.<sup>35</sup>

It is not probable that such assurances of esteem were regarded by the Venetian representative as more than the friendly but empty compliment they were. It is, of course, possible that Cromwell might have undertaken some enterprise on behalf of, or at least on the side of, the Venetians had he been approached earlier—in which case the history of the European world might have been very different. Yet Sagredo might have been even less impressed than he was, had he

<sup>34</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> Schlezer to Kurfurst, Nov. 2/12, Mendenhall trans. This letter enclosed the "long-winded" manifesto. I am greatly indebted to Dr. T. C. Mendenhall of Yale University, who is engaged in editing Schlezer's despatches in their entirety, for his kindness in allowing me to examine and use his manuscript, which contains much material not previously printed by Erdmannsdorffer.

<sup>36</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 136-37.



poort reported, "asked the Secretary of State if this had been done, the latter replied that it had been mentioned orally, and that the ambassador of France had made no difficulties on this subject." On Nicupoort's explaining that in the answer to his memorandum it had been explicitly promised and that "their High Mightinesses had on their part faithfully executed their pledge when concluding with the Elector of Brandenburg," the Protector ordered that "the ratification should be executed in the best manner." It was impossible to prevent the war with Spain, Nieupoort went on to say, but he would bring up the matter "with discretion" when there was an opportunity, "desire

if not, it will end by dividing them. That injected a new note into the diplomatic discussions, with the suggestion of revolution in the status of the Spanish Netherlands in case of a change in Spain. But this was not all of Nieupoort's errand. He complained of the seizure of Dutch ships,

Whereupon he [the Protector] declared, with many strong expressions, how much he had endeavoured from time to time, not only to remove the like

that our ships should make free the whole traffick of that nation; but that whereas now a treaty was concluded between both, these motives would

the secretary of state, who remained only in the room, [the Protector] told me, that it was well, that I had made that proposition [of a treaty of the marine] in the presence of those two lords, who could best witness his good inclination,

that my papers might be read in the Council, and that they would finish the work, which was so well begun, according to which affairs might be regulated for the future."

It is not, perhaps, without significance that on the day preceding this conversation, the Protector had issued a commission and instructions for a new committee to manage admiralty and naval affairs, including some of the ablest and most experienced of his followers

<sup>21</sup> There is no record of such a meeting in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* It may have been the day before, when the commission was issued.

<sup>22</sup> Nieupoort to [de Witt], Nov. 9/19, Thurloe, iv, 177-8, De Witt, *Brieven*, II (Hague, 1724), 142-43.

*Commisson*

[substance only]

Treasure, and to manage the ordnance office and stores. All navy and ordnance officers to obey their orders.<sup>20</sup>

Nov. 8, 1655.

*Instructions to Admiralty Commissioners*

1. To meet and consult on the affairs of the Admiralty and Ordnance Office, and to regulate them so as to further the service and redress abuses, replace corrupt and unjust officers by honest and able men, and take care only to employ such in places of trust.

2. To take care of the ordnance stores and magazines, of all ships and of the dock-yards and storehouses, and of the present management of the Navy and Ordnance offices, and report to Council.

3. To issue warrants for repairing and estate ships, and stores, and for the disposal of what is to be paid into the Exchequer for the navy.

4. To issue warrants for new building of ships and fleets, by advice and guard of the seas about England, Scotland, and Ireland, to their stations, and appoint convoys, that trade may be secured, and pirates and enemies suppressed.

5. To certify from time to time what sums are required for the navy and stores, that we may give warrants to the Treasury Commissioners accordingly and to take money out of the Exchequer.

6. To appoint clerks and other officers, and allow by warrant salaries and incident charges.

7. To use the anchor seal for warrants, commissions, &c.

8. To contract for stores and ammunition, and give warrants for payment.

9. To execute the orders of Parliament of 22 Dec. 1652, for encouragement of mariners, and to give warrants for payment of prize money, as warrants cannot be had from the Prize Office, all to be paid into the Exchequer. Also to pay what you judge meet to Rob. Furph, appointed 16 Dec. 1654 treasurer for the Sick and Wounded.

<sup>20</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 10.



lack of documents in the period, it is some indication of the importance of the situation that during this week the Protector attended three of the four Council meetings,<sup>26</sup> which at this time was unusual for him.

Meanwhile, too, he took occasion to write to Monk in Scotland in behalf of a certain Mr Drummond who was apparently one of his agents, or at least supporters, in that troubled region:

*For General Monk*

SIR,

Very much obliged to you for the satisfaction of the great and continual services which Mr David Drummond hath done to us, and the Commonwealth; who being a person very useful to be employed for the future, and the state having not hitherto had consideration of his services, we have thought ourself obliged to express our resentment of the same, And therefore our desire is, That the tent late belonging to the Chancel here be sold the Chancel Rowd and paye the to Court  
thereunto, and power to demand and receive such moneys as are in arrears. And whereas by virtue of a capitulation made between yourself, and the Laird of Macklode of Donnyvegan<sup>27</sup> a fine was agreed to be paid by the said Laird of Macklode, about two thousand pounds whereof are yet unpaid, We desire that strict course be taken to cause the same to be speedily paid in by the said Laird Macklode, according to the times appointed by the capitulation and the sum of 500 l. thereof we would have paid to the said Mr. Drummond, in consideration of his aforesaid services, or to such as shall have his order therein; And on payment of the said remainder of the fine, the said Laird of Macklode is to have the bonds entered into by him and his sureties, to be given up to him. These things we desire you to represent to our Council for the effectual dispatch thereof, And if any objection shall come with you concerning any of these particulars, we shall give such further direction as shall be necessary.

10th Novem: 1655

Your loving friend,  
OLIVER P<sup>r</sup>

Besides the discussions of the country itself, the Pi questions of their own servants in the administration. Nieupout advised his government, perhaps too optimistically, that the major-generals had been received "with great demonstrations of affection and found everything in good order," and that even the new tax was

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p. xxviii.

<sup>27</sup> May 29, 1655. In Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate* (Edinb., 1896), pp. 285-98.

<sup>28</sup> Contemporary copy in *Rawl. Mss*, A261, ff. 57-57v.

acceptable<sup>38</sup>—all of which, if we may judge from other evidence, was far from being the fact. There was a certain amount of trouble within the administration itself, especially in connection with a certain Edmund Harvey, commissioner of the customs and the navy. He was one of those enterprising men who make fortunes out of such situations as these. He had earlier been dismissed from the army for dubious practices but had none the less sat on the High Court of Justice, though he did not sign Charles' death-warrant. He had profited largely by ventures in confiscated estates, including the palace of Fulham, where he resided and had entertained the Protector "most magnificently" at the beginning of November. That did not prevent his arrest with three other commissioners the week following, on the charge of defrauding the Commonwealth.<sup>39</sup>

This was accompanied by like action against very different persons and for very different reasons. On Saturday, the poet-dramatist, John Cleveland, was imprisoned, on the accusation of major-general Haynes, as a suspicious character on what seem the slender grounds that he gave no reason for being in Norwich; had no visible means of support save aid from his host, one Cooke, "to help him in his studies"; that Cooke's house was a resort of Royalists and Papists, and that Cleveland was "a person of great abilities and so able to the greatest disservice." These seem insufficient reasons for imprisonment, even if true, and Cleveland protested to the Protector who presently released him.<sup>40</sup> Sir Henry Vane the younger, who, two months earlier, had had his castle of Raby searched for arms which were alleged to belong to the state,<sup>41</sup> was called on to account for "his lands in the North" which were also alleged to be the property of the government.<sup>42</sup> The real reason for these acts was probably the suspicion that he was at the bottom of the unrest among the Levellers and others of "the good old cause,"—a suspicion which became more evident in a later clash with the government. These seemingly high-handed activities of the zealous major-generals may be explained if not justified by the nervousness of the authorities, which was not lessened by advice to the Protector from Charles II's court at Cologne that Charles, Hyde and Ormonde were plotting a "conspiracy" against the nation and the seizure of "feasible" persons.<sup>43</sup> Lambert and Fairfax.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Newcastle to States General, Nov. 9/19, Thurloe, iv, 177, Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, c. Nov. 17, *ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>39</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 8-9, 575, *Mystery of the Good Old Cause*; *Merc. Pol.*, Nov. 18, *Dist. Nat. Biog.*, "Harvey."

<sup>40</sup> Haynes to Lawrence, Nov. 10, Thurloe, iv, 184-85, *Dist. Nat. Biog.*, "Cleveland."

<sup>41</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655), p. 315.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, p. 317, Thurloe, iv, 169.



different problems. The one was that of Ireland itself, the other was that of the West Indies, where, according to Fortescue, things had not been going well. Fortescue found Goodson in full charge in Jamaica.<sup>52</sup> Searle was having trouble with some of the outposts of his jurisdiction. The governor of Surinam had deserted his post; and the governor of Virginia had been examined in connection with the alleged illegal execution of one Samuel Wade.<sup>53</sup> Nor was that of Ireland any very popular nor very successful. Nor was his supersess

warning of a notorious murderer who had found a place in the Protector's life-guard.<sup>54</sup> All in all it was not surprising that November 22 was designated as a day of fasting and prayer, not for the country but for the Protector and Council.<sup>55</sup>

For the rest, the chief business of the Council and Protector for the week was the eternal question of finance. On Tuesday Sir William Roberts and the other excise commissioners were ordered to examine the accounts of Harvey and his associates who had just been arrested for irregularities.<sup>57</sup> On Wednesday was the establishment for forces in field and garrison, which throws some light on the financial difficulties of the government. Viewed as a symptom of a tendency toward peace and settled government, the figures were not encouraging. Though they professed to show a slight reduction of some £250 a month, the October figures were in fact some £750 more than those for the preceding month. The fleet, the charges for the armed forces were, in fact, greater than the whole expenses of the government of Charles I and even more than Parliament was presently to allow for the total revenue of Charles II.<sup>58</sup> In this respect, at least, Cromwellian "dictatorship" was proving expensive in comparison with that of Stuart "tyranny." It had to defend itself against enemies not only abroad but at home. Broghill wrote, among other things, that Charles II was reputedly planning to send Mickleton to

<sup>52</sup> Sedgwick to Cromwell, Nov. 5, *ibid.*, pp. 151-55.

<sup>53</sup> Searle to Cromwell, Nov. 7, *ibid.*, pp. 156-57, cp. Cromwell's letter to Searle, May 8, 1655, vol. III of this work, pp. 709-10.

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, 206.

<sup>55</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), Nov. 13.

<sup>56</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), (1655), p. 261.  
The July figure was £50,000/11/4; the October figure was £51,246/12/0.

Scotland, the letters were duly passed on to the Scotch committee;<sup>59</sup> and on Friday Richard Talbot and James Halsall, with some others, were arrested for a design on the Protector's life.<sup>60</sup>

The Protector himself presently examined Talbot—who escaped on the eve of being sent to the Tower. According to Talbot himself,

"Cromwell" made him great offers, promised to add to the house of Shrewsbury &c. and Thurloe. Cromwell asked whether he had never engaged with him to go to Antwerp or his business in Flanders and answered No, believing that Sexby was employed by Cromwell. Finds he is the greatest enemy Cromwell has, and is looked upon here [Antwerp] as a person of great interest in England."<sup>61</sup>

Such was the beginning of another of those efforts to dispose of Cromwell, which were to be of much consequence in the future. What Talbot was is not certain, but he seems to have been a relative, probably a brother, of Peter Talbot, titular archbishop of Dublin, then active in plots against the Protector. Sexby, who had earlier been employed by Cromwell as an agent in France, had been extremely anxious to see Philip IV. and had been busy was—in an effort to disrupt the Protector's designs against Philip IV. On the other hand, Hyde, who was opposed to Peter Talbot's plans, wrote at this moment that all true Englishmen should join the Protector in revenging their country against Spain,<sup>62</sup> so that, however much they detested Cromwell, it was evident that his enemies were far from united among themselves. On his part, acting under the advice of his Council, the Protector planned to send an agent into France,<sup>63</sup> possibly to renew his connection with the Huguenots, but before he could be sent, M. de la Bastide arrived in London with the French ratification of the treaty with England.<sup>64</sup> On Friday it was signed by Cromwell and ratified under the Great Seal,<sup>65</sup> and it does not appear whether the agent went or not, though Lockhart was sent as envoy in the following April.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* (1655-6), p. 23, Thurloe, iv, 187

<sup>60</sup> W. D. Macray, *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, III (Oxford, 1876), 82-83;

—6, Macray, III, 82  
—5, *ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>61</sup> Thurloe, iv, 188

<sup>62</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 16

<sup>63</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Nov. 15.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 16

In the meantime various other matters relating to foreign affairs pressed for the Protector's attention. Though no further steps were taken against Spain for the moment, the judges of the Court of Admiralty were authorized to issue letters of reprisal against the Spaniards.<sup>67</sup> Paulucci, having waited several weeks for an audience, finally took his leave by a letter to Thurloe.<sup>68</sup> Schlezer was equally unsuccessful. He had first been put off by Thurloe for lack of credentials; and again for no reason at all, and when Schlezer proposed to present himself as the Elector's "envoy," Thurloe still hesitated, for though Schlezer had been sent personally by the Elector, the Brandenburgers seem to have denied that he had an official commission.<sup>69</sup> He reported that Sagredo had offered, perhaps at the command of the Signory, to negotiate between England and Spain,<sup>70</sup> though Sagredo must have known that the Protector did not want peace, especially since he had sent a gentleman to Sagredo to justify his proceedings against Spain.<sup>71</sup> Schlezer also wrote that the Protector thought very highly of Dury, then on his travels in Germany, and had authorized him to communicate the English official ideas and plans to the Reformed churches<sup>72</sup>—which was probably no news to the Elector of Brandenburg. But the most important negotiations were still with the Swedes. Bonde's proposals were still being considered, 20,000 [2000?] Scots, and had received sufficient remittances from Hamburg to carry out this programme.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, Schlezer reported that the Protector had said that difficulties as yet unsolved would undoubtedly arise as to a place where negotiations with the northern powers could be held and as to the choice of the English representatives.<sup>75</sup>

Finally, as the result of Nieupoort's appeal to Thurloe for a conference, on Wednesday afternoon Thurloe advised the Dutch envoy

<sup>67</sup> Nieupoort to States General, Nov. 16/26, Thurloe, IV, 206.

<sup>68</sup> Nov. 17/27, *ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

<sup>69</sup> Intelligence from the Hague, Nov. 17/27, *ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>70</sup> Intelligence from the Hague, Nov. 17/27, *ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>71</sup> Intelligence from the Hague, Nov. 17/27, *ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>72</sup> Intelligence from the Hague, Nov. 17/27, *ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>73</sup> See *Cal. S. P. Dom. (1655-6)*, p. 143. The figure of 20,000 seems an error, though Ross wrote Nicholas later that "levies in England . . .

fleets near 20,000 men." *Cal. S. P. Dom. (1655-6)*, p. 327.

<sup>74</sup> Schlezer to Kurfurst, Nov. 16/26, Mendenhall trans.

that the Protector would speak with him, and Nieupoort, in consequence, reported one of the most important conferences in connection with the Anglo-Swedish-Dutch situation of which any record remains:

*Interview with Nieupoort, November 15, 1655*

After Thurloe had brought me to the Protector, Cromwell said that he had often and attentively meditated on the affairs of Sweden and Poland, and that he considered himself concerned with those affairs because we [the Dutch] were concerned with them, that he had Heaven as the witness of his honest and sincere intentions, that he would not only faithfully maintain the concluded treaty but also increase and stabilise the friendship with Holland in hearty affection, that he would not deny that noteworthy pro-

he was of the opinion that something ought to be done, but that until now he could not find satisfactory ways and means to deal with these affairs with the best chances of success; that the King of Sweden was far away in Poland and that in the present season traveling was difficult and dangerous, that until now nothing at all had been heard of Rolt, and that therefore he had wondered whether it would not be best to begin the negotiations here with Bonde, confiding that this man will have the authority [to do so], and after many discourses, touching upon the interest of the Protestant religion, how he would like to see, in the circumstances, the Union [of the Protestants] And after I had assured him of our honesty, he asked that I should see him any time when I would with pleasure that he also held the opinion that no more time should be lost and that, consequently, I had no difficulty in telling him in the presence of Thurloe, who alone had stayed with him, that their High Mightinesses did not seek anything but freedom of the Empire of Brandenburg with Danzig and others in Prussia, Koyai and Ducal, ought to be unmolested, putting forth the consequences of one and the other and that I thought that this matter could best be handled *in loco* by able ambassadors, invested with great power, *communicatis consiliis*, and especially that if we in *omnem eventum* could agree upon a defensive alliance the King of Sweden would not let himself be deterred by mere words and that I believed that Coyet and Bonde only sought to gain time The Protector, turning towards Thurloe, asked if it would be possible to find out at short notice how far they [Coyet and Bonde] were authorized, Thurloe replied that he would try to find this out and added that they had proposed that their High Mightinesses should receive assurances that commerce would not be burdened more or otherwise, and that their High Mightinesses should not meddle with this and not to meddle in other affairs I deduced that this would offer no security and that the best guarantee for England and Holland would be that the Territories and Estates mentioned above would be maintained. The Protector said that Sweden would deny having such 'prejudicial' plans, upon which I an-

they had imposed new customs duties. . . . Cromwell said that it resembled Nabal's [Naboth's?] vineyard and that such greediness was indeed repulsive, and concerning the second point that these were really higher demands and that in such a way he could assure me that, by all means, he saw clearly enough that this ought to be prevented, but that he should think about the best ways how to do it. I replied that the Protector knew best how chances of war changed, and that there would be a possibility to go safely to Danzig because the negotiations were planned *in loco* and once the ambassadors were there, a convenient place for the meetings could be found, but that I could not imagine that . . .<sup>75</sup>

than by an offense  
talk this matter over seriously with some members of the Council, giving assurance of his sincere intentions regarding our interests. Before, Thurloe had confided in me that they had not been able to find anybody to be employed in this affair; Strickland, bringing me to the door, said that Lambert, Fiennes, Lawrence and he were called to the Protector's rooms to discuss the subject . . .<sup>76</sup>

Taken in connection with the previous interview with Bonde, it is not difficult to define the Protector's policy with regard to the Swedish-Dutch situation—in so far as he was prepared to let his designs be known. He was anxious to keep the peace between those powers and to keep on good terms with both of them. Though he refused the rôle of arbiter in the vexed problem of the Baltic, he was prepared to send a representative to a conference in regard to it, provided he could find a proper person to undertake that task. He seemed ready to trust Bonde, and though he apparently had some

less from love of Sweden, probably, than from a desire to get rid of fighting Scots. He was bent not only on keeping the peace with Holland but on maintaining the most friendly relations with that country; and Nieupoort noted that he had been sent a key to the park, so that he might come to Whitehall at all times and without carriage and would have an opportunity to meet in the park those whom it might not be desirable to entertain in his house, or for him to go to theirs.<sup>77</sup>

But, as the various foreign envoys had each noted in the reports to their governments, there was still much to be done to secure the Protectoral system at home, not only against the Cavaliers but against other disturbing elements, not least the "fanatics" who had been released the preceding week,<sup>78</sup> but

<sup>75</sup> Nieupoort to de Witt, Nov. 16/26, De Witt, *Brieven*, iii, 145-16.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>78</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 61, *Pub. Intell.*, Nov. 5-12.

active in the west, and there seemed to be a certain doubt as to the fitness of some of the major-generals for their task. On Monday, November 19, therefore, the Protector wrote to his son's father-in-law, Colonel Richard Norton, now governor of Portsmouth in place of Whetham, who had been sent to Scotland:

*To Colonel Richard Norton*

SIR,

I thought I should have seen you before your going  
 . . . . . to you. I  
 . . . . . you will  
 assist him with your countenance. He is honest, so is his business, whosoever  
 . . . . . be judged necessary to be provided for  
 . . . . . ornam<sup>t</sup>ation of wickedness be part [of] the  
 return we owe to God, then my assertion is true, the person employed is a  
 gracious man if I know one, and deserves your respect; all that I have to say  
 is to tell you that I love you. I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.

Whitehall, 19th November, 1655

P S My service to my Lord Saye if he be with you, and to my Lady.<sup>79</sup>

To Major-General Berry the Protector wrote in regard to Powell's activities, and Berry's letter to Thurloe provides a certain insight into the situation in the remoter western counties, into the Protector's procedure in such cases; and into the methods of Berry himself.

"When I came to Worcester," Berry wrote, "I sent for him [Powell], and acquainted him, that your Highness being informed, that they were about

paper to be presented to your Highness . . . . .

would give occasion to the enemy to rejoyce, and cause the godly to poure forth prayers and teares before the Lord against us . . . I gave way, that he should preach the Lord's day at Worcester. . . I afterwards invited him . . to dine; and after much friendly discourse dismissed him . . I was glad, when I received your Highnes letter, haveing let him goe before it came I hope the busines is not soe bad as it is reported to your Highnes"<sup>80</sup>

What Cromwell's letter contained we do not know except that it probably concerned the treatment of Powell, who was probably not arrested until after the appearance of his *Word for God* the first week

<sup>79</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 114, corrected with postscript from *Hist. Miss. Comm. Repts., Bath Mss.*, ii, 113-14. Norton did meet Goffe on Wednesday night (Nov. 21) as he informed Thurloe, but Goffe "apparently could not do very much with him" [Mrs. Lomas' note].

<sup>80</sup> Berry to Thurloe, Nov. 21, Thurloe, iv, 228.

of December. He was apparently seized on December 6, as Berry wrote that there had "been great endcavours to stifle it in the birth," and Mr. Vavasor Powell was taken by a company of soldiers at Aberbechan in Montgomeryshire "and he remained for some time a prisoner on that account."<sup>81</sup> Moreover, Berry, who seems to have been one of the ablest, most conscientious and most honest of the major-generals, took this occasion to report on the new tax which was at that moment an important issue. He and the commissioners for the six counties in north Wales advised the Protector that if the limits of £100 per annum and £1,500 for estates were maintained according to their instructions, not only would the yield fall short of the estimates, but many whose estates were less than this minimum were more dangerous and better able to pay.<sup>82</sup> Though this was in sharp contrast to the policy of the Council of State, it was in the spirit of the people in the western districts.

At about the same time he was thus addressing and being addressed by Berry, the Protector took occasion to write his son as to the difficulties with which Henry was meeting in Ireland.

*For my Son Henry Cromwell, at Dublin, Ireland*

Son,

I have seen your letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe, and do find that you have written to the Council of State of persons with whom you have some business.

I do believe there may be some particular persons who are not very well pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to show their displeasure in you. Time and patience may work them to a better frame of mind. The present, seems to be hid from your eyes, and I am sure your moderation and love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you, which I earnestly desire you to study and endeavour, all that lies in you. Whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be.

It is not my business to find out who are fit for that trust. I am also thinking of sending over to you a fit person who may command the North of Ireland, which I believe stands in great need of one, and I am of your opinion that Trevor, Ards, Audley, Mervin,<sup>83</sup> &c. are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new rebellion. And therefore I would have you move the Council

<sup>81</sup> "Word for God," *ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* nn. 215-16.

<sup>83</sup> . . .

<sup>84</sup> . . . ed out (Lomas-Carlyle note).

that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own countries the better

I commend you to the Lord; and rest,

Your affectionate father,

OLIVER P<sup>es</sup>

Whitehall 21st Nov., 1655

Apart from such matters in the Council—which met only on Tuesday and Wednesday,<sup>85</sup> Thursday being a fast-day for Protector and Council—the chief business was the treaty with France which was agreed to and ordered to be published.<sup>87</sup> It finally appeared in England on November 28 and in France on the day following,<sup>88</sup> and, in accordance with Nieupoort's insistence, included the States General in its provisions. Those provisions were the usual items of such treaties of peace and commerce, containing only two unusual clauses. The one was permission for either party to carry supplies to any enemy of the other. The other was the list of those to be expelled from either country—Royalists from France and anti-monarchical French leaders from England, all noted by name.<sup>89</sup> With this went further provisions for "securing the peace" in the British Isles, in the form of a proclamation which appeared on Friday, November 23, prohibiting delinquents from possessing arms and sequestered clergy from being housed and from teaching.<sup>90</sup> It was preceded on Thursday by a declaration by the Protector evidently inspired by such proceedings as were noted in Berry's account of the activities in the west. It invited the people to a day of solemn fasting and humiliation on December 6, because of the "Tares of Division" and the "abominable blasphemies vented, and spreading of lies, and of the abuse of liberty by, many of

The Council, debating the question of the sheriffs, which had taken on a new aspect since the appointment of the major-generals, and lesser matters,<sup>92</sup> was overshadowed for the moment by the diplomatic conversations held between the Protector and the foreign envoys. Among these Bonde was naturally most conspicuous for the time being, and on November 23 had another audience which he reported with his usual minuteness. It seems to have begun with a suggestion

<sup>85</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, CCVII, from Thurloe, 1, 725

<sup>86</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), p. xxviii. Cromwell attended on Wednesday

<sup>87</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Nov 19-26, Dec 3-10

<sup>88</sup> See terms of treaty vol. III, Appendix, and "posterior article," *infra*, App I (1).

<sup>89</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Nov 19-26, Whitelocke, p. 630, *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), pp. 28-29

<sup>90</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Nov 19-26

<sup>91</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), pp. 28-30.



reminiscent of the days of Gustavus Adolphus that England might invade Flanders, form a strong army there, and later, with increased power, enter Germany and "with God's help make an end of the Pope's dominion." But Bonde's chief concern was, as usual, with the Dutch, who, despite their alliance with Sweden, were in fact bitterly opposed to the king. It was reported that the Elector of Brandenburg, who naturally looked on the Swedish advance in Poland with much suspicion, hoped to reach an understanding with the Protector, whose interests would best be served, however, Bonde naturally declared, by a close alliance with Charles X. To the Swedish envoy's denunciation of Dutch duplicity, Cromwell replied that he

the Protector wish to hinder but rather in every way to help the king. He expressed his honesty and uprightness and also said he sought most the honor of being an honest man.

Thereupon Bonde, who exhausted the remarkable progress of Charles X. Gustavus in London, could "only and in writing" to secure a meeting with the commissioners for the treaty. The Protector, he went on to say, since he "was deprived of the privilege of acting as a mediator between Sweden and Holland, had become so uncertain that he did not know what to do." On the one hand it was important for him to keep the friendship of Charles Gustavus but on the other he feared to embitter the Dutch. Moreover he faced very great financial embarrassment, the discontent in the country which demanded the attention of the entire government, and the hazards of a foreign war, to say nothing of the Royalist activities at home and abroad. He labored, therefore, toward an understanding not only between Sweden and Holland, but even with France and Spain. In a later letter Bonde complained of the members of the Protector's government

They had so much to do now with the Royal party and its suppression that they hardly take care of anything else. Although the Dutch have many adherents here, they are no better treated. I can hardly judge it in any other way than that they who sit in the government have never before handled affairs, and especially foreign affairs, so that they fail chiefly from ignorance. In addition they are much puffed up, depending on their advantageous position and power on the sea, which they learned though tediously—in the war with Holland.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Kalling, *Bonde's Ambassad*, pp. 34-35.

Such was the unfavorable view of the Swedish ambassador, which, if it did not precisely represent the facts of the situation, throws a certain amount of light upon the views of an experienced diplomat in regard to English affairs and their masters at this moment. He was perhaps unduly pessimistic as to the position and character of the Protector and his Council, and certainly as to the fate of his own mission, which was destined to perhaps more success than he then anticipated. But one thing was obvious—it was that the Protector was becoming more and more involved not only in his relations with Spain and the Netherlands but with the northern powers, to one of whose rulers at this moment he wrote in terms by now familiar in his communications with other states:

*To the most serene and potent Prince and Lord, Frederick III, by the grace of God, King of Denmark, Norway, the Vandals and Goths, etc.*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING:

Such is my office in the settling of disputes, and such to us are ever those which might well be expected from one who is at once a most equitable ruler and a devoted friend. And it is for that reason that on behalf of certain merchants, their pleas being most just, I am not reluctant to importune your Majesty by this letter, especially since it is our opinion that nothing tends more towards the confirmation and establishment of vessels in the Sound and in the River Elbe were by order of the King your Father of blessed memory captured and arrested, and good understanding and freedom of trade between England and Denmark were at that time suspended, for the reestablishment of the same a treaty was mutually entered upon and concluded, in which among other matters it was agreed that, in accordance with certain laws recorded in the code of the nations, restitution should be made to the proprietors of the said vessels for the seizure of their vessels and goods. After which in the year 1648 six promissory notes were given to the said proprietors by which he bound himself to pay them a stated sum of imperial thalers in six installments, of which however only one was made, and the remainder, by far the largest part of the sum, still remains unpaid, though the time has now elapsed within which according to the pledge of the notes the whole debt was to be discharged. But in truth it is useless to provide for the free exercise of commerce between nations by solemn compacts mutually agreed upon, if the said merchants are deprived of their monies, and their business. It is surely our preeminent duty to discharge and fulfil to your subjects the obligations all and several which we are bound and pledged to discharge, and in the same way it is just that we should in return confirm those under our domain used to redeem the King's

notes as soon as may be, and to provide for the redemption of the same due, together with a just amount of interest. . . .  
safety and prosperity Given from our palace at Westminster on the 23d day of November, in the year 1655.

Your good friend,  
OLIVER P.<sup>94</sup>

In one thing, at least, Bonde was correct. The time of the Protector and the Council seems to have been about evenly divided between complications abroad and discontent at home. They were disturbed not only by Royalist plots but by Fifth Monarchist attacks. Powell's *Word for God* attacked them for "pride and luxury," for the West Indian expedition, and for other grievances. It was opposed by John Moore's *Protection Proclaimed*, a defence of the Protectorate, but was accompanied—more disturbingly—by a *Petition of Freeholders* . . . , scattered about the streets of London by night, with other like denunciations of the government which gave point to the observations of the foreign envoys concerning the dissatisfaction of the English people in general with their government, to which the appointment of the major-generals provided additional, if unintentional, testimony.

To that was added the responsibility of the new acquisition of territory in the West Indies. The Admiralty Committee reported to the Council the expenditure of £10,000 for the new colony, with a warrant for the amount to Martin Noel, who had assumed the charge for the bill.<sup>95</sup> At the same time the thrifty New Englanders instructed their agent, John Leverett, to present himself to the Protector to inquire the result of his predecessor Winslow's mission and to request for New England "the opportunitie to furnish his fleet at Jamaica with provisions of . . . ten or twelve thousand pounds per annum, for bills of exchange into England, according to the . . .

With this began, in some sort, the problem of the price of the West Indian empire and that connection between New England and the Caribbean possessions which was to be of such importance in later years.

All this was interrupted by an untoward event for the Protector's secret service. On Sunday his chief spy at the court of Charles II, one Henry Manning, who had aroused suspicion among the Chancellor's

<sup>94</sup> *Records of the Council*, 1655, p. 100. The original is in the possession of the Secretary of State, London.  
<sup>95</sup> *Hutchinson Papers* (Prince Soc. Publ., 1865), I, 305-7.

followers was arrested. His correspondence was intercepted at Ant-

question. He was accordingly condemned to death in spite of his protestations that he had provided Thurloe with misleading information and was at heart devoted to the royal cause. It seems to have been considered inadvisable to punish him at Cologne, where Charles II's court then resided, and he was accordingly taken to the neighboring forest of Dünwald, in the territory of the Count of Neuburg and there shot by Sir James Hamilton and Major Armorer.<sup>97</sup> The incident greatly disturbed the Royalist party; but it is notable that the Protector made no effort to save his agent, as it was said he might well have done by threatening reprisals on the Cavaliers in his power. That, however, would have been clear proof of his connection with Manning, which otherwise rested only on the word of his Royalist enemies, and might well have antagonized some elements which believed his government above such practices as Manning exemplified.

Manning's execution at the hands of the enraged Royalist exiles was an aftermath of the Penruddock rising, which he was suspected of having betrayed, and in which one of his executioners, Major Armorer, had played some part. It was not the only result. Apart from various minor matters of business like some changes in the manner of paying the charges of the Protectoral household,<sup>98</sup> and the assessment order and declaration, the listing of county commissioners for the assessment of £60,000 a month for the six months from December 25, 1655 to June 24, 1656; and the rules for the commissioners of customs and excise for the collection of those duties,<sup>99</sup> the chief business of the Council during its four sessions in this last week of November, 1655—of which the Protector attended three<sup>100</sup>—was the usual combination of foreign affairs and domestic discontent. They noted the declaration of embargo on Spanish ships and goods drawn up in the Protector's name.<sup>101</sup> They considered various proposals made to him by the Salisbury corporation as to encouragement of godliness and good government in that lately disturbed community.<sup>102</sup> On a

<sup>97</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 34-35, cp. 5th Rept. Dep. Keeper Pub. Records, App. II, pp. 248-50.

<sup>98</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 33, 40, *Pub. Intell.*, Nov. 26-Dec. 3.

<sup>99</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. xxviii.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

petition from two of those concerned in that insurrection, it was  
 for their transportation.<sup>104</sup> In accordance with a recommendation of  
 August 30, a pass was issued for Alexander, Earl of Kellie, and John,  
 Viscount Grandison, to go abroad within a month, first engaging "to  
 act nothing" against the Protector or the Commonwealth,<sup>105</sup> and an  
 order was issued to transfer Sir Thomas Peyton from the Tower to  
 Walmer Castle.<sup>106</sup>

*To major-generall Thomas Kelsey*

These are to will and require you to appoint some trusty person or persons  
 to receive from the hands of the lieutenant of our tower of London the body of  
 Sir Thomas Peyton, and him to convey in safety [sic] custody to our castle of  
 Walmer in our county of Kent, and to deliver him to the governor of the said  
 castle. Given at Whitehall, this 27th of November, 1655

OLIVER P<sup>107</sup>

On November 28 the treaty with France was proclaimed and cele-  
 brated with fire-works.<sup>108</sup> France, the Protector entertained Bordeaux  
 neither Nieupoort, Bonde, Sagredo nor Schlezee were invited, though  
 Bordeaux had a dinner for the first three the evening before. The  
 festivities attendant on the conclusion of the peace afforded another  
 opportunity to defer Schlezee's audience. Of this he complained  
 bitterly, and wrote further that if Cardenas' move to the Hague  
 affected the relations between England and the Netherlands, it would  
 "thwart the designs of the Lord Protector . . . for he would prefer  
 that the Crown of Sweden, Your . . . General, the Protestant Princes and Estates of Germany, Prince  
 Racoczy, and the Swiss Evangelical Cantons, form a union to resist  
 jointly any secret or overt design of the other side."<sup>109</sup> Whatever his

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-43, for the examination of these two—Fias Jones and Robert Duke—see Thurlot, iii, 344-45, 401. The statement in *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, p. 42, that they were to be sent to the "East Indies" is probably an error as everywhere else the word Barbados occurs.

<sup>105</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, i, 62, 63, 64.

<sup>106</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, i, 62, 63, 64.

<sup>107</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, i, 62, 63, 64. "Winchester castle" or tower, whence he was moved when Charles I was sent there, cp. vol. 1 of this work, p. 715.

<sup>108</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, i, 62, 63, 64.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Bonde's Diary, 4<sup>th</sup> Rpt.

*Dep. Keeper Pub. Records*, App. 11, p. 5.

<sup>108</sup> *Dep. Keeper Pub. Records*, App. 11, p. 5.

to States General, Nov. 30/Dec. 10, 1655, 3/Dec. 10, Mendenhall Trans.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

other qualities, the Brandenburg envoy put his finger definitely on the Protector's general designs, which, however, owing to the continued refusal to afford him an audience, he had no opportunity of furthering or opposing.

With this went some other matters of minor importance, yet of some little significance. On 11.12.1655 the Protector's commissioners in Oxfordshire consider how the wall of Wychwood Forest "begun in the late King's time," might be finished, at what cost and at whose expense, and "what adjacent coppices can be had by purchase or otherwise for better preservation of the deer"<sup>111</sup>—a document which affords, among other things, further proof, if such were needed, that the Protector regarded himself and was regarded as the successor to the responsibilities as to the power of the crown. At about this same time the commissioners of Wiltshire, ordering the commissioners to wait on Desborough and put in execution the instructions received from him.<sup>112</sup> This reveals the Protector in another light. He was at once a king and not a king, as these two documents indicate. If he was not a *de jure* monarch, he had, at least, inherited some of the prerogatives of one; but it was in his capacity as a *de facto* ruler that he wrote to Desborough and addressed another letter of protest to Frederick III of Denmark:

*To the most serene and potent Prince and Lord, Frederick III, by the grace of God, King of Denmark, Norway, the Vandals and Goths, etc.*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING:

We have but now written your Majesty concerning a certain sum of money payable to merchants of this Commonwealth pursuant to the agreement made by your Majesty for the restitution of losses sustained by

the year 1642 because of a smuggled cargo of nitrates was confiscated into the royal treasury and thereafter by virtue of the withdrawal concluded in the year 1646 was dismissed and freed. But since its cargo had been divided and sold, it was provided that 6898 imperial thalers should be paid in its stead at

two most just kings stood pledged, would be faithfully discharged to them.

<sup>111</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 306. Action was recommended May 1, 1656 (*ibid.*, pp. 306-7).

<sup>112</sup> Commissioners to Protector, Dec. 7, agreeing to meet with Desborough (*Wilt Arch Mag.*, xviii (1878-9), 375).

of the equity of our request, we hope and do not doubt that as soon as your Majesty shall have been informed of this matter by this our letter, he will provide for the immediate payment of the residue of sum due, together with

bring it to its conclusion,

and eagerness to fulfil and repay all the offices of friendship in our turn. May the good and mighty God keep and preserve your Majesty. Given from our palace at Westminster the 28th of November, in the year 1655

Your good friend,

OLIVER P<sup>m</sup>

#### THE READMISSION OF THE JEWS

The first week of December, 1655, was a notable period in the history of the Protectorate. The Council met formally only on Tuesday and Wednesday,<sup>114</sup> Thursday having been proclaimed on November 21 as a day of humiliation;<sup>115</sup> but the meeting on Tuesday, December 4, was of more than usual importance, as it was the day set for consideration of the petition of Menasseh ben Israel for the readmission of the Jews. It was an old question, which had been agitated during the years of the civil wars and had come into greater prominence as a result of the St. John-Strickland mission to Holland in 1651. It had found expression in various relations between the Protector and the Jews, in his use of "the more promine

London; in his consideration of the Jews in connection with the West Indian settlements; and—according to report<sup>116</sup>—his invitation to the Amsterdam rabbi, Menasseh ben Israel, to come to England to present his case for readmission. For that Menasseh had long prepared. It would seem that during the St. John-Strickland mission he had come into contact with the Protector, and that he had

which . . . Council meeting . . . pamphlet, *The Humble Address* . . . requesting

the readmission of the members of his race or nation, brought the matter to issue almost at once, and the number and quality of the 28 men summoned to the meeting indicated its importance in the Protector's mind. Besides members of the Council itself were called Glyn, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Steele, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, to pass on the legal questions involved. The Lord

<sup>114</sup> Latin original in the Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen, pt. in App. II (2) *infra*.

<sup>115</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1655-6), p. xxviii.

<sup>116</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 3-10.

<sup>117</sup> Lucien Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission* (L. & N. Y., 1901), pp. xxi ff.

Mayor of London, Dethick; the Sheriff, Thompson; and aldermen Cresset and Riccards represented the City interests. To them were added a group of clergymen, including Cudworth, Goodwin, Owen, of the proposal.<sup>117</sup>

... dear to the Protector's heart. He had petitioned the Council on November 21, but that body tabled the motion for its adoption and referred the question to a committee, which recommended its consideration by this larger body. The petition requested protection for the Jews; permission for public synagogues and a Jewish cemetery; right to trade; appointment by the Protector of an official to receive passports and administer the affairs of the synagogue.

... the members of the congregation according to the Mosaic law with right of appeal to the civil courts; and the revocation of all existing laws against the Jews. These stipulations obviously raised highly disputable points, for, in effect, they established a sort of *imperium in imperio* of the Jewish community, with all the rights of Englishmen. On the one hand the Protector, moved perhaps by the parallel of the persecution of the Vaudois and the treatment of the Jews by Spain and Portugal, inclined to favor the petitioners. He was perhaps still more moved by the prospect of such an addition to England's financial strength as the Jews had already contributed to Holland, to Hamburg, and the other places where they had found refuge, notably in the New World to which his eyes were now directed. Nor was he uninfluenced by the fact that if the Jews were readmitted, they would bring with them, or draw to them, substantial resources in coin and bullion and the influence of the international banking and trading system which bound them together throughout the continent.<sup>118</sup>

On the other hand, many of the Council held very different views. The City merchants were not desirous of additional competition by a new and alien element which was at once so capable, so closely bound

<sup>117</sup> ...  
<sup>118</sup> ...

which he violently pursued, but durst not put in execution, was by the calling in and number at least amongst themselves were not thought *Jews* enough by their own *Herod*. And for this design, they say, he invented to sell *St Pauls* to them for a Synagogue, if their purses and devotions could have reacht to the purchase. And thus ... more *St Peters* (even at his own *restitution*) to the ... (Cowley, *Essays, Plays and Sundry Verses*, ed. Waller (Cambridge, 1906), "A Discourse . . . Concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell," pp. 368-69)



together, and so intimately connected with other groups throughout the Protectorate, as to give it an obvious advantage over the more or less intangible, issues of theology; and more definite questions of the law. Thus when, as it appears, the Protector brought the question before the assembly, he endeavored to limit the discussion to two points—the legality of readmission and the terms on which resettlement might be allowed. As to the first, the two judges, Glyn and Steele, gave as their opinion that inasmuch as the expulsion of 1290 had been an act of royal prerogative, binding only on the individuals concerned, "there was no law which forbade the Jews' return into England." The larger issues of financial and political expediency, as so much difference of opinion that the conference was adjourned over the day of fasting and humiliation to the following Friday.<sup>119</sup> The question immediately arose, "What shall be done?" On the one hand, as in every other matter. On the other, the Council, City and county agitation. Pamphlet after pamphlet appeared against it, headed by *A Short Denial to the Jewes long-discontinued Remitter in England*, from the pen of that irrepressible pamphleteer, William Prynne. It expressed the general popular opinion of the Protector's proposal, which it opposed with much the same

been by other expressions of disapproval of his course, only in this, unlike his earlier measures, he could not count on the support of the army

of his old antagonists, the Fifth Monarchists, Wentworth Day, sometime cornet in Harrison's regiment, and John Simpson, denounced the Protector, reading in All Hallows the *Word for God*, for which its author, Powell, had already been arrested; and Dendy was ordered to seize them.<sup>120</sup> There was, besides the usual petitions<sup>121</sup> and reports from the major-generals, the matter of the Colchester election which

<sup>119</sup> *Journal of the Council*, i. 100.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 101.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 102.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 103.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 104.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 105.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 106.

demand attention. That, with other incidents which involved issues of similar character, raised a great problem for the government, which hitherto had taken little action in local administration. It seemed—as it probably was—necessary to do something to prevent Royalists holding offices in the corporations unless the Protectoral government was to be a mere shadow. The corporations were still little touched even by the authority of the major-generals or the central administration. Desborough had already had trouble with Bristol, Tewkesbury and Gloucester, where, he had advised Cromwell, he was prepared to use direct action unless he could force the “voluntary” resignation of the Royalist incumbents of the corporation offices. Fleetwood had asked instructions as to putting into effect the proclamation of September 21 forbidding delinquents to hold office or to vote. More recently a petition from Chipping Wycombe had protested against “unfit” persons holding office in that town. The government had ordered the delinquent officials were ordered to resign or to be removed. In the case of Colchester an election in September, 1654, had returned as mayor one Reynolds, who called the burgesses together and expelled from the corporation three members who were very much in disfavor of the Protectorate but at any rate in disfavor of the government. The case was taken to the Upper Bench where Rolle ruled in favor of the ejected members, and his opinion was later confirmed by Glyn who succeeded Rolle. After a long conflict between the two factions in the town, appeals to the courts, to the Council and to the Protector, and the appointment of commissioners to investigate the situation, the newly elected mayor, Radham, was forbidden to act, and Reynolds was ordered to retain his office until further orders.<sup>122</sup> Finally, on December 4, the matter was turned over to Major-General Haynes, the commander of that district:

*To Major-General Haynes*

OLIVER P

There having been of late several complaints from the Ancient Aldermen and divers other well affected inhabitants of the town of Colchester, that for some time past elections have been made of several persons to the Government thereof who are altogether unable of public employment, to the great discouragement of many honest men living in and about that town, whereupon we did the 20th of September last by our order suspend the election of any person to any office in the town till we should otherwise determine And forasmuch as we are informed

<sup>122</sup> For a full discussion of this matter see Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, iv, 50 ff, and for Colchester see Philip Morant, *Hist. of Colchester* (1748), and Round, “Cromwell and the electorate,” in *Nineteenth Century*, xlv (1899), 947-56.

the said town is under some straights and inconveniences. And understand-

there, they proceed to the elections of a Recorder and also of a Mayor and other officers for the present year, in which election you are to take special

Tuesday, December 4, 1655, was notable for even more than the debate on the question of the *Colchester*, for on that day the Protector sent letters to *LOUIS XIV* and to Cardinal Mazarin in connection with the signature of the peace with France and the departure of the French ambassador, Bordeaux. That diplomat had reason to be pleased, not only with the signature of the treaty which he had negotiated but with the high encomiums which the Protector paid to his services. Those encomiums were no doubt justified, for Bordeaux was an experienced and accomplished envoy; but the signature of the peace

to accomplish as had been Cardenas' concurrent effort to avert the war with his country. Each depended on circumstances beyond the control of either envoy. Each ambassador had carried out his instructions with fidelity and capability, and it was the good fortune of Bordeaux and the ill fortune of Cardenas that the Protector decided

stances of their respective departures partook of the character rather of the relations between the powers than of the abilities of their envoys. Cardenas had been treated with unexampled rudeness and virtually refused a parting audience. Bordeaux, on the contrary, seems to have had a last audience to take his leave of the Protector and sailed from Dover on December 7, with every expression of esteem.<sup>124</sup> Before he returned to France, it was agreed that not only the Dutch but any other powers which so desired might be included within the Anglo-French treaty and an article was presently added to that effect. In addition to this, on the day that Bordeaux left, it was agreed in Council that the King of France be allowed to enlist 1,000

July 1. (*Merc. Pol.*, Nov. 29-Dec. 6, Crawford, II, 762, no. 2129.)

<sup>124</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, Nov. 29-Dec. 6; *Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 3-10, Thurloe, IV, 293 (Kelsey to Cromwell).

Scots in such areas as the Protector might appoint,<sup>126</sup> though there is no mention of that in either the treaty or the letters, which he now sent to the King and the Cardinal.

*To Louis XIV of France*

MOST SERENE AND POWERFUL PRINCE:

When, after peace was happily concluded between both peoples, Lord Antoine de Bordeaux, Lord of Neuville, your Majesty's ambassador to us, signified to us that by royal mandate he must return and remain for some time in France, we considered that . . . silence the opportunity of info

content in the friendship which has been sanctioned by God's blessing between this Republic and France. And as we have striven from the beginning to govern ourselves in accordance with it and to enter into it sincerely, so we have shown freely and . . . the friendship and advancing it . . . towards a more intimate amity and relationship nor

repeatedly trust themselves into the discussions of the treaty. In the same degree we think that it ought to be attributed for the most part to his faithful and prudent service as ambassador, that the conscientious desires and endeavours of both parties . . . him, to be worthy of your royal favor and kindness. For the rest, we desire that your Majesty be commended to the protection of divine favor. Given from our palace of Westminster, 4 December 1655

Your good friend,

[OLIVER P.]<sup>127</sup>

*To Cardinal Mazarin*

MOST EMINENT CARDINAL

Just as nothing could be more advantageously and suitably effected for the true interests of both States than the contracting of a

<sup>126</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1655-6), p. 45, Sagredo reported a week later that the levy allowed to Sweden had been reduced to 1,000 men which would have been easy to raise on account of the reluctance of the Scots to go to the West Indies (Sagredo to Doge, Dec. 14/24, *Cal S. P. Ven*, 1655-6, p. 157)

<sup>127</sup> The Latin original is in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Cor. Pol. Angleterre, v. 66, f. 217, pr. *infra*, App II (3). It is interesting to note that this letter was not signed, although the letter written in the same hand to Mazarin on the same day is signed. Its presence in the French Archives is proof that it was actually sent. It was delivered Dec. 14 by Bordeaux (*Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 17-24). Cp. letter to Louis XIV, Dec. [165?], below.

stable peace and friendship between them, which by God's favor is already given effect so it is a proper and particularly necessary consequence of the friendship so contracted that both parties strive with sincere zeal to unite in a still closer union and in a more intimate necessity in the affairs advantageous to both. Just as I myself am very much in favor of such a laudable design

But since Lord Antoine de Borsturn, and is doing me the favor of carrying this letter to our sincere desires and our favorable disposition towards you and your affairs, the opportunity of assisting in which I shall enjoy with good will; of this I wish your Eminence

lent discernment, or a man who has fulfilled his functions more wisely or happily, than the before mentioned Lord of Neufville, so your Eminence could not have chosen to that end anyone more faithful or applying himself with a readier will to your affairs and interests. His wise administration of

Most devoted

OLIVER P

In addition to these communications the Protector signed two more or less insignificant warrants, one of the 5th and one dating or not—on the 6th:

*To Mr. William Walker*

[OLIVER P]

Whereas our Council have by an order of the 16th of Nov. last offered to us as their advice that our warrant may be issued for paying of Rowland Pithy out of our Armies Contingencies the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds being so much agreed with him for by Mr. William Johnson then Mayor of Newcastle and others in pursuance of an order of us and our council of the seventh of August last for freight for guns, amm. and ammunition brought by him from the Garrison of Newcastle to the Tower of London. These are therefore to will and require you out of such monies as are or shall come to your hands on account of our said Armies Contingencies forthwith

December 1655<sup>128</sup>

Cor.

Sept.

*Warrant*

[substance only]

For the payment of 3473*l.* 5*s.* "for the Little Park at Windsor, and Meadows there, called the King's Meadows, and the Bushie Close, &c."<sup>129</sup>  
December 6, 1655

Moreover he addressed the Council in Ireland on behalf of a certain Robert Reynolds, to whom lands had been assigned in County Louth;<sup>130</sup> and protests were addressed to the Protector and Thurloe in regard to ministers in Scotland and maintenance for them, and in regard to the kirk's resolutions to the Council in Scotland, which had apparently not been well received by that body.<sup>131</sup> Of such matters, great and small, was Cromwell's life made up; but the signature of the French treaty, the war with Spain, and the negotiations with the Swedes, brought with them new and important repercussions. The merchants trading with Spain expressed their displeasure at the revival of the "prizage" of wines.<sup>132</sup> Bonde read to the commissioners appointed to negotiate with him new articles which he had prepared concerning the recruiting in Scotland; enlarged on the strength of the friendship between the Protector and his King; and turned the articles over to the commissioners to study.<sup>133</sup> Though the Protector was not present, he sent for Bonde as soon as he learned of the Swedish envoy's impatience at the delay in the negotiations. He was determined not to allow anything to interfere with the treaty with Sweden, and determined, if possible, to prevent any clash between the one hand and Holland or Brandenburg on the other.

To this end, having received Bonde apparently on Tuesday, the day of the debate on the Jews, he had an audience on Friday with Nieupoort, who wrote to de Witt, enclosing the "earnest declaration of the Protector that he intends to stop all incorrect proceedings against subjects of our state." He said, continued Nieupoort,

that he had found, with amazement, some all too sharp impressions in my memorandum, in regard to which some of the Council also had been discontented. That it was quite a different thing to say a hasty word than to write it down, but he believed it had come from my pen in an angry mood, that he

<sup>129</sup><sup>130</sup><sup>131</sup> (Council to Protector, Jan. 7, 1655-6)<sup>132</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 3-10, Thurloe, IV, 282-83 (Monk's letter), "Protestation," *ibid.*, pp. 255-57.<sup>133</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 46-47, cp. *ibid.* (1655), p. 151.<sup>134</sup> Whitelocke, p. 631, J. L. Carlbom, *Sverige och England* (Göteborg, 1900), pp. 46-47.

believed I had been influenced by others, and that he took a different attitude toward me than toward other ministers, that he talked with me as with one of his friends and his Council and brother. . . . fact in amiable sincere

my present position, that . . . my own people of not demanding energetically enough . . . for . . . they had suffered, and that people here take it amiss if, . . . demands of some people . . . that a good treaty would keep many egotistic people in their place . . . He promised that he would undertake it, called

ance of his good faith. He also . . . was willing to contribute everything to the good undertaking, that . . . White-  
locke that they intended to send that gentleman thither as soon as I should be able to speak to Thurloe.<sup>131</sup>

After this audience Nieupoort told Schlezer that the Protector had said he would like to avoid, if possible, the threatened rupture between . . . "evangelical." None the . . . a new reason—the Protector was ill and had written to an "excellent surgeon" in Paris to ask advice about his bladder.

Mrs. Cromwell was not well; and if Schlezer—who was curiously interested in details of physical disability—may be believed, even Thurloe and Fleming were more or less indisposed.<sup>132</sup> But the Brandenburg envoy heard, at least, that the Protector was much disturbed over the threatened break between Brandenburg and Sweden. Schlezer feared that . . . the legislative power and having himself declared king.<sup>133</sup>

The second week of December was so full of audiences that it is small wonder that the Protector, ill as he was, attended only one of the three Council meetings.<sup>137</sup> . . . referred to them by the Prote . . . the Committee for Trade,<sup>138</sup> and warrants were issued for the apprehension of the two agitators, Simpson and Day.<sup>140</sup> At long last Schlezer was granted an audience, the substance of which he com-

<sup>131</sup> Nieupoort to de Witt, Dec. 7/17, De Witt, *Brueven*, III, 157.

<sup>132</sup> Schlezer to Kurfurst, Dec. . . . "hurke", IV, 293, and *Lansdowne MSS* 822, f. 231, and 82.

<sup>133</sup> . . . 7/17, Mendenhall trans.

<sup>137</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. xxviii.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52-55.

<sup>139</sup> Sir Ch . . . incke (*Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 10-17); *Cal.* . . . Wm. Wheeler

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 570.

municated to his master, the Elector, then anxious about the situation created by Charles X Gustavus' invasion of Poland and its possible consequences to the Elector's province of Prussia. Translated—not very expertly—from English into German, then back into English again, its meaning is none the less about following, as it does the way in which the Elector would have acted in such circumstances.

*Speech to Schleier, Dec. 11/21, 1655*

chu. . . . .  
 which I . . . . . to him. He had always thought of it and  
 . . . . .  
 all pains to keep together in friendly Christian unity and confidence the  
 Evangelical potentates, princes and republics, and verily if this had been  
 . . . . .  
 frays in Switzerland, that it was sufficient to infer how they would treat  
 others and all of the Evangelicals if they should gain power over them.  
 Whoever did not realize this must be blind indeed, and who could not be  
 . . . . .  
 desired to extend their frontiers and to enrich themselves and those belonging  
 to them, or to monopolize commerce, for now every one had mighty cause to  
 seek not his own but the common interest with the greatest zeal and care, no  
 matter if the Lutherans or members of the Reformed church (here no distinction  
 being made between them) on their part they had, so far as the internal  
 unrest permitted, done their best to see that all separation, bloodshed  
 and quarrel be abolished and prevented among the Evangelicals. For as soon  
 as he had come to power he first of all things tried to make peace with the  
 Dutch, and to live with them in good friendship and on good neighborly  
 terms. God had blessed him in this and had let him achieve his aim. He had  
 also shown the same care toward others and as it is one's duty to live at peace  
 with all mankind, it would have been his wish to be able to live also with other  
 parties in peace and harmony. Had it been possible to obtain within the  
 period of three years equitable and reasonable terms from Spain, they would  
 not have attacked the King with such great force as they had hitherto used,  
 although they had always been embroiled with him in contests, conflict and  
 war. God, indeed, had dealt them a hard blow, as they had not succeeded  
 there and it still rested in His holy providence how He would allow things to  
 turn out. When, finally, he was able to have peace with Spain as well as with  
 France, if he had wished to consider special interests, he not only out of love  
 . . . . .  
 many hundred families of the Reformed church lived in France, they were  
 well treated and protected there, whereas the Spanish policies only tended to  
 burden their consciences extremely and to exterminate entirely all who pro-



fessed the Evangelical truth, either overtly by force or by secret machinations.

From all this your Electoral Highness would perceive how sorry he would

with me at greater length than was his custom, as the gentlemen present would bear witness for him. But it was done out of the confidence he had that, on the part of your Electoral Highness, all of this would be properly understood and kindly borne in mind. Besides commissioners would be appointed shortly, through whom he would be pleased to hear further proposals of mine and in all matters he wished to be at the disposal of your Highness.

Schlezer responding dutifully to this exhortation, the Protector went on—in Latin, as the envoy records—to ask if Schlezer had heard anything from the Prince of Transylvania, and Cromwell was greatly interested to hear that the Prince's envoys had been with the King of Sweden in or before Cracow. To this the Protector answered by praising "the gentleman, and said he was of the opinion he must have very good intentions"; and Schlezer, like a good diplomat, replied that the Elector valued that prince very highly, for, as the Brandenburg envoy notes in an aside, he "had heard that Cromwell had a particular affection for the Rakoczy house and family and esteems and loves this prince"<sup>141</sup>

From this interview it is apparent, among other things, that the Protector for whatever reason, worldly or unworldly, looked with disapproving eye upon the struggle between Sweden and Poland and still more disapprovingly upon possible conflict between his ally Sweden and Brandenburg, as weakening the general position of Protestantism in Europe and the commercial position of England in the Baltic region. It is no less evident that he was somewhat on the fence in view of the fact that the result was still inconclusive.

The day following his audience with Schlezer he signed another letter to Cardinal Mazarin in connection with a curious episode in relations with Turkey.

### *To Cardinal Mazarin*

MOST EMINENT CARDINAL

Seeing that Lord Antoine de Bordeaux, Lord of Neufville, his Majesty's ambassador to us, at the end of the treaty recently concluded, under his own hand and seal, promised in good faith that the money received

<sup>141</sup> B. Erdmannsdorffer, *Urkunden u. Actenstücke*, vii (Berlin, 1877), 728-30. See also Sagredo to Doge, Dec. 14/24, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 157.

some years ago by the Lord de Cezi as a loan from some Englishmen for the purpose of his legation at Constantinople was going to be repaid according to

place on the same occasion, and since the bearer of the present letter, René Augier, is about to depart for the Court of his Majesty, to the end that he may attend to the matter of the merchants who are interested in the above mentioned debts, and that therefore he may be received with courtesy, as is fit, and that he may be able to expedite and execute more easily and happily the business intrusted to him we have strengthened him with this our letter to your Eminence.

authority in despatching the affairs committed to him. This office of your friendship and courtesy will be most pleasing to us, and will henceforth en-

1655

Most devoted to your Eminence,  
OLIVER P.<sup>142</sup>

This same 12th of December was notable for the third meeting of the conference on the Jews. It appears that Cromwell had at least one conversation with Menassah ben Israel before that conference. It was held "in a withdrawing-room in the presence of the Lord Protector, where a Committee of the Council were met by the greatest Part of . . . to take the

continues, "nothing then resolved upon."<sup>143</sup> It seems from the various confused accounts of the proceedings that, as in the others, the Protector urged readmission, but without success; and the conference was again adjourned until the 16th, while Cromwell looked about for support for his proposal.<sup>144</sup> In the meantime—probably on Thursday, though Ludlow says on Wednesday—that rebellious officer, having made his way from Ireland to Beaumaris, where he was seized and brought to London, . . . was sent for by Cromwell who received Ludlow in his chamber in the presence of Fleetwood, Sydenham, Montagu and Strickland.<sup>145</sup> It was, as Ludlow's account testifies, not a cordial interview. The stiff-necked Re-

<sup>142</sup> The Latin original is in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Cor. 2-1. A. . . . In connection with this affair, . . . 1, 214 (Bordeaux's instruction), 225ff., 371ff., for Harlay's

embassy. See also Thurloe, iv, 357 and 375, for Augier's reports from Paris, Dec. 27 and Jan. 1.

<sup>143</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 10-17, *Parl. Hist.*, xi, 476. It seems to have been shortly after this that Peter, Sterry and Bulkeley were summoned for the conference on Friday.

<sup>144</sup> . . .  
<sup>145</sup> . . . low, *Memoirs* (ed. Firth), i, 431-32

ate, and it is evident from his description of the conversation, however much his recollection of it may have been distorted, that it was satisfactory to neither party

### *Conversation with Ludlow*

The first salute I received from him was to tell me, that I had not dealt fairly with him in making him to believe I had signed an engagement not to  
 lied upon my promise, and so have been engaged in blood before he was aware I to  
 my

so to do 'No, said Cromwell, he had none from me . . . He then objected to me, that I was stolen from Ireland without leave to which I made answer, I had taken care to procure . . . a passport for England from Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, . . . and his son Harry's promise not to obstruct me in my journey. He next asked me, wherefore I would not engage not to  
 against the present Government, the . . . if Neto were in power, . . . I . . . that I was ready to submit, and could truly say, that I knew not of any design against him 'But,' said I, 'if Providence open a way, and give an opportunity of appearing in  
 own hands before hand, and  
 'said he, 'it is not reasonable  
 ouse, till he assure me he will  
 do me no mischief' I told him, I was . . . come hither but upon a message from him, and that I desired nothing but a little liberty to breathe in the air, to which I conceived I had an equal right with other men He then fell to inveigh bitterly against Major Wildman, as the author of the petition from the army before-mentioned, reviling  
 he deserved to be hanged; and t

if that were not thought sufficient, I resolved with God's assistance to suffer any extremities that might be imposed upon me. 'Yes,' said he, 'we know your resolution well enough, and we have cause to be as stout as you, but I pray who spoke of your suffering?' 'Sir,' said I, 'if I am not deceived, you mentioned the securing my person' 'Yea,' said he, 'and great reason there is why we should do so, for I am ashamed to see that engagement which you have given to the Lieutenant-General, which would be more fit for a General who should be taken prisoner, and that hath yet an army of thirty thousand men in the field, than for one in your condition' I answered, that it was as much as I could consent to give, . . . Then beginning to carry himself more calmly, he said that he had been always ready to do me what good offices he could, and that he wished me as well as he did any one of his Council, desiring me to make choice of some place to be in, where I might have good air. . . He acknowledged that I had always carried my self fairly and

openly to him, and protested that he had never given me just cause to act otherwise<sup>146</sup>

After this animated exchange of mutual dislike and some further conversation with the other members present, Ludlow was permitted to go to Essex, at liberty but under surveillance<sup>147</sup> Nor was this the last interview of this busy week. Ill as he was, there is no period of his life when we have as many accounts of his conversations as in this first half of December. To Ludlow succeeded Bonde and Coyet in return for the magnificent entertainment of Rolt by Charles X. Gustavus, and Bonde took occasion to make his usual elaborate report of the audience. The two Swedish envoys were received on December 14, after having talked with Whitelocke as to an alliance between England and Sweden against the Catholics. To him Bonde had confided how often he had sought to discover the thoughts of the Protector in the religious matter, and that in spite of Charles X's zeal and eagerness in that cause, it was impossible for him to express his innermost thoughts until he knew the Protector's views on the alliance with Sweden. In his interview with the Protector, as in his previous audience, the Swedish envoy brought up the subject of the movements of the Catholics, to which the Protector replied that,

nothing would be more dear to him than to use all his energy and all his power for the furtherance of God's honor, that Bonde well knew, that he, as well as Bonde himself, had often warned of the dangers of these times, that he had no higher desire than to turn aside in some way the disunity which seemed to tend to arise among the Protestants themselves. Otherwise, the Protector assured them of his honest inclination toward the common cause, yet he wished to know accurately Charles X's thought so as to better show his own.

To this Bonde reported that he declared that he would be entirely unconcerned about the evangelical cause if only England and Sweden would enter into an alliance. The Protector, he thought, was more satisfactory than he had been in the previous interview and answered that,

he both hoped and judged that before spring came and the Brandenburgers could receive any great help, the King would make the most of his time and with God's help would make an end to his difficulties.

As to the disagreements—from a purely religious standpoint—  
advice as to how to heal the breach and suggested the proposed alliance as the safest remedy. But, as Bonde reported, "the Protector

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 432-35

<sup>147</sup> Col. R. Whiteley to Nicholas, Jan. 10/20, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 109.

did not answer, as either he did not understand me or purposely passed over it, since the subject touched him too closely." He finally observed, however, that,

now closer deliberations would follow and he promised to do everything possible to this end, and would let his thought be known through his commissioners, and in addition expressed himself with great admiration of Gustavus Adolphus II, as he had likewise done at earlier conversations.<sup>148</sup>

No one can read these various conversations between Cromwell, Bonde, Schlezer and Nieupoort without realizing that, whatever deep religious feeling animated the Protector, the continued insistence on the religious side of the problems at issue—from which only Nieupoort was relatively free—served merely to conceal, if it did conceal, the worldly motives behind these diplomatic professions. There was no diplomat whose interviews with the Protector were recorded who did not sense this approach to the more practical issues at stake, there was no public discussion, not excepting the debate on the admission of the Jews, which did not take into account the fact that it was the affairs of this world rather than the hopes of the next which motivated the Protector's utterances; yet, recognizing this, there were few, if any, of those diplomats who did

to the discussion of the true issues. To them Cromwell's policy seemed clear, however concealed by verbiage or by silence. It was to keep peace with and among Sweden, Holland and Brandenburg while pursuing his own quarrel with Spain, to keep peace with France in that same cause, to use the Protestant Interest in all of these designs as the cover or adjunct to those designs of trade, colonies and influence in European affairs. There is not a despatch from any envoy which does not recognize this situation, and the continual insistence on the Protestant Interest served only to confuse, not to conceal his true purposes. However great his interest in Protestantism was, however strong his desire for toleration, neither turned him a hair's breadth from his real aim—the profit and the glory of his country, and his own dominance of its destinies.

These proceedings were accompanied by a protest to Louis XIV and a letter to Venice which posed a new problem. From it and from a despatch from Sagredo in regard to a vessel

that the vessel in  
the service aga

"merchant shareholder, got no satisfaction from the Venetian ambassador, who told him that his ship "had been taken in fair fight," that his claim would not be allowed, and that "the Protector would

<sup>148</sup> Carlbom, pp. 48-49, 51-52.

never commend an action which discredits the whole English nation and is obnoxious to the name of Christian," concluding that "they would punish him in an exemplary manner for the honour of his arms and because of the numerous assurances given me by his Highness that he would forbid the ships of this nation, under the severest penalties, to take so dishonourable a service."<sup>140</sup> None the less, the Protector sent his protest to the Venetian authorities and, it appears, with such success that on June 26/July 6 they replied that the magistracy of the fleet had been instructed to deliver the vessel to its owners.<sup>150</sup> That the matter was of more than ordinary importance is evidenced by an earlier letter from Sagredo to the effect that "millions are involved in the various Turkish markets," and that the English merchants noted "the losses suffered by the interruption of trade and the sequestration by the Catholic"—so that as between Catholic and Mohammedan the Protector was apparently often hard put to it to decide. Only on one thing he was firm—English trade must be protected from both—terms as possible with both, always, of course, excepting the Spaniards, irrespective of religious considerations.<sup>151</sup>

*To the most Serene Prince, Lewis, King of France*

MOST SERENE KING,

Certain of our merchants, by name Samuel Mico, William Cockain, George Poyner, and several others, in a petition to us have

laden with silk, oil, and other merchandise, amounting to above thirty-four thousand of our pounds, was taken by the admiral and viceadmiral of your majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean sea. Now it appears to us, that our people who were then in the ship, by reason there was at that time a peace between the French and us, that never had been violated in the least, were not willing to make any defence against your majesty's royal ships, and therefore, overruled besides by the fair promises of the captains Paul and Teriery, who faithfully engaged to dismiss our people, they paid their obedience to the maritime laws, and produced their bills of lading. Moreover, we find that the merchants aforesaid sent their agent into France, to demand restitution of the said ship and goods. and then it was, that after above three years slipped away, when the suit was brought so far, that sentence of restitution or condemnation was to have been given, that his eminency cardinal Mazarine acknowledged to their factor, Hugh Morel, the wrong that had been done the merchants, and undertook that satisfaction should be given, so soon as the league between the two nations, which was then under negotiation, should be ratified and confirmed. Nay, since that, his excellency M de

<sup>140</sup> *Cal S P Ven* (1655-6), pp. 162-63

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid*, p. 237

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, p. 152



beseech the Almighty God to continue his prosperous blessings upon your noble designs, and the Venetian republic.

Your Serenity's and the Venetian Republic's most Affectionate,

OLIVER, P 18

Westminster,

December [167], 1655

Cromwell's dominance was now about to be tested as it had seldom been since he became Protector. On Friday, December 18, was held the fourth, and, as it happened, the last of the conferences on the readmission or "resettlement" of the Jews. Upon that the Protector had set his heart, and for its accomplishment he had made every preparation possible. He had first appointed a committee of the Council. When its report was adverse, or at least non-committal, he had called a conference, recruited by his adherents in the City, in the Universities, and in the ministry generally. When that conference seemed likely to decide against him, he had further, we will not say "packed," but at least, recruited, three others, his old chaplain and

Provost of Eton, Bulkeley, all of whom there was reason to believe would support him.<sup>164</sup> Finally, in addition to expressing his opinions in the earlier meetings, he took the unprecedented course of throwing open to the public the Council chamber in which this meeting was held. That, as it turned out, was a mistake in tactics, for the chamber was thronged by those opposed to the admission of the Jews, inspired in part at least by Prynne's pamphlet whose publication was said to have been hurried to be in time for the conference,<sup>165</sup> though it is more probable that it was merely the product, as it became part of the inspiration, of the general dislike of the proposal.

The meeting, in fact, became a demonstration against resettlement. Man after man rose to oppose readmission, even Sir Christopher Packe, one of the most eminent citizens of London and a strong supporter of the Protector, delivering himself of what was reported as the following speech: "I have been told the story in later years,

When they were all met, he [Cromwell] ordered the Jews to speak for themselves. After that he turned to the clergy, who inveighed much against the Jews, as a cruel and cursed people. Cromwell in his answer to the clergy called them "Men of God;" and desired to be informed by them whether it was not their opinion, that the Jews were one day to be called into the church?

<sup>164</sup> Roth, *Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 241.  
<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.



He then desired to know, whether it was not every Christian man's duty to forward that good end all he could? Then he flourished a good deal on the religion prevailing in this nation, the only place in the world where religion was taught in its full purity. was it not then our duty, in particular, to encourage them to settle here, where alone they could not to exclude them from the sight, and leave them among idolaters? This silenced the clergy. He then turned to the merchants, who spoke much of their falseness and meanness, and that they would get their trade from them. "Tis true," says Cromwell, "but they are a poor people."—He then fell into abuse of the Jews, saying everything that was contemptible and low of them. "Can you really be afraid," said he, "that this mean despised people should be able to prevail in trade and credit over the merchants of England, the noblest and most esteemed merchants of the whole world?"—Thus he went on till he had silenced them too; and so was at liberty to grant what he desired to the Jews.<sup>146</sup>

Such is the principal account of this meeting by one who was, or professed to have been, present, told in later years and coming to us from the pen of a Jew.

But he had hoped the preachers would have given him some clear and decisive answer. But they had only multiplied his doubts, his protestations into no engagements with the Jews; and his conclusion that no help was to be expected from the conference, so that the Council must take its own course.<sup>147</sup> Years later there was published another account of the meeting and the Protector's speeches which was apparently derived from other sources but beats out the earlier reports. According to it, when the proposals were read, the Protector said

that if more were proposed then was meet to be granted, it might now be considered, 1. Whether it were lawful at all to receive the Jews. 2. If it be lawful, then upon what Terms it was fit to admit them.<sup>148</sup>

According to this account, Nye and Goodwin,

"were of the opinion that due-cautions warranted by Holy Scripture, being observed, it was a Duty to yield to their request," while Caryl said that "though the Jews were now under hardness of heart, and worthy of punishment, yet we had need beware not to occasion them further hardning."<sup>149</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Spence's *Anecdotes* (1858), pp. 58-59. He gives as his authority Francis Locker, *Diary of Dr. Lock*, etc.

<sup>147</sup> *Massachusetts Historical Society Papers*, vol. 1, p. 100. See also *Massachusetts ben Israel's Mission*, Introductory, p. liii. See also

<sup>148</sup> "The Proceedings of the Council of State, 1655," in Robert Burton [Nath. C.], *The Proceedings of the Council of State, 1655*, p. 76.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

But the merchants, as the account goes on to say, "vehemently insisted upon it, that such an admission of the Jews would enrich Foreigners, and impoverish the natives of the Land." To this, in turn, the Protector replied that,

he had no ingagement to the Jews but what the Scriptures held forth; and that since there was a Promise of their Conversion, means must be used to that end, which was the preaching of the Gospel, and that could not be had unless they were permitted to reside where the Gospel was preached. That he had hoped by these Preachers to have had some clearing of the Case, as to matter of Conscience, but seeing these agreed not, but were of different opinions, it was left more doubtful to him and the Council than before; And he hoped he should do nothing here hastily or rashly, and had much need of all their Prayers that the Lord would direct them so as might be for his Glory, and the Good of the Nation.<sup>100</sup>

It seems clear from these various accounts what happened in the conference, though what went on before and after still remains something of a mystery. Rycaut testified that he had never heard a man speak so well in his life, but, according to the account of his story, he also added that Cromwell was left "at liberty to grant what he desired to the Jews," which seems to have been true, but only in a limited sense. There can be no doubt but that the Protector was greatly disappointed. Men whom he seems to have relied on to support him, men who, like Jessey and Peter, had actually written in favor of the Jews, turned against the proposal when it was put into concrete form. Jessey, indeed, offered a compromise to the effect that the Jews might be admitted to decayed towns and ports on condition of paying increased customs duties, but that was far from being what the Protector—much less the Jews—desired; and it has been suggested that it was to prevent any such action being taken that he made this "fighting speech," which achieved its purpose.<sup>101</sup> That seems from a dispassionate point of view to go beyond the evidence. The Protector had suffered a severe defeat, and a week later Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell "I doe assure you, that his highnes is put to exercise every day with the peevishness and wrath of some persons heere."<sup>102</sup> With all of his authority he did not dare push the matter further in the face of the opposition of City, country and clergy.

But he did not let the matter drop. He had still in reserve the re-

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76. It is perhaps noteworthy that the official *Public Intelligencer* apparently counts, that ( ) that desired only to obtain satisfaction in a matter of so high and religious a concern-

<sup>101</sup> Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission*, p. lxx.

<sup>102</sup> Dec. 25, Thurloe, IV, 343.

port of the committee of the Council. That report, which seems to have been made shortly after the conference, more or less followed the lines laid down by the opposition. It began with a preliminary statement that the grounds on which the Jews appealed for readmission were such that it would be "very sinfull" to accept them; that the danger of "seducing the people . . . in matters of religion" was "very great"; that "their havinge of synagogues . . . is not only evill in itselfe, but likewise very scandalous to other Christian churches"; that their marriage and divorce customs were unlawful and would be evil examples, that their "principles of not makinge conscience of oathes and injurys done to Christians . . . have bin very notoriously charged upon them by valuable testimony"; and finally that "great prejudice . . . in matter of trade . . . besides other dangers" were suggested by the City representatives. With one eye on the Protector and the other on the conclusions of the conference, the committee recommended, therefore, not that the Jews be either admitted or excluded, but that "they be not admitted to have any publicke . . . which were to grant them terms beyond the . . . dangers", that they be not permitted "to . . . to the defamation or dishonour" of Christ or work on the Sabbath, have Christian servants, because "the office of a Christian is to be a Christian", and "the severe penalty be imposed upon them who shall apostatize from Christianity to Judaisme".<sup>163</sup>

The . . . to the Council . . . was to many . . . trading privileges—and that, confining itself almost entirely to the theological aspects of the matter, it made no recommendations for or against denization. It seems to have been assumed that this was, in effect, to be at the discretion of the Protector, that, as in the case of their expulsion by the crown, they could, or might, be readmitted by the head of the government. In any event that had been the fact in individual cases, as the letters of denization for some of the leading members of the little Jewish settlement in London in the preceding year testified; and that was what, in effect, happened. What did not appear then, nor at any time in the discussion, was the circumstance that most, if not all, the members of that little Jewish community in London were so-called Sephardim from Spain and Portugal, for the most part men of family, substance and ability, some of them "new Christians" who had been forced to accept a form of conversion in

<sup>163</sup> Printed in Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission*, pp. lxxiv-lxxv, from *S. P. Dom. Interreg.*, c, 118.

those countries, but who, like many of their kind, had sought refuge outside of the Kingdom. But in the years immediately preceding, the Cossack hordes under their leader Chierlmnicki had harried southern Russia and Poland and had driven from their homes thousands of other Jews, so-called Ashkenazim, who threatened to overwhelm the rest of Europe with their poverty-stricken masses, as they had already invaded Germany. Whether or not this was known to the Protector, it was recognized by some of his opponents, especially in London, who had no mind to suffer such a great invasion. In the end, therefore, each party to the dispute, in a sense, had its way. The Protector and Council retained their right of denization, the City and the country were spared the great influx of Jews which free readmission might have brought—and Cromwell took his place among the great heroes of the Jewish people, which he still retains.<sup>164</sup>

These events were accompanied by more reports of discontent, disturbances and plots against Cromwell's life. There were obvious and natural discrepancies in the policy of the major-generals. Walley permitted the Earl of Exeter to run his horses in the cup-races at Lincoln on the ground that the Protector's declaration against horse-races was not "to abridge gentlemen of that sort, but to prevent the great confluence of irreconcilable enemies." This same sport in Cheshire.<sup>165</sup> Kelsey, like some of his colleagues, recommended lowering the limit of exemption from taxation, on the ground that some of the most dangerous and desperate people escaped unpunished under the current rate.<sup>166</sup> Steps were still being taken to prevent the Protector's assassination. The major-generals had been instructed to demand security from all who had been in arms for the King.<sup>167</sup> Sagredo reported that spies were everywhere, and that Cromwell's signature was required before any one was allowed to leave for any foreign country, thus causing long delays<sup>168</sup>—and accounting, perhaps, for the small number of passes found in this period.<sup>169</sup> And at this moment five men were noted as in custody for

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<sup>164</sup> Worsley to Thurloe, Dec. 3, 14, *ibid.*, pp. 277-78, 315.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293; see also Robt. Lilburne to Cromwell, Dec. 14, *ibid.*, p. 321, others, *ibid.*, *passim*, pp. 272-363.

<sup>166</sup> Whitelocke, p. 631.

<sup>167</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1655-6), p. 158.

<sup>168</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), p. 576.

a plot against the Protector's life;<sup>171</sup> while Monk wrote that his intelligencers had uncovered a design between Middleton and Borthwick.<sup>172</sup>

These were not the only disturbing circumstances for the Protector at this moment. His daughter, Lady Claypole, was dangerously ill and "the Protector wrote to Henry" and, he added, he "never saw two parents so affected (or more)!"<sup>173</sup> And, again, this was not the only unpleasant news which Henry received. It seems that the Protector had written to Colonel Hewson, the Anabaptist commander in Ireland, a letter of compliment which "was used not only to strengthen his own position among the officers but to discredit Henry Cromwell, who was hurt and angry over it, and so wrote to Thurloe."

If coll. Hewson must be believed (with his three anabaptist sons) I must be made a liar, if not worse: . Coll. Hewson hath made his highness letter to himself so publique, that not only some doe take advantage thereof to discourage such as are sober, but also some of the cheif officers of the army . . . the only person of his highness confidence,

In addition to this the Protector fell out with Desborough, to whom he had written to recommend clemency for Lord Seymour, "a Cavalier who now professes loyalty to the present government, unless there is proof to the contrary." To this Desborough objected vigorously on the ground that Seymour was no more innocent than many other Cavaliers in the west and if favor were shown him, unless he made public profession of his engagement to the Protectorate, there would be charges of partiality.<sup>175</sup> This favor to Seymour was evidently a part of Cromwell's policy of endeavoring to conciliate the old Royalists, of which his reference to the Council of a petition of Edward Russell, brother of the Earl of Bedford, for exemption from decimation was another instance.<sup>176</sup> In that Russell seems to have been more fortunate than Seymour, for Barkstead was presently ordered to discharge his person and estate.<sup>177</sup>

It is apparent from these various pieces of correspondence that in

<sup>171</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 61.

<sup>172</sup> Monk to Cromwell, Dec. 15, Thurloe, IV, 318. See Futh, *Scotland and the Protec-*

wood to Henry Cromwell, Dec. 11, *ibid.*, 821, f. 226.

<sup>173</sup> Thurloe, IV, 327-28.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.

<sup>175</sup> *S. P. Dom*, A228, no. 29.

<sup>176</sup> *Cal. Comm. for Comp.*, p. 846, Barkstead to [Thurloe], Jan. 23, Thurloe, IV, 445.

the midst of his extraordinary activity in connection with foreign affairs; his conferences over the readmission of the Jews; and his own ill-health with that of his family, he had much to endure from his own subordinates. Hewson had written a fulsome letter of thanks<sup>178</sup> for what he evidently interpreted as the Protector's endorsement of his course, and while he did not attack Henry Cromwell openly, he reflected greatly on him by complaining of the petitions in Henry's favor, and pleaded for the return of Fleetwood. His letter was signed also by Colonels Pretty and Lawrence, and indicated, what had long been evident from other sources, that there was a sharp division of opinion among the officers of the army in Ireland, the "sober" or moderate party and the extreme Independents or "fanatics." The position of any ruler is difficult enough, but that of one who has neither legitimate claim to his office nor popular support is perhaps the most difficult which any man has to face, and, with all his success in the field of foreign affairs, this period which is sometimes called the height of the Protectorate was certainly one of the hardest in Cromwell's life. It was not only a period of constant readjustment, but possible without some readjustments or possibly even a complete alteration in his position.

Yet he was compelled to go on with what authority and administrative mechanism he had; and the fact that, sick as he was and with all these minor irritations pressing on him, he attended four of the five Council meetings of the week of December 17,<sup>179</sup> besides the conference on the Jews on the 18th, seems to indicate his concern with the situation. On the other hand, save for the conference on the Jews and the report that the list of sheriffs was again up for revision,<sup>180</sup> there appeared to be nothing beyond the ordinary administrative details considered. On the 19th he signed an order to the Admiralty Committee to assign trees in Somersham Park in return for timber taken from Clare College, Cambridge, for the use of the state between 1642 and 1654.<sup>181</sup> He issued a patent for Wm. Cutler and George Blake, of London, to be surveyors of the customs and excise officers in England and Wales,<sup>182</sup> on the 21st he directed an order to the commissioners for compounding, on the 23rd a warrant for the imprisonment of

<sup>178</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 17-24.

<sup>180</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 17-24.

<sup>181</sup> Petition in 1653 from Clare Hall in J. R. Wardale, *Clare College Letters and Docs.*

der to pay Hickman £350 (between Aug., 1654, and Jan., 1654/5), *ibid.*, pp. 17-19. The timber seems originally to have been used for fortifying the Castle, during the civil wars.

<sup>182</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 64, cp. *ibid.*, pp. 41-42, for Council advice, Nov. 30.

Colonel Bishop;<sup>183</sup> and during the week he sent another letter to Hewson:

[*To the Commissioners for Compounding*]

GENTLEMEN:

Mr Nicholas Steward of Hartly Mawditt, having made application to us for a discharge of his fine, we have referred to you to do therein upon a due examination according as you shall find the state of his case to be. We remain,

Your friend,  
OLIVER PIM

Whitehall the 21st  
December 1655

*To Colonel Hewson*

[substance only]

Remarks on Hewson's affection for Fleetwood. Has heard of the petitions being circulated to have Fleetwood's position as Lord Deputy filled by Henry Cromwell. Hopes that Henry Cromwell had nothing to do with the petition. With commands to do what he can to smooth out the differences in the Army in Ireland, and to show his letter to Henry Cromwell.<sup>184</sup>  
c Dec. 23, 1655

The month of December, 1655, was full of letters and reports from the major-generals, and it is apparent from them that their lot was not a happy one. In reply to the reference to him of the Colchester situation, Haynes wrote to suggest a new charter for the borough, as it would get out of hand without his presence.<sup>185</sup> Berry, faced with the problem of a new governor for Beaumaris, and other posts in North Wales, wrote to Cromwell to fill the gap.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 344. See Thurlow, iv, 101, 344-45.

<sup>184</sup> Endorsec. by the Council of State. H & acquainted him with my com-  
mission.

Mr Steward all the assistance and favour he can in the business, and that his father had written only in general terms to the Council. He should not be a president for others to try. He declared himself to my Ld that he intended Mr Steward a favour in it and hoped that the Comrs would so look upon it or to this effect. Original in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, shelf 190f. Copied by J V Kirtu, Esq. Cromwell and Steward were distantly related. C's mother and Steward had common great-great-grandparents. Steward was a Royalist, created a baronet after the Restoration.

<sup>185</sup> Reply, Jan. 16, in Thurlow, iv, 422. The letter was apparently delivered by Sankey to Cromwell in 5 (*ibid.*, pp 343, 408).

<sup>186</sup> Ha. 330.

<sup>187</sup> Berry to Cromwell, Dec. 21, 1655, *ibid.*, pp 334-35.

Desborough not only warned the Protector not to extend any leniency to Seymour for fear of seeming partial but added that the commissioners for the county had taxed eight more men of Cavalier leanings and intended to bring others up for inquiry.<sup>188</sup> The Leicestershire delinquents were reported as intending to petition the Protector for exemption from the new tax levies, but the commissioners warned the Protector that they should all be taxed.<sup>189</sup> On the other hand, Butler was to be instructed to release some Quakers he had imprisoned, "according to a letter this day read."<sup>190</sup> From Tewkesbury the justices and bailiffs reported seditious pamphlets sent to the minister, one John Wells,<sup>191</sup> and it is evident that, though the new system was successful in keeping down overt acts of rebellion, it was rousing deep and bitter discontent everywhere, as the major-generals, the "decimators" and "sequestrators" went about their work of levying on the estates of those suspected of Royalist leanings. Besides these and various lesser matters, such as grants to Kellie and Grandison of £50 each, in addition to like grants in August preceding, to enable them

The Christmas season made no difference in the conduct of business. There is no mention of Christmas in the Newsbooks; the Council met even more frequently than usual during that week, though there was apparently little more than routine business transacted.<sup>194</sup> Additional instructions were formulated for the major-generals and the county commissioners, directing them to collect the money raised by act of Parliament and still in official hands,<sup>196</sup> and the confusion and discontent over this levy is indicated by the inquiries which poured in from the major-generals as to its administration.<sup>198</sup> For the rest, instructions were issued to Thomas Dunn, whom Cromwell had appointed Registrar to the City of London.<sup>197</sup> The Council considered a petition from the "Promoters and Inventors of Framework knit-

<sup>188</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 324-25.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>190</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 324-25.

<sup>191</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 17-18, 1655.

<sup>192</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 63-64.

<sup>193</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 63-64.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. On Fri. after-  
noons, Cromwell being present only on Thurs. and Fri. It considered petitions for  
the Committee on

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70, quoted in Thurloe, iv, 344.

<sup>197</sup> Cp *ibid.*, pp. 340-41, 354, 360.

<sup>198</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 75.



ting" directed to the Protector and referred by him to the Council.<sup>198</sup>

Of orders issued by the Protector one recommended to the Council in Scotland consideration of the business of the Council and Leith, to hear both sides and "settle the business in a manner agreeable to justice and safety."<sup>199</sup> The other was for payment of Sir Charles Wolseley as a member of Council.

*To William Jessop Esq. one of the Clerks of Our Council*

OLIVER P.

Whereas by Our Letters of Privy Seal bearing date the 20th day of Decemb: Instant, We have ordered Our Commissioners of the Treasury, to pay unto your hands sixteen thousand pounds by the year, to be by you issued in such sort as We shall by Our warrants direct. These are to will and require you out of such moneys as you shall receive for the first and second quarter of this instant year to satisfy and pay to Sir Charles Wolseley the sum of sixteen thousand pounds being for his half year's allowance ended the 25th of this instant December in consideration of his continual attendance upon the service of this Commonwealth, as one of Our Council. Hereof you are not to fail, and this shall be your warrant Given at Whitehall this 28th day of December 1655<sup>200</sup>

It is certain that Cromwell, a certain Mr. Brewster, and others, were sent to his Highness without any commission, and with him at large," and, as Thurloe wrote Henry, "I verily thinke, he hath done right both to persons and thinges in his relation as an honest man,"<sup>201</sup> incidentally, no doubt, counter-acting whatever ill effects Hewson's communications may have had. In addition to these activities, Whitelocke and the *Public Intelligencer*, from which he doubtless drew his information, reported that Sagredo had an audience with the Protector on Friday, though the Venetian ambassador seems to have left no record of it.<sup>202</sup> But Nieupoort, speaking with Thurloe on December 27, was told that an audience with the Venetian ambassador had been scheduled for that morning and that he would ask whether the afternoon would be convenient. But, as Nieupoort went on to say,

As the ambassador of Venice did not have his audience until this afternoon [Friday], mine has been postponed. This afternoon I understood from

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78; petition pt. Jan. 9, 1655 6

<sup>199</sup> Mentioned in rept. of Council, July 31, 1656, in *Extracts from Edinburgh Records*, 1655-65, p. 409

<sup>200</sup> Original, with Warrant, in R. B. Alan Collection, deposited in the Bodleian

<sup>201</sup> Thurloe to Cromwell, Jan. 1, 1655 6, Thurloe, iv, 373, see also *ibid.*, pp. 327, 348

<sup>202</sup> Whitelocke, p. 631, *Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 24 31, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655 6), pp. 162-63

Mr Schlezer, the envoy of the Elector of Brandenburg, that he had been advised to withdraw from the Protector's correspondence, but I think he should not withdraw from the offer made by 203113, y sensitive concerning the point

Just what was meant by Nieupoort's cryptic observation was known only to him and his correspondent, de Witt, but this is a fair example of the situation of the Protector and the foreign envoys at this moment. They seem to have been friendlier with each other than with him, and—save when their countries were engaged on opposite sides—seem to have been, probably like all diplomatic agents at all times, engaged in a perhaps unconscious and for the most part harmless conspiracy against the power to which they were bound. They were, at any rate, bound together in a kind of understanding, which made it the more difficult to deal with them, especially for men like Cromwell and his advisers, who, as these representatives of Continental powers hunted more than once, were ignorant of European affairs.

It is evident, then, from what little, scattered information we have of the Protector's activities that it is, at best, incomplete and often inconclusive. It is no less evident that a great part of his time, even when he had not entirely recovered from his illness, was spent in interviewing persons of all sorts, sometimes of much importance, sometimes, it would seem, unworthy of his time and attention

Nor were the Royalist exiles wanting in their gossip and speculations as to the Protectoral plans and activities. It was reported that one of Cromwell's spies, Edward Stephens, had gone from France to Dunkirk early in December;<sup>204</sup> and—whether or not in this connection—Sir Henry Langdale wondered what the flat-bottomed boats and not for a piece of gossip that Cromwell had said to Schlezer that "he wondered that princes took so much paines to reign as the King of Sweden did."<sup>206</sup> One of Nicholas' correspondents wrote from London that the Protector's chief counsellors were St. John, Thurloe, Lawrence and Fiennes, and sometimes "one of the Pierreponts—a Parliamentary man with crooked shoulders—is admitted when advice is wanting."<sup>207</sup>

<sup>203</sup> 166-67.

<sup>204</sup> iii, 81, no 221

<sup>205</sup>

<sup>206</sup>

<sup>207</sup>

*S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 79-80.

Thus ended the year 1655 for the little group which controlled the destinies of the British Isles. Surrounded by a people largely hostile to them, holding that people down by its system of major-generals and its army; collecting a great part of its revenue from its enemies by forced levies; at war with Spain, that group with the Protector at its head had not only managed to survive, to suppress insurrection, and to terrorize its domestic foes, but it had signed treaties with Holland and with France; it had spread the fear of England into the Mediterranean and seized an island from the Spanish empire. It had met European states and rulers on equal terms; its aid was sought by them, it was on the way to a treaty with Sweden; and its influence extended as far as Russia and Turkey. With all of its lack of support from its own people, with all of its financial insecurity, it had not only managed to maintain itself at home but had become a force to be reckoned with abroad. It had answered the question as to what would be the effect of the new form of government on the European system. It had played the part of the great Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus, whom he evidently so greatly admired, in a sense he took the place of that Protestant hero. If he did little actively and openly to protect that communion, he remained an ever-present threat to its enemies, and indirectly, if not directly, he remained its chief refuge and its strength. His apparent successes in the foreign field did much to obscure the relative failure of his administration at home. That administration rested on a military despotism such as England had never seen, and never saw again. It was hated by those on whom it pressed so heavily, and men of all parties, even many of the Independents themselves, longed for its downfall. It cost the country blood and treasure, it lived on the plunder of its opponents and it hovered continually on the border of bankruptcy. But, in the words of his panegyrist, "he made England great and its enemies tremble." He brought England again into a position among European powers and interests from which she had been absent since the time of Elizabeth.

It was not long after this that a petition was presented to the Council of State, signed by As Powell, a Welshman, and for God

which, it was reported, circulated widely not only in Wales but in London itself, its signers accused the Protector not only of having deserted the true religion, but of raising taxes illegally, even in defiance of the *Instrument of Government*, of exalting his sons, his favorites and his servants; and of maintaining his soldiers in luxury while the poor were in want. The petition also charged that taxation and money was wasted in his design or in any other direction came appeals from his

to those having £50 a year, not only for food but for political reasons. From every direction came demands for money and still more

money to make up a deficit reckoned at nearly a half a million pounds a year with no prospect of diminution despite the utmost efforts of the government to economize. From men like Day and Simpson came denunciations of the Protector as a "great thief, tyrant and usurper." Those were the natural, even inevitable, concomitants of a dictatorship. They were the cost of power, and they were certain to increase rather than diminish as that power was extended beyond the confines of the British Isles, for they were, too, the cost of that foreign policy which did so much to conceal the defects of domestic administration. And, finally, there were already the beginnings of a new set of demands for a Parli-

semblance of legality to Cromwell's authority by some new title, whether of King or Imperator; and it was on these notes that the year 1655 ended—increasing authority in the councils of Europe, increasing discontent at home. Cromwell had now, in a sense, reached the height of his career; it remained to be seen whether he would be able to maintain his position or whether, consciously or unconsciously, he would decline from the eminence he had attained. There was little danger that he would be overthrown; there was much danger that with impending bankruptcy and increasing discontent he might be undermined. It would need more and more triumphs abroad to counterbalance the difficulties of his situation at home. It would need, indeed, even more than a new title to secure his authority; and to these problems the Protector would be forced to address himself.

## CHAPTER II

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE MAJOR GENERALS

JANUARY-MARCH, 1656

The first week of the year 1656 differed but little from that which had gone before in its ordinary routine of administration, nor was there, or likely to be, any great or significant alterations in that routine while Cromwell lived. None the less those details had some importance for the general policy and the position in which the government found itself. Of these the appointment of Colonel Edward Montagu as *Comptroller-General of the Customs*,<sup>1</sup> William Penn;<sup>2</sup> the addition of Alderman John Ireton, Wm. Thurloe and Godfrey Bosville to the Committee for Trade, and the increase of the committee for collections for Piedmont by some twenty members,<sup>3</sup> held certain implications as to the necessity for some changes in administration, more or less confirmed by reference to the Committee for Trade of means by which the statute of 43 Elizabeth for the advancement of trade and relief of the poor might be executed.<sup>4</sup> For this was the first and most famous Poor Law which established the three principles of a land tax to be administered by local officials to provide work for able-bodied poor, relief for the incapable, and houses of correction for vagabonds or "sturdy beggars," all of which had greatly increased by the troubles of the preceding years and now demanded some attention. The replacement of Penn by Montagu revealed what had long been suspected, that Penn was not trusted by the Protector, and Montagu's appointment not only provided the government with a capable commander—though one of Presbyterian leanings—but strengthened its position in a political as well as a military sense. And, to some extent at least, even the matter of the collections for the Piedmontese was not unconnected with the financial situation, for its proceeds were, in fact, chiefly held in the hands of the government and loaned<sup>5</sup> or doled out to its distressed subjects.

whom they were originally entrusted.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), p. 92

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100

<sup>3</sup> Thurloe, iv, 376

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, iv, 186-87

<sup>5</sup> *C. J.*, viii, 148 (£8000 had been loaned to Martin Noel and Ald. Nath. Temms)

The fact that the Protector attended but one or two of the Council meetings of this week<sup>6</sup> seems to indicate either his continued indisposition or the relative unimportance of the business transacted— or both. Much of that business was, in fact, postponed until the week following. Meanwhile the reports of the major-generals poured in, assuring the Protector of their concern to follow his instructions but evidencing that they were completely at sea as to the levying of the decimation tax.<sup>7</sup> It appears also from Desborough's reply that two men out of each troop were required for the Protector's new guard;

*To Major General Disbrowe*

[substance only]

He had expected that some time ago two out of each troop of Disbrowe's regiment would have been sent to complete the Protector's new guard.<sup>8</sup> [Jan 3]

Amid such affairs it is curious to note that though the Protectoral government chose to deliberately avoid the celebration of Christmas, it took pains to take note of the New Year. As Bernaïdi reported, "I was much honoured by his Highness, because, besides the drummers and trumpeters who came to play to me as to all the Public Ministers, he sent me a couple of very fine deer, elegantly adorned, as a gift, six of which he sent to the ambassador of Sweden"<sup>9</sup> So it appears that, at least in the Protector's eyes, Christmas was not to be opposed, he clung to the less controversial holiday of the New Year.

Other business of the first days of the new year was of more interest, if not of more importance. On Monday, December 31, Bonde had appeared to announce the birth of a new Swedish prince,<sup>10</sup> and on the next day, January 1, Nieupoort had an audience, the substance of which he reported promptly to de Witt. Summoned by Thurloe's message, the Dutch envoy was brought to his audience about four o'clock by the Master of Ceremonies, and the officers and attendants

<sup>6</sup> On Friday (*Cal S P Dom.*, 1655-6, p. xxviii) Various petitions considered, the foundation of the hospital and the leases and estates extant, and would then be John the

<sup>7</sup> Thurloe, iv, 363, 379-486 *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> It seems from Desborough's letter of Jan. 5 that this was the first he had heard of

*Cromwell* (N. Y., 1930), p. 257.

<sup>10</sup> Nieupoort to de Witt, Jan 4/14, *in* *ibid.*, iv, 389.



From the enclosed you will perceive that I neglect no opportunity of

another hour and a half with him. Among other things he declared on my reply that he wanted to be outspoken and that he confessed that by the in-

Stadthouder of Friesland was trying again to make the interest of the Prince of Orange prevail), they had been cooled down. I did my best to make him believe that the Elector of Brandenburg will always take care of his own interests first, before those of anyone else, and now that matters are apparently standing so that he [the Elector] has pooled his interests with those

to the same side, and to let all other connections go. This is nothing new, but since the differences about the succession of the houses of Cleve and Julich have arisen, the Duke of Neuburg has sought the support of Spain and

House of Orange] are on the watch to guard government and liberty. The Lord Protector said that he had confidence in them and assured me of his open and faithful affection and said that it would be desirable that the affairs were not brought so much into the open in our country, and that he had already spoken seriously with Bonde and Coyet about the affairs of the King of Poland and Prussia, that he would negotiate further with them and that all

ther what was being done in Denmark, to which I replied that I believed they were preparing three or four men-of-war and were putting in order their militia, but that I hoped to have further and more accurate information as soon as the embassy of their High Mightinesses arrived there [in Denmark] Yesterday Fleming said that Bonde also had a long private audience the day after mine. I spoke also in my last audience about the secret article with France, but apparently the Lord Protector was so enthusiastic about the other work that he did not answer about this.<sup>12</sup>

from the Protector, Nieupoort approached Thurlow, who assured him that all they wanted was a list of those who would have to leave France, which he would provide shortly. He said further that his Highness thought there should be closer accord with the United Netherlands and was unable to understand why Count William [of Orange] had been made Field Marshal since he was "the chief inciter of war against this state . . . had op-

<sup>12</sup> Nieupoort to de Witt, Jan 4/14, De Witt, *Brieven*, III, 170-72



posed the peace . . . and maintained continuous correspondence with their enemies . . . and that this weakened . . . the value of the Act of Exclusion."<sup>12</sup>

In connection with this, on January 2 the Protector granted an audience to Bonde and Coyet in which the former reported he had demanded more definite assurances as to the question of alliance against the Catholics, and the Protector had "expressed himself somewhat about the difficulties of the Protestant," his concern about Holland, and what position the allies should take in this regard as well as to the defence of the Baltic. He was, he intimated, concerned over Holland, "that, if irritated, they might ally themselves with Spain to avoid any risk to their trade."<sup>13</sup> Schlezer's version of these events was that the Swedish and Dutch ambassadors were working "intensely" against each other; and that the Swedes had blamed the Dutch for the difficulties between Brandenburg and Sweden. None the less, he added, he had received no more attention than before. The commissioners which the Protector had promised him had not been named, though the affairs of Brandenburg had come up for discussion in the Council. Apparently things had been made more difficult for him because the Protector suspected something on foot between the Elector and Charles Stuart; but at any rate Schlezer had been advised to have a private audience.<sup>14</sup> All in all, among the various conversations it is possible to perceive the situation in which the Protector found himself at this moment, and in some degree to gauge his policy. It had, indeed, not varied much. It was to keep peace, if possible, among the three Protestant powers, Holland, Sweden and Brandenburg, to keep the Baltic open to trade, and more remotely, to strike a blow against the Catholic powers, especially the house of Hapsburg. It is equally evident that, save, perhaps, as an ideal, he did not propose to emulate the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus on the Continent, but to use what power he had against Spain and as a check upon possible hostilities among the Protestant powers.

These conversations and activities were accompanied by another of those annoying incidents common to a government whose energies are engaged in distant and dangerous enterprises, this time the capture of a vessel, the *Concord*, whose owner, one Jones, or, as the Venetians preferred to spell it, "Giones"—had apparently died. According to an account of its officers and men, the *Concord* had been ordered by Venice to carry men and supplies to Candia, then besieged by the Turks, had been seized by a Venetian captain and his followers, who killed the master—presumably Jones—and forced the others to carry

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172

<sup>13</sup> Carlbon, p. 53

<sup>14</sup> Schlezer, *op. cit.*, n. 4/14, Mendenhall trans., Schlezer to Walpole, Jan. 2, 1653, p. 732



he would speak with him as soon as the dressing was completed . . . Pointing to the head John Denton said: "If this core were once out, I should be soon . . . I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core in the heart, which must be taken out or else it will not be well." "Ah," replied the Protector, "so there is indeed." And, though he affected to be unconcerned, . . . When the Pricate introduced the subject . . . that having more maturely considered the subject, he had been advised by his council not to grant any indulgence to men who were restless and implacable enemies to his person and government; and then dismissed him with professions of civility and kindness.<sup>18</sup>

And, as the story goes on to say, "The Pricate of Ireland, after interceding with Cromwell . . . without success, retired to the country, using this expression to Dr. Gauden, 'that he saw some men who had only guts and no bowels,' *intestina non tria*,"<sup>19</sup> which, on the whole, seems to be the best of all jests of the Cromwellian period, whether expressed in English or Latin.

In this second week of January, 1656, the four meetings of the Council—not all of which were attended by the Protector<sup>20</sup>—were concerned chiefly with the business of the major generals, while the Protector himself was busy with foreign affairs. Berry was confirmed as major-general for South Wales and Monmouthshire, with Colonel Rowland Dawkins and Lt-colonel John Nicholas as deputies.<sup>21</sup> Desborough's instructions to his deputies were approved, and, with additional articles, ordered sent to the other major generals.<sup>22</sup> But from various quarters came complaints of Royalists still in office. The commissioners for Yorkshire reported that the most populous and prosperous place in that county was governed by delinquents, to the detriment of "honest" men.<sup>23</sup> Desborough wrote that he had asked several aldermen of Bristol to resign and had dismissed nine

<sup>18</sup> *Col. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. xxviii.

<sup>19</sup> Part's account almost

<sup>20</sup> The dates of the proclamation and of Gauden's protest are much confused. Thomason (ii, 101) dates the declaration Jan. 1, 1655 and the presentation of Gauden's petition as of Feb. 4, 1655. Wood (*Athenae Oxon.*, ii, 238) dates the declaration Jan. 1, since, according to Walker (*Sufferings*, i, 194) that part of it concerning the clergy was to take effect then. Bushnell (*Narrative*, p. 211) dates the declaration Nov. 24, 1655. Walker (*Sufferings*, i, 194) dates it Nov. 24, 1655. It was on Jan. 10, 1656 Ussher protested (Col. R. W[ilhelm] to . . . ed in his . . . on Dec. 25 . . . on, "this being the . . ."

<sup>21</sup> *Col. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. xxviii, records Cromwell's presence only on Friday afternoon, but he approved one order in person on Tuesday (*Ibid.*, p. 102).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102-4.

<sup>24</sup> Thurloe, iv, 402.

magistrates of Tewkesbury and four Gloucester councilmen for being Royalists.<sup>24</sup> In return the Protector granted them an indemnity to the value of £100,000, and to these were added the complaints of those affected by the foreign situation. Though the officials of the Eastland Company had written to acknowledge their indebtedness for the Protector's "unparalleled" action in recovering twenty-two fully laden ships detained in Denmark,<sup>25</sup> the English merchants dealing in Spanish wines protested the seizure of their goods as prizes by English ships;<sup>27</sup> and the English merchants in Danzig wrote to ask protection against the Swedish king who had been hindering their trade, and to beg for the same privileges enjoyed by the Hamburgers in the Baltic.<sup>28</sup>

That the trade situation was growing acute seems to be indicated by the fact that to the already large committee on trade were now added two more members, Edward Lawrence and John St. Barbe,<sup>29</sup> and that the foreign situation, with which it was so closely bound up, was the chief preoccupation of the moment is indicated by the information which came into the Protector's hands, and the interviews he had with foreign representatives in this period. The first of these—which did not arrive until much later—was a letter from Rolt, then in Elbing, asking to be recalled and intimating that he thought Charles X was "what he had won than he had in winning it."<sup>30</sup> The next was a report from René Augier from Paris, written on January 2, saying that he had just had an audience with the King, and that he had expressed his desire to have an ambassador from the Protector. He added that he believed there was nothing to be feared from Spain.<sup>31</sup> Still more important than these was the fact that on Tuesday, January 8, the Protector had sent for Bonde at five o'clock for an audience at eight. That audience, Bonde reported to his sovereign, was not only the longest but the most important he had yet held with the Protector. As the Swedish envoy wrote:

"The Protector began by mentioning the unrest among the Protestants in the North Sea, and then he declared that he talked with them and honestly discuss how they should attack this problem, and that it was foremost in his thoughts how they

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>25</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 106.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>27</sup> Thurloe, iv, 397; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 102.

<sup>28</sup> Thurloe, iv, 404.

<sup>29</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 114.

<sup>30</sup> Thurloe, iv, 361.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 375.

should continue . . . if it could be done here, or both here and with his Majesty [Charles X] The Protector was disturbed about the long stay to the King and feared that time, which was so precious, would pass away." Then, after some discussion of the "tractate," and compliments to Bonde, he "mentioned first that he could

and determined to ally himself with his Majesty in the closest manner possible, which it seemed to him, aside from God's honor, the principal thing and which the interest of both nations invited, that he thought it necessary for each in its way, against whom the alliance should be directed, he thought that without doubt it should be directed against the Catholics in general, and in particular against the house of Austria, and he did not want it only defensive but offensive as well. More he could not say now, but he was prepared to do everything the King asked, and he promised to exert every effort to make the alliance as effective as possible.

ing, especially if it would encounter the whole swarm upon them, without the united strength of the other Protestant powers, they could easily bring about some resolution against them, nor should France be forgotten."<sup>22</sup>

Thus was shadowed forth the grandiose conception of an attack on the whole of Roman Catholic Christendom, echoing the great days of Gustavus Adolphus. It was a design not destined to be put into execution, perhaps never even considered save as an ideal, but obviously based on the career and ambitions of Charles X's great predecessor, whose career as the Protestant champion had made so deep an impression on Cromwell's mind. But the Protector had neither the excuse, the position, nor, indeed, the power, to emulate the deeds of the great Gustavus, as even his own words to Bonde hinted, and as Bonde's cautious reply indicated. It would not be easy, the Swedish envoy declared, to enlist the other Protestant powers who "had other affairs to attend to, and it would take so much time that the Catholics would attack them before they were ready." His plan was an Anglo-Swedish alliance which other powers might join if they desired. Also, said the cautious Swede, it would be difficult to keep secrecy if so many powers were included. To this, according to Bonde, the Protector replied that,

<sup>22</sup> Carlbom, pp. 55-56.

he thought Bonde's argument very important, although he opposed it somewhat. Caution was certainly necessary, he willingly admitted. Denmark and Saxony he wanted particularly to win over to the common cause. Concerning Holland he said not a word [for which Bonde was very glad] and for two days continually repeated that he would ally himself with his Majesty in spite of all the world, and 'may God forgive the one who, in the

bring everything to a conclusion and he saw no hindrance to bringing everything to a perfect end within a few days"<sup>23</sup>

Nor was this the end of the matter. On January 12 Bonde was again received and again raised the question as to an alliance against the Catholics, though, as no word had come from Charles X, he ex-

till now had not known the Protector's intention . . . as it took him so long a time to express himself and then to declare his decision." Yet even with Bonde's assurances of Charles X's desire for an alliance and with the question apparently settled, the Protector, renewing his wishes for the success of Charles X, "whose every step in the war pleased him greatly," none the less said that he would turn the matter over to his commissioners with whom Bonde might discuss "further particulars so that they would not need to be discussed *in generalibus* any more," and so ended the conference.<sup>24</sup>

There was reason for this delay and evasion, not only on account of the delicate question of Holland, but also the position of Brandenburg, especially since between Bonde's first and second interviews the Protector received the Brandenburg envoy, Schlezer, on January 10. Of that interview Schlezer wrote a full report, which is of interest in comparison with Cromwell's conversations with Bonde before and after he talked with Schlezer.

He [said] he had expressed to me at my first visit how my mission and the

cal cause and diverse princes and states were interested, and he had assured me at that time that he would be pleased if he could render any service to your Electoral Highness, and that it would very much affect him if two great Protestant potentates should fall out with each other on account of this or that misunderstanding; that he wished to repeat this to me once more sincerely and truly. The King of Sweden had come to Poland. No doubt it had been urged that this would serve the advancement of religion and this was kept in mind. It would, however, be nothing new that such a pretext was being used in the world. Therefore he wished neither to allude to the King,

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

nor to your Electoral Highness, nor to any one else, nor wished to constitute himself a judge over the secret deliberations and thoughts of men. For he knew well enough that he was not to be guided to the opinions of other people, who were not his equals, and whose names, which, indeed,

But when he viewed the intrinsic cause of the wars which nowadays were in the world, he saw that they were not in the Apostle's sense among you? For actually they arose from desire, from ambition, or like passion. He was unable to say

if he was unable to see his way clearly, for the places were a little remote, and he had no intercourse with these countries. The interests, rights and privileges were somewhat complicated and not very well known here. However the Swedish ministers reported that Royal as well as Ducal Prussia were fiefs and appurtenances of the Kingdom of Poland and that therefore the King did no wrong to your Electoral Highness, if he, having the principal thing in his power, demanded from you by certain ways and means the accessory which has now fallen to his lot. He therefore asked me to inform him more fully about the true state of affairs, how the quarrel had arisen, in what it consisted, how it had developed, and where the King was at present with his army, and about all other kinds of circumstances.<sup>35</sup>

To this Nieupoort added his version of the situation, as he had derived information from Thurloe and the ambassadors.

I have received from Thurloe the secret article with France . . . Thurloe told me that Mr. Bonde a few days ago, and Mr. Schlezler yesterday, had talked with the Protector; that the former had told a lot of the successes of his King and declared that he took the interests of Protestantism much to heart, upon which the Protector had answered "as in the Duchy of Prussia," and discussed them with him in much the same way as lately with me. Mr. Thurloe said that the reasons I had put forward in my last conference, that it was necessary to employ able persons *in loco*, had been considered so important that he did not doubt that somebody would be sent there with good instructions, but it had not yet been decided in what capacity. Thurloe told me that Mr. Schlezler had also been with the Protector, but that he [Thurloe] had noticed from the beginning that he had no orders to speak about these affairs.<sup>36</sup>

To these finally may be added the report of Bernardi, which throws some light on the manners and methods of the Protector in dealing

<sup>35</sup> Schlezler to Kurfurst, Jan. 11/21, Mendenhall trans., in part in *Urk. u. Actenstücke*, vii, 733-34.

<sup>36</sup> Nieupoort to de Witt, Jan. 11/21, De Witt, *Brieven*, iii, 173.

with these foreign envoys. In his address to Cromwell on Jan. 20, 1656, Bernardi tactfully and courteously, but very firmly, complained of mis-treatment of Genoese vessels and goods on the part of British naval commanders and asked Cromwell to give proper orders to put an end to such injustice, inasmuch as the people of Genoa and their government held the best of intentions towards England. Bernardi, of course, stressed the fact that the Lords of Genoa were absolutely sure that all this went on behind the back of the 'most just' Cromwell. Cromwell answered,

hibited by you in their name with such a substantial demonstration of friendship. To them, on all occasions possible for their service and convenience, our desire will be amply made manifest to show reciprocal affection and equal correspondence.

Your good will shown to that most worthy person of the said Ambassador was not less than that due to those who sent him to us. And as to what concerns the case presented to us now, in all conformity with what is desired, we shall give definite orders to all our maritime officials to treat their subjects, vessels and interests, in whatever places they may find them trading, with all friendliness and courtesy in accordance 'with our real intention'; and to take care of the case so that the necessary orders may be carried out. And if in the future any lamentation should arise from any action by our officials, or others under our power, contrary to our intentions (and we hope that it will not happen), you may rest assured, Sir, that informing us of it, you will immediately find the proper remedy.<sup>27</sup>

And again these affairs were interrupted by one of the usual complaints of the treatment of English merchants, this time to Louis XIV.

### *To Louis XIV of France*

MOST SERENE KING:

Since already there shine in your Majesty that faith and integrity worthy of the highest prince, which not only promise, but also at this time bear, the most abundant fruits of justice both for foreigners and for your own, we are astonished that until now the governor ignorant of this that he has so openly dared—in spite of those principles which are usually sacred to every-  
gated a short time previously. In fact, it has been reported to us by Andrew Vessey, Captain of the ship *Nightingale*, that the governor of the port for the protection of this Commonwealth, that the governor

<sup>27</sup> Carlo Prayer, "Oliviero Cromwell," in *Atti della Soc. Ligur.*, xvi, 327-29.



fifteenth of December, and also more recently on another occasion, had not only received into the port and by every means aided Dillon, a certain pirate and public enemy of this Commonwealth, but also had defended against Vessey a certain merchant-vessel of Kinsale captured by him, nay, had snatched from the hands of our men Dillon's pirate-ship itself when it was put to flight in a naval action and would otherwise have been without doubt captured or sunk by Vessey. Since the governor himself can commit these things against the recently concluded treaty in no manner that injures us and  
 to punish that  
 governor, or to be given satisfaction. This, indeed, our right and at the same time your faith and the sanctity of the treaty justly demand from you yourself. As for the rest, above all I desire your Majesty to be commended to God the greatest and highest. Given from our Palace of Westminster, 13 January, in the year 1655-6.

Your Majesty's good friend,  
 OLIVER P.<sup>8</sup>

His various conversations, with others of like sort in this period of Cromwell's life, have an interest even beyond their actual content. They give some due to the Protector's methods and his mode of thought. They reveal something of the opinion held of him by those with whom he came in contact. They show him not only as he appeared purely from an English standpoint. More he was, indeed, an unparalleled phenomenon; yet, viewed in wider perspective, he was a child of his age. The long struggle of the Thirty Years' War, the disturbances of the Fronde, the infinite rivalries among continental states and rulers, great and small, and not least the English revolution, made the years of Cromwell's life a golden age of military and political adventurers. Europe was filled with them. From the brief and tragic ascendancy of Masaniello in Naples to the longer, more splendid and no less tragic career of Wallenstein in Germany, the curious activities of the all but landless Charles of Lorraine, whose country was his army; the desperate stroke of Chmielnicki and his Cossacks for dominance in eastern Europe; the adventures of the prince of Condé; the ambitions of the Transylvanian prince George Rakoczy; the designs of lesser men like du Daugnon; even the conquests of Charles X, all partook of this quality of high adventure. They were supported by the thousands of men loosed on Europe by the Thirty Years' War, whose only trade was fighting and who were ready to follow any leader who provided them with pay and plunder.

To the men bred in that atmosphere as these diplomats had been,  
 to the men bred in that atmosphere as these diplomats had been,

<sup>8</sup> Latin in Thurloe, iv, 415, and W. D. Hamilton, *Original Papers . . . of John Milton* (1859), dated Jan. 1655-6; also in *Columbia Milton*, no. 140. Cp. Masson, v, 244.

teristic man of his time. Even Mazarin, in a sense, belonged to this

well together, or depicted the latter as a tight-rope walker. There might even have added

of the facts. To these

tion, of a saintly leader of an oppressed but finally triumphant company of

venturer

were merely an interesting phenomenon by which he had managed to rise to his elevated station, to be taken into account in the general European situation, and especially in conversing with him. When they talked with him, the representatives of Protestant powers enlarged on the religious theme, the Catholic envoys remained discreetly silent; but, Protestant or Catholic, neither they nor he lost sight of the affairs of this world in contemplation of the next.

In this view of the Protector, however, the foreign envoys did him something less than justice. He was not a man who

the

against Protestantism, was, in fact, no crusading Catholic, and nothing

ing was farther from his thoughts—despite his treatment of Protestants—as from those of all Germans, high and low, than a renewal of the religious war which had so lately devastated central Europe. The real problem, as far as England was concerned, and as the Pro-

each other, especially in the case of Holland, Sweden and Brandenburg. The career of Charles X Gustavus in Poland had naturally roused the admiration

considered the career

of Rolt, that the Swedish king might find the keeping of his conquests more diff-

self, for t

in the preceding six months, by the beginning of 1656 the Poles had begun to rouse themselves to resist, and he found his lines so far extended and the means of supporting his army so deficient that he was forced to withdraw

in these very days

of Brandenburg to sign the treaty of Königsberg which, though it gave Ermeland into Frederick William's hands, forced him to provide a

contingent for the Swedish armies, do homage for his possession of East Prussia, and, what was still more important, surrender half of its customs dues to the Swedish king. Save for Danzig, the Baltic ports were thus put directly or indirectly into Swedish hands, and apparently little remained to make the Baltic, in effect, a Swedish lake.

To such a situation neither Brandenburg, Holland nor England could remain indifferent, and in consequence their relations had grown closer in the preceding months. It was the hope of de Witt to come to some arrangement between these three powers and Denmark to keep the Baltic open for trade, and to maintain the independence of Danzig against Sweden. In consequence the Protector became, as it were, the pivot upon which this situation turned. He desired to keep the Protestant powers at peace with each other but he also desired to keep the Baltic open to England. . . . . on the grounds of religion, Nieupoort urged more worldly considerations. Between them it was natural that the Protector hesitated as to the course he should pursue, though he inclined more and more to the commercial arguments as his recent attention to the Committee on Trade indicated; and he was the more inclined to this side in that the West Indian enterprise had so far proved not only unproductive but expensive, and Blake had not yet seized the Plate fleet. The religious issue, as the ambassadors knew, was always certain to secure his attention, but they also knew that it was never allowed to divert that attention from the real questions at stake. Nor, in fact, was any foreign problem allowed to supplant the infinite detail of business which pressed on him from day to day.

That business was of the most varied character; it was, in general, of no dramatic quality, and often of interest only to those concerned; but none the less it made up a great part of his life. Among such pieces of business were orders in regard to payment to Colonel Style, referred by the Protector to the Council;<sup>39</sup> reference to the commissioners of Oxfordshire to state the case of Sir Thomas Pope,<sup>40</sup> and some concern regarding the case of that restless spirit Thomas Savile, Earl of Sussex, who, having . . . . . dubious, part in the civil wars, though now nearing the end of his life, was reckoned of enough importance to be confided to the tender mercies of the commissioners for securing the peace.<sup>41</sup> From January 11 to February 12, it appears that the Protector did not attend a single Council meeting<sup>42</sup> on account of an illness which took the form first of a boil on his neck, then of a swelling or "impostume" on his breast,

<sup>39</sup> *Cal S P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 120-21.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxviii-xxix.

January

At the same time Bernardi advised his government that at the end of the year "His Highness chose 300 of his best cavalry and three of every arm, whose pay he has doubled, and of whom he has formed a company of 600."

*Patent for William Ludlow as Warden of St John's Hospital*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereto belonging To our trusty and well beloved William Ludlow, Esquire, greeting.

Know you that we reposing much trust and confidence in your piety, wisdom and integrity have, of our especial grace and favor, nominated, constituted and appointed you the said

bers emoluments and appurtenances thereunto belonging so long as you shall

<sup>43</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 63, Nieupoort to Ruysch, Jan. 18/28, Thurloe, IV, 432.

<sup>44</sup> Ludlow, II, 25.

<sup>45</sup> *Parl Hist*, xxi, 221

<sup>44</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1655-6), p. xxviii.

<sup>47</sup> Cp notes 39-41 above

<sup>48</sup> *Pub Intell*, Jan 14-21

<sup>40</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), p. 117.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>51</sup> Momigliano, *Cromwell*, p. 257.

rents, profits and other revenues thereof and to see the same employed and disposed of from time to time to such pious uses and in such manner as by the Foundation thereof were and are limited and appointed and that as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as Andrew Boreman or any other or others heretofore holding or exercising the said office hath or have held, exercised and do exercise. Given under a signet at Whitehall the 15<sup>th</sup> of

fifty five<sup>23</sup>

*Writ to Henry and Katherine Jones*

OLIVER, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know yee, that among the records and feete of fines with proclamation thereon made before the court of the said

provided in the term of St Hillary, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty-six, it is thus contayned. DURHAM, This is the finall agreement made in the court of the common bench att Westminster in eight dayes of St Hillary, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six-hundred fifty six, before Oliver St John, Edward Atkyns, Mathew Hale, and Hugh Wyndham, justices, and others then and there present, betweenc John Howe plaintiff, and Henry Jones and Katherine his wife deforceants, of one oxhouse, tenn acres of land, tenn acres of meadow, and twenty acres of pasture, with the appurtenances in Hurworth upon Teese. Whereupon a plea of covenant was summoned between them in the said court, that is to say, that the aforesaid Henry and Katherine have acknowledged the aforesaid tenements with the appurtenances to the said John, as those which the said Henry and Katherine, and those they have remised and quite-claimed from them the said Henry and Katherine and their heires to the aforesaid John and his heires for ever. And moreover the said Henry and Katherine have granted for them and the heires of the said Henry, that they will warrant to the aforesaid John and his heires the aforesaid tenements with the appurtenances against all men for ever. And for this acknowledgment, remise, quite-claime, warrant, fine, and agreement, the said John hath given to the aforesaid Henry and Katherine sixty pounds sterling. In testimony whereof wee have caused our scale deputed for the sealing of writtes in the court aforesaid unto these presents to be affixed. Witness O. St John att Westminster the xvijth day of January in the yeare aforesaid.<sup>24</sup>

The Protector was still far from well in these January days of 1656, the Earl of Lothian wrote to his countess,<sup>25</sup> and Nieupoort wrote to

<sup>23</sup> Add Mss 17018, f 4<sup>o</sup>. Endorsed: "A Copy of Writ to Henry Jones and Katherine his wife." [roin] Hospital Cal in James' [Ludlow was

*Third Earl of Lothian* (ed D Laing, Edinb 1875), II, 401. *James and his Son William,*

Ruysch that " . . . and could not endure his doubt to be put upon his breast . . . " He was also hard pressed with business. Bernardi notified his Genoese masters that delay on the part of the Council and the Secretary of State should be tolerated because they were 'incessantly busy' and that the previous week the Protector had assured him 'with his own lips' that the most serene Republic of Genoa had been considered as a real friend.<sup>55</sup> Writing a fortnight later, he said he had been unable to get the indemnities for Genoese subjects, vessels and goods promised by the Protector at his last audience, though Thurloe assured him nothing more was needed since his Highness had given orders to his generals in regard to the matter, begging to be excused because of the 'many affairs of state' which crowded in on the English authorities.<sup>57</sup> Still later Bernardi noted that Thurloe had been confined to his bed for some days and that the Protector was in poor health, so that he had been unable to get to the matter of indemnity.<sup>58</sup> That Cromwell's illness was serious seems to be confirmed by Thurloe's advice to Henry Cromwell that Sir John Reynolds, Henry's brother-in-law and one of the Protector's closest advisers, should see the Protector since his ailing health Cromwell had been unable to transact any business with him.<sup>59</sup> None the less it appears that on January 21 he received one Hector Morgan come to resign his post as searcher at Sandwich.<sup>60</sup>

Mingled with greater affairs of state was a mass of minor matters—the suppression of ale-houses in London, the reduction of the lower the level of the decimation tax, the appeal from officers in Ireland for fuller powers for Fleetwood.<sup>61</sup> Insignificant as these seem, they involved important issues—sumptuary legislation, taxes, and the rivalry of the two elements in the Irish army. All of them, including the increase of the Protector's guard, were more or less connected with the continuing plots against the Protector, and it seems probable that this also inspired his order of January 24 to G. Ireland and William Linley to meet at Liverpool or some other convenient place to take steps to secure three men, Carpenter, Weaver and Lynn, who were possibly involved in a new design.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 332-33.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

<sup>57</sup> Thurloe, *iv*, 478.

<sup>58</sup> *Cromwell's Letters* (1655-6), p. 124.

<sup>59</sup> Thurloe, *iv*, 428.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 421.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 484-85.

Such plots and rumors of plots invariably accompanied stories of the Protector's illnesses and, as always, were countered by measures for greater security for him and his government. Among these was his order that "returnes shall bee made from each troope of such persons mustered therein as doe noe duty, of such persons as have bin listed therein since the fight at Worcester, and that noe person be henceforth taken into any troope without leave of his Highnesse, the Lord Lambert, or the Colonel of the regiment"<sup>66</sup> It was further noted that seamen were being pressed for the fleet now being equipped to leave under Blake for an expedition against Spain.<sup>66</sup> According to Sagredo, forty ships were to be prepared to sail within twenty days, each with sixty pieces of artillery; and, he added, twenty of the best soldiers had been taken from each land company to reinforce the activities of the press-gangs.<sup>67</sup> To this Nieupoort added that it was proposed to send envoys to Prussia and to Poland.<sup>68</sup> Besides these, the Protector's continued absence from the Council meetings<sup>69</sup> gave further proof of his indisposition, and that body, in consequence, accomplished little beyond considering various petitions he had long since referred to it, and *revisas* some of which he made or confirmed.<sup>70</sup> And it is notable that here, as in other cases, his will was not law, even *in* *the* *case* *of* *county* *commissioners*, for his order *to* *exempt* *Thomas* *Knyvett* *from* *the* *decimation* *tax* *was* *rejected* *by* *them* *on* *the* *ground* *that* *Knyvett* *was* *not* *entitled* *to* *such* *exemption*<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 63.

<sup>67</sup> *Complaints to the Admiralty*, Cal S. P. Dom (1655-6), pp. 446 ff.)

<sup>68</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 63-64, p. 171

<sup>69</sup> Approval of one order, Jan. 22, *ibid*, p. 129. Petitions referred to Council—Mary Greene, widow of Capt. Francis Greene, referred Oct. 24, 1655, for speedy order

there, but it seems impossible to believe that they were written by the Protector. All the evidence we have makes it appear certain that he was elsewhere on the dates in question. It has been suggested that they were forgeries; but it is equally possible that they were written by some other Oliver Cromwell. There were at least six men of that name living in this period who could have written them.

All this was accompanied by the usual paper war, which, though it had continued in some fashion since the beginnings of the civil disturbances, now began to take another form. In this January, 1656, Michael Hawkes published his *Right of Dominion and Property of Liberty*, dedicated to the Protector and asserting in its sub-title . . . the necessity of . . . to H. H. of several Churches and Christians in South Wales and Mornmouthshire, signed by some 900 persons and apparently a reply to Vavasour Powell's *Word for God*, which had emanated from that same district with a like number of signatures in the preceding December. More directly answering Powell was Samuel Richardson's *Plain Dealing*, which professed "the unvail[ing] of . . . ment and governors" by its Baptis- . . . gestions from other sources there came into clearer view a question which had already disturbed the supporters of the Protectorate—the legality of the existence of that system and the proposal to give it at least the form of greater legality by assumption of another title by Cromwell, king or emperor as the case might be.<sup>73</sup>

Meanwhile Colonel Lilburne in York had been busy in other directions. He reported an account of the trials of the plotters, Colonel Brandling and that devoted Royalist, Sir Henry Slingsby, who had been seized with Sir William Ingram and others in connection with a gathering of Royalists at Marston Moor. . . . preceded by those of Major Waters and Sir . . . Royalist son of a regicide father. Mauleverer seems to have been imprisoned at Chester, Waters sent to the marshal-general in London, and Slingsby to Hull, whence in due course of years he was to be taken to be executed as a warning to his party.<sup>74</sup> The major-generals seem to have been particularly active at this moment in matters small and great, judging from their various and varied reports which indicated, among other things, how extensive and complicated was the machinery necessary to keep England in the course which the Protectoral system had set for her. They indicated scarcely less the pressure put upon its head, and even the most favorable of them by . . . sary to maintain it. The major-general of Lincoln, Whalley, following the same instructions which had moved his Shrewsbury colleague to close up the ale-houses there, reported that he had closed sixty such places in his jurisdiction. He had also, he said, raised money to

<sup>73</sup> Cp. W. C. Abbott, *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell* (Camb. Mass., 1919), 1656 *passim*.

<sup>74</sup> Thurlow, iv, 468.

<sup>75</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 614 and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Slingsby" and "Mauleverer."





ing of the state of the army in Jamaica; asserting that fifty men a week were dying; that only 3,000 were left, all of whom were weak; and that Fortescue's death had left the command in the hands of Colonel Doyley.<sup>83</sup> The second was a complaint to the Protector from Lord Baltimore and the Adventurers in Maryland of two captains—apparently Richard Bennett and Claiborne, two of the four sent to secure Virginia—who had shot four men and plundered some planters; all of which was referred to the Council “under a particular reference from his Highness.”<sup>84</sup>

Nor was this all of the situation. Nearer home, in connection with the observance of the newly signed treaty with France, the Council recommended on January 23 that Cromwell name three commissioners—Turner, Ford and Ashe—to adjust claims for damage done by the French, concerning which the Protector had already written to Louis XIV.<sup>85</sup> Two days later it recommended that he should object to the refusal to allow English merchants trading to Boideaux to carry guns to that city, in accordance with the treaty.<sup>86</sup> Meanwhile news had arrived of the signature of the treaty of Königsberg between Charles X and the Elector of Brandenburg, and Schlezer reported the Protector's pleasure on hearing of it,<sup>87</sup> though had he realized just what that treaty involved, he would probably not have been so gratified. To him it meant, obviously, only increased solidarity among Protestant states, not another step in making the Baltic a Swedish lake. At once he sent again for Whitelocke and on January 25th, as Whitelocke records, he “earnestly pressed me to undertake the Ambassy to Sweden, recommending it as a Business of the greatest Honour, and of the highest Concernment to the Protestant Interest,” but on hearing Whitelocke's objections to accepting the post, said he would take it before the Council for further consideration.<sup>88</sup> The report from the Hague that he favored the Protestant interest even at the price of trade advantages<sup>89</sup> was countered by the Queen of Bohemia's letter to Charles II that the “monster Cromwell has disarmed  
 “... the good men to gett their lunny  
 ...  
 drunke to sleepe and forgett his feares, which doth hinder his sleep.  
 This is reported heere for a truth . . .”<sup>90</sup>

While the exiled Royalists and their friends consoled themselves with such gossip, which was so widely spread throughout the Conti-

<sup>83</sup> Thurloe, IV, 455-58.

<sup>84</sup> *Cal. S. P. Col* (1574-1660), p. 435.

<sup>85</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), pp. 132-33.

<sup>86</sup> Thurloe, IV, 461.

<sup>87</sup> Schlezer to Kurfürst, Jan 25/Feb 4, *Urk. u. Actenstücke*, VII, 735.

<sup>88</sup> Whitelocke, p. 632.

<sup>89</sup> “... the good men to gett their lunny

... 1655/6, *ibid.*, I, 675.

nent, the Protector went his way, disturbed not only by a cold which prevented his attendance at the Council during the last week of January,<sup>80</sup> but by the twin difficulties of domestic disturbance and foreign negotiations. In addition to considering an enormous number of petitions, many of which dated from 1654,<sup>81</sup> the Council ordered Fiennes, Strickland, Pickering and Whitelocke to treat with Bonde and confer with Thurloe in regard to the articles drawn up with Sweden.<sup>82</sup> These would, in effect, involve a Protestant alliance against Spain and the house of Austria, and would probably include the Dutch in such a league.<sup>83</sup> To this, as to the harsh terms of some of the articles concerning trade, Bonde objected,<sup>84</sup> knowing better than Cromwell that the situation of most Protestants in Germany was superior to that of any Catholics and most Episcopalians in the British Isles, and realizing, as the Protector did not, that one of the last things the Emperor desired was a renewal of religious wars on the Continent. It is, in fact, difficult to conceive that the Protector was so ill-informed, and it is not beyond belief that he was over this situation was, in fact, a real issue of the rate, rather than a real issue of the rate, serve to modify the commercial demands made on Sweden.

His concern for trade was genuine enough, for the limitations on it produced by the war with Spain had further reduced the national income and, in consequence, that of the government, which was, as always, in sore straits for money to support the armed forces on which it depended. It was necessary to keep the troops satisfied if that government was to survive, and on the recommendation of the Council, the Protector now addressed the major-generals

### *To the several Majors-General*

Several months having passed since raising the militia troops, and hearing that several sums designed for their satisfaction are reserved, we by advice of our Council hereby authorise you, out of the money levied by our orders for securing the peace, to give the officers and soldiers within your association 6 months' pay, or as much of it as the money received within their limits, above the necessary charge incident to that service, shall amount to; the whole sum so received being applied in equal proportion to the whole militia forces, and so to be paid as that it may be clearly brought to account, when the future payment of the said troops shall have been settled. Send in

<sup>80</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), pp. xxviii-xxx, Sagredo to Doge, Feb. 1/11, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1655-6), p. 174.

<sup>81</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), pp. 142-46.

<sup>82</sup> Whitelocke, p. 632.

<sup>83</sup> Heads of a treaty in Thurloe's hand, undated, Thurloe, iv, 486-87.

<sup>84</sup> Whitelocke, p. 632, Carlbom, p. 59.

speedily an account of the money raised, and the troops employed in your association."

Whitehall, January 29, 1655-6

On the same day, January 29, he addressed another letter to Desborough—and probably to the other major-generals—in regard to the choice of juries, which supplements his earlier orders in regard to sheriffs.

*To General Disbrowe*

SIR,

It hath been a very great complaint of the course of law, and that as hath been shewable in the late years, that the law hath been much pressed to endeavour; and in order to it, care hath been taken that so great a trust as that of the high shire shal be committed through failure in the deputy-sheriffs to prevent the dangers and inconveniences which all men who have recourse to the law lie exposed to in that which may be of nearest concernment to them, and having understood that some of the judges, for a remedy of those evils, have, as occasion hath been offered, caused a review of the books of freeholders, out of which persons have been recommended to be practised in other places, and to that purpose have judged it fit to write thus to you. If therefore the justices of the peace, especially such of them as are best spirited for the work, name some of the free holders of clearest integrity and prudence, of honest and blameless conversation, who for their number may be proportioned to the business of the county to which they relate to serve upon juries for the year next ensuing, both betwixt party and party and in cases criminal, and offer the names so agreed upon to the sheriff and under sheriff of the county, I doubt not but they would be found

be once made of a reformation of the evils of this nature so largely complained of; and thus I hope will be done as it is already in many counties, by your influence, without either distasting the weaker or giving advantage to the wilful and froward by your appearing in it And whereas the course hitherto hath been that as soon as the under-sheriff hath made the return of the panel upon the *venire facias*, that the same hath been delivered to the attorney to make a *distringas* before the trial, by reason whereof the names of the persons to serve on the respective trials are known beforehand, from whence opportunity is given and frequently taken of applications to each one of the jury to pre-engage them on the one side or the other, which seldom fails in

any cause whatsoever, to the ensnaring or amusing of the weak, and the tempting the avarice of the more subtle, who lie in wait for their own advantage upon such like opportunities, whereby justice is often perverted, the . . . this farther trouble upon you, that if it shall appear in any of those counties to which you have relation that application hath been made to any juryman in any case whatsoever (wherein your vigilance and the vigilance of all your kind friends is desired) that notice thereof be given to the judge or judges that ride the circuit or sit in the courts wherein such miscarriages shall happen, who shall have particular instructions to pursue the remedy the law hath provided in such cases, and not to suffer any such person to serve on a jury who hath been solicited in any business that lies before him, and hath not revealed the same.

Your loving servant,

OLIVER P.

Jan. 29 1655[-6]

*Exemplum & forma* (copy) of the Lord Protector's letter to General Desborough . . . for the county of Devon.<sup>96</sup>

To supplement these details of domestic administration, on Wednesday, January 30, was issued an order by the Protector and Council in regard to the present six months' assessment, to be paid where needful to the forces in the respective counties, as had been done according to the order of March 27, 1655,<sup>97</sup> and again in September. In and of themselves, these orders and directions and reports may seem mere routine administration, but they are of the highest importance in an evaluation of the Protectoral system. Not merely had Cromwell, as was natural to the head of the state and in accord with the old monarchical practice, appointed and supervised the sheriffs, but he had named county commissioners, and in an attempt to reduce the cost of the army he had embodied a militia under the direction of the major-generals. The raising of revenue by assessments and the decimation tax was virtually in the hands of these officials. None of it went through the Exchequer. Like the army itself, it was thus in the hands of the Protector; and there existed, in consequence, two financial systems, of which the one was more or less confined to the support of the armed forces. It was, in effect, an

Lisburne for the J. P.'s of co. Devon. But Lisburne was deputy for Yorks *etc.* There is also a copy in *Lord and Council's Decree* (1656), 214, said to be addressed to Gen. "Lisburne" {

Though no other copies seem to have come to light, it would appear from this that more were written than the one to Desborough.

<sup>97</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 141.

*imperium in imperio*, not dependent on any Parliamentary system for support.

Despite the fact that the officials in some instances collected enough and "to spare,"<sup>98</sup> and according to figures adduced by later investigators the receiver-general in London "actually obtained a little more than the amount he was supposed to collect," in years following there was a deficit reckoned at some half a million pounds.<sup>99</sup>

by forces which, though of the same blood and speech as those they kept down, were at the disposition of a dictator to whom the great majority of the people were subject. It was, in fact, the cost of maintaining the Protectorate, the price of the Protector's power, the price of the Protector's position, and to many later, this seemed a small price to pay for the position which England, and especially the European principalities, dominions and powers. To others then and since it seemed an even smaller price to pay for "liberty" and "toleration." Yet it may be observed that in the long run the position of the military and diplomatic position of the Protectorate was not a permanent gain resolved itself into the possession of Jamaica, and liberty and toleration in the British Isles were confined to those who followed the Protector. At this moment the president of the Council, Lawrence, declared to that body that the Protector's approval of a Council order was sufficient to warrant the clerks to pass it as an order of Protector and Council, or if he should signify to any member his approval and that member declare it publicly to the Council, this should also be sufficient warrant, and that this should be the rule where orders were not presented separately for his approbation.<sup>100</sup> This, while it seemed on its face a mere matter of routine administration, due possibly to his illness, conferred on him virtually dictatorial authority.

It was accompanied by a measure of very different character. As long before as 1651, when he had been on his campaign in Scotland, Cromwell had written to Lenthall that he had been approached by various persons in Durham and the north in regard to establishing a university in the dean and chapter of the cathedral there. That project had been kept alive<sup>101</sup> and had

<sup>98</sup> See above, report from Lincoln.

<sup>99</sup> *Protectorate* (L., 1934), p. 80. The debt was reckoned in the year 1654, and the Protectorate had been in existence for five years.

<sup>100</sup> *Protectorate* (L., 1934), p. 80. The debt was reckoned in the year 1654, and the Protectorate had been in existence for five years.

recently been revived by a petition from the mayor, aldermen and various citizens of Durham which the Council considered on January 29. Two days later it ordered that trustees be appointed to erect a college of religious education there, on February 6 this was approved by the Protector, and by March 10 a committee was named to consider statutes for the proposed institution.<sup>103</sup>

Confirming the attitude of the people toward the Protectorate and its liberty and tolerance letters came in to both Thurloe and the Protector making recommendations and asking advice about taxation; the suppression of blasphemy and the agitation for liberty of conscience; the ejection of ministers; and trials of those whom they had apprehended for various reasons but chiefly for opposing the government. The Council was unable to judge any administration by the protests against it, but the number and variety of the matters discussed in the reports of its own agents reveal the difficulties they were having in their endeavors to carry out their instructions and indicate even more clearly than the direct attacks on the Protector how unpopular his government was. Nor was this confined to Royalists. It was in this period that the witty Republican Henry Neville wrote his *Game of Picquet* satire which begins

CROMWELL. I am like to have a good beginning on't. I have throwen out all my best cards and got in none but wretched ones, so I may wel be cappoted for I have all the harts against me

LAWRENCE. Now my horse will not be contented to have the best of the game.

LAWRENCE. I tooke but a few yet they make me a great game, for I left al the little ones behind me.<sup>104</sup>

On the other hand there came from the pen of William Sedgwick a reply to Powell under the title of *Animadversions upon a letter and paper sent to H. H. by certain gentlemen in Wales*, an able defence of the Protectorate and its policy. This was Cromwell's former captain, who had written a dozen years earlier and who now rewarded his old benefactor; and it is not without some interest to note that this worthy minister, having gone through various phases of Puritanism, supported the Common-

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218; cp. Thurloe, iv, 442.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218; cp. Thurloe, iv, 442.

hear him, and expressing surprise at his summons from the Yorks commissioners in view of C's promise to him at their last interview (*ibid.*, p. 494; and cp. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, (1655-6), pp. 63, 119).

<sup>104</sup> For date of this cp. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts., Bath Mss.*, ii, 114.

wealth and defended the Protectorate, lived to accept, if he did not actually . . . land and . . . ment.<sup>105</sup>

Such a defence was the more welcome in that it came at a time when Cromwell was not only oppressed by the weight of public affairs . . . that . . . It . . .

Indies<sup>107</sup> Nicholas reported a rumor that Cromwell had promised Sweden thirty good ships for the reduction of Danzig and therefore the Swedes had refused to include that city in their treaty of Königsberg with Brandenburg.<sup>108</sup> Schlezer reported to his master, the Elector, that Whitelocke was to be sent to Sweden, Brandenburg, and perhaps to other princes and groups in Germany, accompanied by Packe, to represent the mercantile interests, though the Brandenburg envoy believed that Cromwell was more interested in *dominium maris* than in trade. He observed that the . . . in the Swedish-Prussian business . . . the freedom in Prussian territory offered to English merchants, by a separate alliance, nor by an invitation to join the alliance with the Netherlands.<sup>109</sup> None of these reports was, perhaps, wholly true, but they all reflected, in whatever distorted fashion, the concern of the Protector in regard to the affairs of northeastern Europe, especially in his correspondence with Danzig at this moment.

### *To the Free City of Danzig*

To the distinguished Lords and notable Men, the chief magistrates, the magistrates, and the whole glorious assembly of the Royal City of Danzig

#### DISTINGUISHED LORDS, NOTABLE MEN

There have come to us the complaints of merchants of this Commonwealth, engaged in commerce . . . privileges, held from very ancient times, . . . among you to the mutual advantage and benefit of both, have been disre-

<sup>105</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Sedgwick"; Firth and Davies, *Regimental History of Cromwell's Army* (Oxford, 1940), I, 34.

<sup>106</sup> . . .

<sup>107</sup> . . .  
*Actenstücke*, VII, 735-7.

<sup>108</sup> . . .  
 . . .



garded, and that they are pressed hard by new demands, and are burdened  
 for the defense of your city against the power of the enemies. Moreover, it is  
 required of them that they pledge their word by oath that they will pay a  
 hundredth part of their riches. But if they should take any of their property  
 out of the city, they must pay a tenth part of it, and they must defend in  
 their own persons, equipped with arms, the walls of the city. With unwilling  
 ears we have heard these things, in truth on account of your equity, clemency  
 and justice, we can expect and promise ourselves nothing less than that our  
 you every kind of courtesy and kindness, and  
 nunties unimpaired and uninjured, for from a  
 long time back they have done friendly services for your city. But what more  
 severe could be decreed against guests of long standing than that they expose  
 all their possessions to the uncertain chances of war, and engage unwillingly  
 in a foreign war! It shall be our desire that when the danger is over and  
 peace is restored, no danger will threaten

we urgently ask your Honors not to  
 burden our countrymen, at the expense and detriment of friendship, with  
 new contributions or exactions, nor to compel them to participate in any war  
 whatever, so long as they undertake nothing contrary to faith or against the  
 public safety. If, however, necessity should require that they be given, at a  
 time of moving elsewhere, the free opportunity of carrying with them their  
 property and merchandise, let nothing be exacted of them for that reason or  
 for any other pretext whatever, for their future presence will be useless unless  
 they can carry on their trade safely and freely. On account of the obligations  
 to the people of this Commonwealth, in the present administration which  
 employed us daily, we considered that your Honors should be advised of this,  
 that we shall offer to you and your people as the occasion arises all the serv-  
 ices of a kind and friendly heart. For the rest, we pray that God the greatest  
 and undertakings. Given from our

Your good friend,  
 OLIVER P.<sup>110</sup>

This, it would appear from the merchants' reply to Thurloe, was of  
 small avail or none. The Sweden-Brandenburg-Poland affair had  
 more in it than the Protestant interest or even the *dominium maris*  
 of which Schlezler spoke so shrewdly. The English merchants in Dan-  
 zig implied that they were being forced to leave that city, then threat-  
 ened by Sweden, on account of Cromwell's aid to Charles X Gustavus;  
 and they begged that "they may be protected from violence or freely

<sup>110</sup> Latin original in Staatsarchiv der Freien Stadt Danzig, Abt. 300, 53, Nr. 627,  
 pr. *infra*, App. II (6). Senate's reply is in Thurloe, IV, 663. Cp. also a letter to Thurloe  
 from the Merchants, June 4/14, 1656, *ibid.*, v, 88, which implies that Cromwell's letter  
 accomplished nothing and that they were being forced to leave. The letter was  
 given by Cromwell to Sweden. The  
 "that they may be protected from violence or freely allowed to depart."

allowed to depart." The Danzig authorities were bitterly opposed to Swedish domination and they were evidently making matters uncomfortable for their English residents, whose government they suspected of being in league with the Swedes.<sup>131</sup> Nor was this the only difficulty which confronted the English merchants. Nicholas noted that feeling in Spain was naturally turning more and more against the English; that Philip IV had ordered letters of marque issued against them, and was arming against them.<sup>132</sup> This was, of course, no news to the English authorities, who had long since anticipated, as they had provoked, such action, but taken in connection with the events in northeastern Europe, it reveals the difficulties of the trading classes at this moment, and it gives new point to the addition of new members to the Committee on Trade and the effort made to draw Packe into the circle of diplomatic representatives as a concession to the City interests.

All this did not, however, interfere with concern over the Protestant Interest. The age-long controversy between the Protestant and Catholic elements in Switzerland had lately resulted in the expulsion of some of the former from the canton of Schwytz, and Cromwell, advised apparently by his agent Pell that the agreement among the cantons had broken or was breaking up, responded to the appeal for help with a characteristic letter of encouragement.

#### *To the Evangelic Cities of Switzerland*

In what condition your affairs are, which is not the best, we are abundantly informed, as well by your public acts transmitted to us by our agent at Geneva, as also by your letters from Zurich, bearing date the twenty seventh of December. Whereby, although we are sorry to find your peace, and such a lasting league of confederacy broken, nevertheless since it appears to have happened through no fault of yours, we are in hopes that the iniquity and perverseness of your adversaries are contriving new occasions for ye to make known your long ago experienced fortitude and resolution in defence of the Evangelic faith. For as for those of the canton of Schwitz, who account it a capital crime for any person to embrace our religion, what they are might and

yet forgot that most detestable slaughter of our brethren in freedom. Wherefore, most beloved friends, what you were always wont to be, with God's assistance still continue, magnanimous and resolute, suffer not your privileges, your confederacies, the liberty of your consciences, your religion

<sup>131</sup> Nicholas to Jane, Feb. 1/11, *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), p. 159.

itself to be trampled under foot by the worshippers of idols, and so prepare yourselves, that you may not seem to be the defenders only of your own freedom and safety, but be ready likewise to aid and succour, as far as in you lies, your neighbouring brethren, more especially those most deplorable Piedmontais; as being certainly convinced of this, that a passage was lately intended to have been opened over their slaughtered bodies to your sides. As for our part be assured, that we are no less anxious and solicitous for your welfare and prosperity, than if this conflagration had broken forth in our republic; or as if the axes of the Schwitz Canton had been sharpened for our necks, or that their swords had been drawn against our breasts, as indeed they were against the bosoms of all the reformed. Therefore so soon as we were informed of the condition of your affairs, and the obstinate animosities of your enemies, advising with some sincere and honest persons, together with some ministers of the church most eminent for their piety, about sending to your assistance such succour as the present posture of our affairs would permit, we came to those results which our envoy Pell will impart to your consideration. In the mean time we cease not to implore the blessing of the Almighty upon all your counsels, and the protection of your most just cause, as well in war as in peace.

Your lordships and worships most affectionate,

Westminster,  
Jan.—1655[-6]

OLIVER P<sup>113</sup>

At about the same time and by the same hand, the Protector wrote to Charles X Gustavus a note of congratulation, whose classical references smack more of Miltonian than of Cromwellian learning:

*To the most Serene Prince, Charles Gustavus, by the Grace of God King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, Great Prince of Finland, &c.*

MOST SERENE KING,

Seeing it is a thing well known to all men, that there ought to be a communication of concerns among friends, whether in prosperity or adversity, it cannot but be most grateful to us, that your majesty should vouchsafe to impart unto us by your letters the most pleasing and delightful part of your friendship, which is your joy. In regard it is a mark of singular civility, and truly royal, as not to live only to a man's self, so neither to rejoice alone, unless he be sensible that his friends and confederates partake of his gladness. Certainly then, we have reason to rejoice for the birth of the young prince born to such a father, of his father's glory and of his father's empire. We have no less cause to congratulate with the memorable omen that befell the famous birth, and the conquest of the Illyrians. For we make no question, but the

<sup>113</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 394-95, *Columbia Milton*, no 62. Somewhat different trans. to same effect in Masson, v, 245. See *ibid.*, pp. 244-46 for remarks on circumstances under which letter was written. Pr. also in Vischer's trans. of Leti's *Cromwell* (1710), II, 281, and dated there Feb. 23, 1655-6. See Thurloe, iv, 403, for appeal from Geneva.

conclusion correspondent to such signal beginnings; and may the son be like the father in virtue, piety, and renown, obtained by great achievements. Which is that we wish may luckily come to pass, and which we beg of the Almighty, so propitious hitherto to your affairs

Your majesty's most affectionate,

Westminster,

OLIVER P.<sup>114</sup>

Feb 7, 1655[-6]

How much concerned the Protector was with the Baltic situation is evidenced by Nieupoort's letter to de Witt, written at this time, in which he said,

The Protector asked me very seriously whether the embassies of the States General to Poland and Prussia still would continue, and whether the instructions ought not to be changed. I said that the meeting of the States of Holland had been called together and that I hoped to receive further information on the subject as soon as a resolution had been taken. The Lord Protector assured me in very strong terms that we could be assured of his confidence and fidelity as long as it was not our own interests [as opposed to the interests of the States General] that were concerned. He added that he was confident that people would not permit themselves to be fooled.<sup>115</sup>

The matter of relations with Charles X being thus in train, on February 8 the Protector directed the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy to send a ship to Hamburg and bring back the far-travelled emissary, Rolt, whom he had despatched to the Swedish king;<sup>116</sup> also on Friday he gave an audience to the Venetian envoy, Sagredo, who was about to depart and had announced to Cromwell that Giavarina, as resident. The Venetian having assured the Protector of the "perfect understanding and excellent relations" between his state and England, the Protector replied that,

his reception of the ambassador from the first had shown the regard he felt for the prince who sent him, and he had given ample proofs of his disposition

<sup>114</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 395-96, Columbia *Milton* no 63. Dated from original at Sagredo's letter to the States General, 1655-56, and slightly

<sup>115</sup> *Journal de Nieupoort*, iii, 184.

<sup>116</sup> Offered for sale by Maggs Bros, cat. no 690 (1940), item 642. Apparently no ship had been sent by Feb. 29 (cp. Council order to Adm. Commrs., *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 203).

throughout the ambassador's stay. He could not oppose the Republic's decision to recall him. Meanwhile he would welcome the President's given orders for a ship to be furnished to convey his Excellency to any port he pleased, and he would afford him every other satisfaction.<sup>117</sup>

It was reported meanwhile in Paris that Pickering would arrive there as an ambassador but Nicholas' informant doubted it, especially since some other—unnamed—envoy had been in Paris for two months.<sup>118</sup> This was obviously not Augier, who had arrived in France apparently on December 24, for he was not an ambassador; it may have referred to Hugh Morrell who also went in December, with a letter. For the moment, however, no agreement, there was neither negotiatives on either side. Yet at this moment (February 9) Mazarin dictated instructions to Bordeaux preparatory to the return of that ambassador to England, noting in particular that he should take up the matter of the prizes taken since 1647, "dépêcher l'affaire d'Augier sans aucun delay," and draw up a memoire in regard to the French losses in Canada.<sup>119</sup>

From this the Protector turned to the other problem which confronted him—that of the attacks made on his government. In addition to receiving the ambassadors, he seems to have given an audience to a Mr Walter Craddock and a Captain Evan Lewis, who presented him with the *Humble Representation*, which they had been preparing for some time. It was another refutation of Powell's *Word for God*,<sup>120</sup> and it is said that he also received Gauden's *Petitionary Remonstrance* on February 4, with Ussher—and perhaps Gauden himself—present.<sup>121</sup> He had also recovered sufficiently to attend the marriage of his niece, Levina Whetstone, to Richard Beke of Yorkshire and Buckinghamshire, which was held at Whitehall on Thursday with great magnificence.<sup>122</sup> He had now begun to get caught up with business he had been forced to neglect during his illness. On February 6 he had approved thirty-eight orders passed since January 8,<sup>123</sup> including one

<sup>117</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Feb. 8/18, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 177, Neapoort to States General, Feb. 9/18, *ibid.* 221.

<sup>118</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 166

<sup>119</sup> *ibid.* 174, letters to Thurloe, iv, 357. Morrell was, of course, not an ambassador, though he, as well as Augier, might have been called indefinitely an "envoy."

<sup>120</sup> Text in *Pub. Intell.*, Feb. 4-11, see Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Feb. 5, Thurloe, iv, 505.

<sup>121</sup> Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 194, Thomason, ii, 101.

<sup>122</sup> Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, no. XL.

<sup>123</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 164.

for continuing the committee of the army "in order to dispose of the

ther advised the Protector to set aside Thursday, February 20, as a day of prayer "for this nation,"

in none too flourishing condition.<sup>126</sup> This is probably the order which drew from Schlezer the observation that a special day was ordered to be observed "when there is something of importance about to be undertaken,"<sup>127</sup> though it does not appear that the Brandenburg envoy knew or even suspected what it was, and the fact that it was presently altered to a later date seems to indicate that even the Council had not yet made up its mind.

It is evident from Schlezer's observation and from like testimony that the old civil-war technique of holding prayer-meetings of the officers on the eve of important decisions had been altered to a day of fasting and humiliation under like circumstances. It would appear in this case that the announcement of such a day and the change of

tions. It was delayed, in fact, by more than that. Since May, 1655, that indefatigable conspirator, Sexby, had been busy in the Spanish Netherlands and in Spain to promote a combination of Royalists, Levellers and Spaniards in a new effort to restore Charles II. Liar and braggart as he seems to have been, he had managed to secure, though not enough to give it form and substance. The plan was, apparently, to foment an insurrection in England, to be reinforced by the landing of Spanish regiments from the Netherlands and the coming over of Charles himself. Though neither Charles nor his advisers were drawn into a scheme which, incidentally, would involve the toleration of English Catholics, and though Philip IV and his Council demanded definite action and success before they would venture Spanish gold and Spanish lives, there was enough in this situation to cause a certain uneasiness in the English revolutionary government, especially owing to the state of the Protector's health.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161; *Pub. Intell.*, Feb. 4-11.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 162.

<sup>127</sup> Schlezer to [?], ca. Feb. 14, 1655, *ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>128</sup> Letters from the Protector and Council to the Major-Generals of Rutland, Notts and Stafford ordering the discharge of Arthur Warren, who had petitioned on Jan. 29 for release from restraint and new payments since, though he had been of the late King's

That uneasiness had another foundation. However necessary Sexby's plan may seem, the government's pretensions. The financial difficulties of the government had prevented the payment of the sailors, though the army—which was, of course, more essential to the maintenance of the party in power—had been paid as fully and promptly as possible. The consequent failure to secure enlistments for the navy had led the government to impress men for that service, which had added to its unpopularity. The appointment of the Protector's friend and favorite, Montagu, as Blake's colleague revealed distrust of Lawson, who was the logical choice for such a post but who was made vice-admiral instead. Lawson, who had earlier drawn up the seamen's protest and who had apparently had some connection with the plot, was an Anabaptist, more or less at odds with the government but popular. He resigned his post, as he sent in his resignation, which was followed by those of Captains Hill, Lyons and Abelson.<sup>128</sup> Lawson's place was filled by Badiley,<sup>129</sup> who had earlier distinguished himself in the Mediterranean and whose loyalty to the Protector was unquestioned. If Lawson was connected with the plot to detach some vessels from Blake's fleet and the Channel squadron to cover the arrival of Charles II and a Spanish landing in support of a Royalist-Leveller rising, this shift in command destroyed whatever hope of success there was for such an undertaking.

But the assertion of Lawson that he would not go to sea until he knew the destination of the fleet, and the complaints of Hill and Lyons to the same effect, were not the only symptoms of discontent. Lyons expressed dissatisfaction at the neglect of the seamen and their families, and Hill went so far as to say that the English, not the Spaniards, were the aggressors in the West Indies.<sup>130</sup> It is, perhaps, significant in view of this expression of opposition to the Protector's policy that it was reported in early February that Cromwell had summoned most of the chief officers of the army to a conference in London,<sup>131</sup> and that the day of fasting and prayer was followed by a meeting of the officers with the Protector.<sup>132</sup>

The destination and purpose of the fleet was no secret to the Council. On Tuesday, February 12, its members read and amended the instructions to the generals-at-sea, and approved an appropriation of £20,000, and the whole was ordered to be presented to the Protector.<sup>133</sup> On Wednesday the instructions for the commissioners and

<sup>128</sup> Cp. Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, iv, 229ff. and ref. there.

<sup>129</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Feb. 14.

<sup>130</sup> See Gardiner, *ut supra*.

<sup>131</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Feb. 21/Mar. 3, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), pp. 183-84.

<sup>132</sup> Schlezzer to [?], Feb. [14?], *Urk. u. Actenst.*, vii, 737-38.

<sup>133</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 171.

sub-commissioners for prizes were read and on Friday the final draft was agreed on.<sup>124</sup> It would seem that Cromwell took little or no part in these preliminaries, possibly because as Schlezer—always on the look-out for such matters—reported he was suffering from “a growth on the breast,”<sup>125</sup> of which various persons had spoken earlier. It does not seem to be true, however, as Schlezer goes on to say, that he had not merely been absent from the Council meetings for some time but that he was giving no audiences, for Bonde’s diary records that he had an important conversation with Cromwell on the afternoon of Feb. 11. It is true that the In his interview Bonde recounted some of the principal points of the proposed Anglo-Swedish alliance, urged its advantages and noted the amount of money necessary. To this the Protector, Bonde wrote,

“answered with an expression of his hope for peace and added much which  
must nevertheless enter into war against Austria, both for the injustices practiced against Sweden contrary to the Peace of Osnabruck and no less because John Casimir [of Poland] had now put himself under Austrian dominion, excusing himself for having been concerned for the Dutch, admitting that their procedure had been unjust, yet wished they would seek out Charles Gustavus and maintain a good understanding with Sweden. They could, he feared, otherwise find out most annoying ways of allying themselves with England’s and Sweden’s enemies.”<sup>126</sup>

What that meant was, of course, that the Dutch might well join Spain in the approaching conflict, which, while it would not affect Sweden, might be very “annoying” to the English. Bonde was evidently not much impressed, and one thing emerges from these various conversations which is not evident in the general outline of the period as it is usually presented. It is the recognition of the fact that these foreign envoys realized they were dealing with a very small group of men who for the moment controlled England by means of armed

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 183-87. On Feb. 11 the Protector on a report of Dec. 27 named 26





most strenuously that, in the matter of the afore-mentioned case pending before them, they, after due examination thereof, bring judgment with all speed and not allow the plaintiffs to be . . . on the other hand, the case may be to the detriment to their fortunes, to the principal subject—the will, that is—on

matter be completed at an earlier date by the intervention of your authority, We are ready to welcome the act gratefully and with a ready and well-inclined disposition toward the performance in our turn of all services of true friendship Given from our Palace at Westminster, on the twelfth of February, in the year 1655/6

Your good friend,  
OLIVER P<sup>127</sup>

the case in Cromwell's life as Protector The day following his interview with Bonde and the despatch of this letter to Zeeland, there was issued a proclamation by the Protector and Council lessening the charges for sheriffs;<sup>128</sup> and an order, apparently prepared on February 1, to Barkstead for Middlesex and Boteler for Bedford to discharge Edward Russell's person and estates from custody.<sup>129</sup> On that same day was authorized the appointment of Major Parker of Cromwell for the counties of Hertford and Oxford, and Packer and Colonel George Fleetwood to serve in the same capacity in Buckinghamshire:

<sup>127</sup> Latin original is in the Rijksarchief in Zeeland at Middleburg, pr. *infra*, App II (7) Cp letters to States General, May 1656, and Sept 1655.

<sup>128</sup> Crawford, I, 370, no. 3067, cp. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p 175

<sup>129</sup> The Protector seems to have been ordering the Council to inform from H. H. to the Major-General of Devon, apparently ordering that the extraordinary tax be withheld in their case since they were not suspected of delinquency (*ibid.*, p . . . Council all proceedings in their case . . . differences between Hen Massey and . . . arbitrators in the presence of C . . . F . . . Dudley Avery for irregularities in the customs (*ibid.*)



fact that at least one of the old guard was convicted of spreading seditious pamphlets against the government; another conveyed the Levellers' propositions to Cromwell; a third was arrested for importing from Holland copies of the famous appeal for the Protector's assassination, *Killing No Murder*; and still another was later arrested for implication in Sindercombe's plot to kill Cromwell.<sup>146</sup> Of this new guard twenty men were to be constantly on duty; and it is worthy of note that the cost was to be £14,089 a year as against the £6,821/8 of the old life-guard.<sup>147</sup> This was in addition to an order to Maidstone for a quarterly payment of £16,000 for the Protectoral establishment.<sup>148</sup>

Besides a general embargo for 21 days on all ships except those bound for Newfoundland or under the protection of the fleet, which had been ordered at the February 21st meeting of the Council attended by the Protector,<sup>149</sup> Col. John Clarke was requested to attend the Protector with a list of ships remaining in the Channel;<sup>150</sup> and a whole series of administrative measures and reforms were taken up. Lawrence was ordered to advise the Protector to speak to the judges of the complaints made of abuses practiced by the marshals in calling cases at the assizes out of their regular order.<sup>151</sup> In Middlesex an order was issued by the justices of the peace suppressing ale-houses and gaming, drunkenness, outlawed games

Chester Worsley was ordered to visit the "dark corners," or of ill repute. To these were added his orders to punish drunkards, persons not married "according to the late Act of Parliament" (that is to say those married by an Anglican clergyman), and others who had disregarded the Protectoral code.<sup>152</sup> Taken in connection with the measures against horse-racing, bear-baiting, cock-fighting and similar gatherings, it is apparent that this sumptuary legislation was designed as much to keep the Royalist-Anglicans in subjection as for the sake of "Puritanical" morality.

The number and variety of the affairs which pressed upon the Protector at this time is indicated by the orders and documents which he signed and the pleas which came to him from every side. Among

<sup>146</sup> Firth-Davies, pp. 52ff.

<sup>147</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), p. 192.

<sup>148</sup> *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts., Loring Mss.*, i, 298.

<sup>149</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), Feb. 15.

<sup>150</sup>

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>152</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Feb. 25-Mar. 3.

<sup>153</sup> Worsley to Thurloe, Thurloe, iv, 522-23; see also same to same, Jan. 24, *ibid.*,

might retard or interrupt the flow of commerce in the Baltic regions.<sup>154</sup> A second was an order for Cromwell to be sent as an envoy to the King of Portugal.<sup>155</sup> A third was an order for Pell to remove from Geneva to Zürich and there await further instructions. Those instructions were already being drawn, and they were sent to Pell under date of February 21, with a letter to the Swiss cantons informing them of Pell's mission and his instructions:<sup>156</sup>

*Further instructions to John Pell, esq., the Protector's resident at Zurich*

1 Whereas the protestant cantons of Swisserland have not only desired supplies of money from us in the warre they are now engaged in with their popish neighbours and confederates, but alsoe our assistance, councill, and advise, in case they should come to a treatye of peace: and haveinge understood that publique ministers from some neighboringe princes are dispatchinge towards the cantons, to mediate a peace, and to use their endeavours to reconcile the present differences amongst them: as wee have beene ready to answere the desires of our good freinds and allyes, the protestant cantons, in supplyeinge them with money for the warre, accordinge as our owne affaires here at home would permitt, (concerninge which you have formerly received directions) soe wee are most willinge to give them our best advise and help in their treatyes of peace And this you shall give full assurance of unto them.

2 If a peace be enclyned to by them, we, who know not the true state of their affaires, shall not dissuade them from it And therefore if a treatye be entered upon, you shall applye your selfe to assist them therein by such meanes, as you in your owne judgment, or by advise with the protestant cantons, or any of them, shall thinke most proper and effectuell for obteyninge those termes and conditions, which shall be just, safe, and honorable

3 And for that purpose you are authorized to appeare as often as you shall see cause, in our name in the generall assemblie of all the cantons, or other meetings, on the behalf of our sayd protestant friends, and to improve the justice of their cause with such effectuell reasons, and in such proper and becomeinge termes, as shall be thought fitt and expedient, and as their affaires require. And to enable you hereunto, you shall herewith receive letters credentiall to the whole Helvetian body

4 You shall also use your best endeavours to dispose ambassadors or publique ministers of the king of France resident in those parts, to assist the protestant cantons in their treatyes, in as much as they have beene allways certeyne and fixt freinds to France, whereas the popish cantons doe both in their affections, principles, and interest adhere to Spayne, the declared

<sup>154</sup> Columbia *Milton*, no 159; acknowledged Dec. 4, 1656.

<sup>155</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), p 190

<sup>156</sup> *Von Okenrode to Swiss Cantons*, 1656, no 10. 7. Pell was to have . . .

tween us and that kinge then in respect to the protestant cantons on this occasion.

5. You shall also use the like endeavours with any other publique ministers, which may be there upon the place on this occasion from other princes and states, with whom we are in amitye, as it shall be judged to bee of use for the purposes aforesaid

6 And particularly for the more effectuall manageinge of this buisines of so much concernement to the whole Protestant cause, you shall from tyme to tyme with all confidence advise and communicate therein with the publique ministers of the states generall of the united provinces therein, and as farre as may be usefull to proceed in these affaires with joynt counsell.

And in respect we cannot at this distance give you instructions, how to

clared to you our generall minde and scope, doe referre to your judgment the wayes and meanes, whereby the same may bee pursued. Wherein you are to advise and communicate with all freedome, confidence, and intimacy with us from therein as shall be necessary<sup>157</sup>

Feb 21, 1655[-6]

*To the Whole Helvetican Body*

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORDS

The serious consideration of the present state of affairs in your Commonwealth has demanded this of us, that in accordance with our kind good will towards your Commonwealth we should send to you the honorable <sup>John Ball our Resident at Zurich</sup>

therefore provided by us with authority and instructions, we desire by letter to request your esteemed Lordships to grant him a courteous audience as often as the business of the matters to be stated may demand, and in all things to give full credence to him as to our public minister. For the rest we pray God the greatest and highest to consent to govern and direct your deliberations and endeavours. Given from our palace of Westminster, Feb. 21, 1655/6.

Your good friend,  
OLIVER P<sup>158</sup>

This letter, of small importance in itself, was typical of the vague non-committal language which had become one of the Protector's greatest characteristics in his public utterances and diplomatic corre-

<sup>157</sup> Thurloe, iv, 551-52.

<sup>158</sup> Latin in *ibid.*, p. 552.

spondence. It was in sharp contrast to those earlier reports of his military operations, clear, decisive and to the point. That characteristic was noted at precisely this moment by the Dutch envoy, Nieupoort, who wrote de Witt on this same day,

I cannot but say that the Lord protector in my opinion, and so far as I can deduce from the facts here, still considers it to be our real interest that we do not permit the power over the army and the government to fall in hands such as those who have shown so much disaffection, to speak in the words used here. I cannot interrupt him when he talks, and he would be annoyed if I asked every time interpretations to the point of his general remarks, as I found that he just does not answer questions which he doesn't wish to<sup>140</sup>

Further difficulties in the foreign situation centered for the moment in France. On February 19, Giustinian reported that an agent from Cromwell—possibly that same Hugh Morrell whose name had come up earlier in that connection—had been staying in Paris to settle certain difficulties which had arisen with respect to payments which the Protector hoped to receive from the French crown for English ships which had been seized by the French.<sup>141</sup> It was also reported from Paris that a certain M. Lestrade had tried to persuade an Englishman then in Paris on business and recommended by the Protector—again, possibly Morrell—to use his influence with Cromwell to permit the Duke of York to remain in Paris, but was told that it would be useless, since Cromwell proposed to send an ambassador to France but not until the Duke left, as some soldiers might injure the ambassador to please the Duke.<sup>142</sup> The details of the story may not be true, but it reveals a reluctance on the part of the English revolutionary government to expose its ambassadors to the fate that had overtaken Dorislaus and Ascham and the consequent difficulty it faced in its official relations with European powers. Even Whitelocke, and others much

veal few of the circumlocutions and vagueness of the former. It is most probable that  
 a style more in accord with that of his earlier practice in religious exhortation, and  
 peculiarly adapted to conceal his real thought, or else that it had become a second na-

<sup>140</sup>6), p. 183 and n.

<sup>141</sup>75. Morrell had long

been resident in France as a merc

terests, sometimes acting for the government, apparently not always with either tact or authority. Sometime before Feb. 11 he delivered C.'s letter of Dec. [16] to Louis XIV, and returned to London before the end of the month (Thurloe, IV, 524). Cp. *Dist Nat Brog*, "Morrell."

more, had hesitated to risk their persons to brave the revenge of the exiled Royalists and their sympathizers on the Continent, and among the problems the Protectorate had to face this was not the least.

There was, apparently, one who did not shrink from this task. As a result of its four meetings in the last week of February, 1655-6—of which the Protector attended only the one on Friday—besides reducing the militia to eighty men in a county,<sup>163</sup> and renewing the licence to Cranston to levy 1,000 men in Scotland for Swedish service,<sup>164</sup> it was recommended that the Protector send Colonel William Lockhart as his resident to France.<sup>165</sup> For that post, Lockhart, who had been selected in December, was eminently fitted, not only by his military and diplomatic ability and by the fact that he had married Mrs. Cromwell's niece, Robina Sewster, but because he had great influence with Mazarin. In addition it was ordered that an extraordinary commission of merchants—seven French, six Portuguese, two Spanish, and two sheriff-aldermen of London—meet at Glocers Hall the next Monday to attend his Highness and the Council from time to time to consider and report on various proposals made by the merchants "for preserving trade and securing merchants' ships and goods."<sup>166</sup> It was also reported that the Protector had ordered the merchants to raise the duty on imports to 50s. per cent. on imports,<sup>167</sup> and that foreign countries are further revealed by the fact that the Court Minutes of the East India Company record that the Council had ordered that the governors of the Turkey, East India, Eastland, Merchant Adventurers and Muscovia companies authorize committees to meet on the same day as the other committee.<sup>168</sup> They were asked to consider raising money for forty-five sail to "convoy and to preserve the narrow seas" by a levy of war insurance.<sup>169</sup> Thus directly and indirectly the war with Spain took its toll from the merchant classes and, so far as they could see, with no compensating advantages, for the acquisition of Jamaica was of no benefit to the traders and only an expense to the government.

This, with the straits to which the government was put to raise money, was felt in Scotland scarcely less than in England. About this

<sup>163</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), p. 200, they were to be paid off at the next muster.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204, ordered on Mar. 4 that he should have £120 a month (*ibid.*, p. 207). He seems not to have gone until April.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204, ordered on Mar. 4 that he should have £120 a month (*ibid.*, p. 207).

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204, ordered on Mar. 4 that he should have £120 a month (*ibid.*, p. 207).

<sup>169</sup> *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.*, 6, App., p. 439.



time Cromwell was apparently planning the despatch of 500 men from Port Patrick in Scotland under Brayne's command, but the expedition, which was peculiarly ill-fated, did not start until June and did not arrive until December, 1656, and its capable commander was destined to die within a year. It began badly enough with riots in Ayr even before it sailed, and it was presently to lose many of its numbers by shipwreck off the Irish coast, so that, all in all, it proved an unfortunate adventure.<sup>169</sup> In connection with affairs in Scotland, also, Broghill wrote to suggest to the Protector methods of reconciling divisions in the Kirk of Scotland and bringing them over to the Protector's side.<sup>170</sup> Cromwell's next move was to send for the

of Aberdeen in accordance with an ordinance of August 8, 1654.<sup>171</sup> That institution, like the projected college at Durham, was to have revenues once belonging to the old Church establishment, as various documents testified,<sup>172</sup> but it does not appear that this particular grant had ever been in possession of the bishops of Aberdeen, as others were. Nor does it appear that the revenue from the north country estates was very great in comparison with those of other districts, for at this moment the commissioners for Cumberland and Westmorland sent in a list of 31 persons taxed for a total of £539/9 for Cumberland and 11 persons taxed for £423/2 in Westmorland.<sup>173</sup> These were evidently Royalists still paying for their attachment to the old monarchy; but meanwhile steps were taken in another direction to punish or pacify. Harrison, Carew, Courtney and Rich, who were still in custody, were again ordered to be released,<sup>174</sup> though a week later that warrant was stayed until further direction.<sup>175</sup> On the other hand, the poet, John Cleveland, presented a petition to the Protector "praying that he may no longer be persecuted for his previous loyalty to the King," and was presently freed.<sup>176</sup> Thus by a quick succession of kicks and kindness the Protector endeavored to keep peace at home while attending to its affairs abroad. He added also at this moment another insignificant order.

<sup>169</sup> For a full account and references see Firth-Davies, II, 704 ff.

<sup>170</sup> Feb. 26, Thurloe, IV, 557-59.

<sup>171</sup> Feb. 28, *ibid.*, p. 566.

<sup>172</sup> Cp. Aug. 8, 1654, and June 18, 1658.

<sup>173</sup> Thurloe, IV, 561-63.

<sup>174</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 202.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>176</sup> Wood's *Fasts*, I, 499, for arrest Nov. [10], 1655, on suspicion by Haynes, see Thurloe, IV, 184-85.

*Order*

Being certainly informed that Thomas Chetwynd Esq whom we have appointed High Sheriff of our county of Stafford for the year ensuing is not accommodated with any dwelling house therein nor is his ordinary residence in the said county We taking the same into our serious consideration have thought fit and do hereby order that his said office shall be dispensed with Provided nevertheless our will and pleasure is that our said High Sheriff (having no corporal disability) shall personally attend the Judges at such time and times as the Assizes and Gaol Delivery shall be holden for that county any law statute or ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding  
 Given at Whitehall this 29th day  
 of February 1655[-6] OLIVER P<sup>m</sup>

These officers agreed had been a plot made. Cromwell was reported as being ill this last week of February, ill of the stone, besides suffering great disorders of the mind and equally great fears.<sup>178</sup> Giavarina reported that Thurloe also was in poor health and that when he was ill, all business ceased; but that this was probably a fictitious illness to enable the Protector and his secretary to escape for a time from the "farrago" of affairs.<sup>179</sup> Officers were then in London for a conference, which was being formed under the command of Major Richard Beke, who had married Cromwell's niece, Levina Whetstone.<sup>180</sup> Cromwell succeeded very much in his attempts to induce the Scots to whom the Protector offered liberty if they would enter Swedish service.<sup>181</sup> To check a rumor that the Swedish king was no great friend of the Protector, the latter had the agreement between them of May, 1654, printed in the diurnals,<sup>182</sup> and Bonde believed his chances of concluding an Anglo-Swedish treaty had been improved by the Protector's action. The Protector's policy was automatic; and the United Provinces.<sup>183</sup> On the other hand, on February 28 the Protec-

and £500 a year for life, and killed himself when the plot was discovered (*ibid.*, p. 208). *Merc Pol*, Feb. 28-Mar 6, reports Alcock's suicide.

<sup>178</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Feb. 29/Mar 10, *Cal S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 186.

<sup>180</sup> *Cromwell's Letters*, II, 87-88.

<sup>181</sup>

<sup>182</sup> *Pub Intell*, Feb. 18-25.

<sup>183</sup> Whitlocke, p. 634.



designs. According to Nieupoort, the Protector had intended to go to Hampton Court but was prevented by a storm and went instead to Wimbledon to see Lambert. Coming back by way of Lambeth with Pickering and Strickland, his coach, crossing by ferry from Lambeth to Westminster, was thrown into the river. Three of its six horses were drowned but the passengers escaped, and the coach was hauled out of the river the next day.<sup>189</sup> The Protector was uninjured and was able to attend the Council meeting on Tuesday when it is probable that the question of Blake's expedition was discussed. Its departure had been delayed not only by the weather but by the disorganization accompanying the resignation of the captains, as well as by the difficulties of securing men and supplies, though these delays were attributed, naturally enough but probably incorrectly, to Spanish intrigues.<sup>190</sup> In any event Desborough was sent with instructions to clear the matter and on March 6 he was able to write to Cromwell that "the matter is cleared" and that Hill were being sent to London and that there was no further dissatisfaction in the fleet.<sup>191</sup> Two days before he wrote, according to Nicholas, the army officers met at Whitehall, as it was guessed, to consider the question of succession and of conferring a new title on Cromwell.<sup>192</sup>

These greater matters were interrupted on March 4 by one of those interferences with the routine of Oxford University by the Protector, as Chancellor.

*To our trusty and welbeloved, John Owen, Doctor in Divinity, Vice  
Chancellor of our University of Oxford*

OLIVER P.

Trusty and welbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas we have been moved on the behalf of Mr. Oliver Pocklington of Nottingham, Physician (of whose worth and learning We have received ample testimony) That he may be admitted to the Degree of Doctor in Physick. We have thought fit to recommend him unto you, and our University of Oxford for that purpose, with our desire that he may be admitted to the Degree of Doctor in Physick, accordingly. Given under our Signet at our Palace of Westminster the fourth day of March 1655[-6].<sup>193</sup>

It was on the next day that the Protector addressed himself publicly to a problem which had pressed hard upon the administration

<sup>189</sup> Nieupoort to States General, Mar. 7/17, Thurloe, IV, 587, Francis Newport to John Langiye, Mar. 6, *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept. 5, App. p. 148*.

<sup>190</sup> *Journal of the Council of State, 1655-6*, p. 22.

<sup>191</sup> *Journal of the Council of State, 1655-6*, p. 22.

<sup>192</sup> *Journal of the Council of State, 1655-6*, p. 22.

<sup>193</sup> *Nicholas on Langiye, Col. C. P. Dom. (1655-6)*, p. 220.

He was created D. Med. Apr. 25, 1656, rector of Brighthelm, Hunts, 1003.

for some time. This was the situation of London. Many Royalists had taken refuge in the City. . . . the limitations of their lives in the country. The City was jealous of its privileges and resented the authority of Skippon and Barkstead in its midst, and to conciliate or overawe the citizens, the Protector again came before the City authorities to persuade or compel better observance of the regulations:

*Speech to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London*

His Highness on Wednesday last [March 5] was near two hours in delivering a speech at Whitehall to the Lord Mayor's Court of Aldermen and Common Council of London, wherein he told them, that since fair means would not indulge, foul should enforce the Royal party to a peaceable deportment, and seeing they were the cause (by their late eruption) of raising the militia . . .

. . . at all times to be drawn forth upon occasion, that the soldiers as well as the officers were so many inhabitants of each association under their respective Major-Generals, and would thereby fitly serve to be so many watchmen or spies to give notice of or apprehend such as were of dissolute lives and conversation, who lived like gentlemen and yet had no visible way for the same, being cheaters and the like, who were more fit to be sent beyond the seas than to remain here. That God Almighty hath given us many blessings and deliverances, and now seemingly brought us into a probability of enjoying peace, which called upon us to make some returns thereof, by endeavouring that after all our expense of blood and treasure, the same might reap some fruits thereof. And this way the Lord hath owned by making more effectual than was expected, and by receiving a good acceptance with those who of late stood at some distance with us, so that the sole end of this way of procedure was the security of the peace of the nation, the suppressing of vice and encouragement of virtue, the very end of magistracy. That there was a remissness in some of the Justices of the Peace, by many of whom company keeping, . . .

. . . rather under the name and notion of law than under the thing, so that 'tis resolved to regulate the same (God assisting) oppose who will. That now the Major-Generals had gone through all the counties of England and Wales, and where the Major-Generals were present in action, these loose and vagrant persons did fly from thence to other counties, the Major-Generals' occasions not permitting them to be in action at one time. And for that this city was a place that gave shelter to many such idle, loose persons, who had and have their recourse thereto, the same practice is intended to be set on foot in the city by their M . . . commissioned . . . the Lord Mayor and those gentlemen present with the same, to the end no

misunderstanding may be had thereof, for that thereby the good government

It is evident from this utterance, as well as from other testimony, that the system of major-generals was not merely unpopular but not very successful, and, more especially, that it was expensive. It was not, as had apparently been expected, self-sustaining by the levies on Royalist estates, it was becoming, if it had not already become, a burden to the government. On March 8 Lawrence took occasion to write to the major-generals, at the order of the Protector and Council, to demand an account of the estates of all liable for the extraordinary tax, in an endeavor to raise additional funds,<sup>196</sup> though it was still possible for individuals like Henry Widdrington and Parkinson Odber to secure the intervention of the Protector to exempt them from the levy.<sup>196</sup> It appears, too, that there was some dissension among the leaders of the state. According to Royalist informers—always anxious to discover such material, and not always trustworthy—at about the time of the Protector's address to the London authorities, he sent for Lambert, who answered that he was not well. He was sent for a second, a third, and finally a fourth time with no more success, and after Lambert's last refusal to come, it was reported that Cromwell was "in an extraordinary rage: some say he is many times like one distracted, and in those fits he will run round about the house and into the garden which he never doth

It would be difficult to believe such rumours save for two things. The first is that at various times in his life he had been subject to just such disorders, as there is abundant and unquestionable evidence to prove. The second is that Lambert, though he had supported Cromwell loyally, had differed with him stro

been bitterly

office hereditary, on the ground, it was suggested, that he himself hoped to succeed to the Protectorate when and if Cromwell was removed by death or otherwise.

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*Intell.*

<sup>196</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), p. 214. For letters to Cromwell and Thurloe from the county commissioners, see Thurloe, iv, 582ff.

<sup>196</sup> *Cal Comm for Comp*, pp. 999, 1659. Widdrington was a brother of Sir Thomas Widdrington who held many offices under the Protectorate, was Speaker of the House of Commons later in 1656 and was often consulted by the Protector. Odber, of Hurne Court, Hants, petitioned for exemption because he had submitted under the Articles of Truro in 1646 and had been loyal to the Protectorate.

<sup>197</sup> Letter to Ormonde, March 13, Carte, *Orig Letters*, II, 89.

It was at this moment that the Protector sent an order to Searle, the governor of Barbados, to settle the question of the ownership of a piece of land there.

*Order to Daniel Searle, Governor of Barbados*

[Substance only]

On a petition received from Capt Thomas Chapman, claiming title to a piece of land The matter is to be settled there if possible, and if not, to certify the particulars with his opinion thereon, and await Cromwell's further orders.<sup>198</sup>

March 5, 1655-6

In addition to these harassing problems of foreign affairs and domestic administration, the government was at this moment faced with a curious and almost humorous dispute among the printers over the monopoly of the publication of the Bible, which seems to have been one of the more profitable parts of that business. The Stationers' Register of March 6 notes a book "entrd . . . joyntly by command of his Highness the Lord Protectour . . . and under the hand of Master Tho. Gataker . . . and Master Stephens warden . . . a booke entituled The Holy Bible," which became at once the subject of a violent controversy.<sup>199</sup> It would appear that John Bill, "the second [patentee]," and Christopher Barker, "the third," sold to Hills and Field, the official printers, the manuscript of the "last" translation of the Bible. On April 23 the Council considered a petition from that old Parliamentary colonel, John Streater, and others concerned in printing the Bible, against Hills and Field, which was dated on this same 6th of March, apparently drawn up immediately on the issue of the Protector's order. It reveals, among other things, the curious anomaly which was reflected in so many documents of the time. It complained against Hills and Field that they had invaded

pushmatious cowardize and insignificant Com-  
Barker [the younger], and another of his name,  
and (not without probable suspicion) by the consent and connivance of  
Master John Bill (though he was artificially defeated in his expectations of  
tested with the hands of the Venerable and learned Translators in King  
James his time) ever since 6 March 1655. And thereupon by colour of an

<sup>198</sup> Mentioned in Searle's letter to Thurloe, July 17, in Thurloe, v, 221. Order of  
<sup>199</sup> See Searle's letter to Thurloe, July 17, in Thurloe, v, 221. Order of  
1675), 32.

unlawfull and enforced entrance in the Stationers Registry printed and published ever since for the most part in severall Editions of Bibles egregious Blasphemies and damnable Errata's<sup>200</sup>

It would seem evident from all this - then, that all was not serene in the ranks of the gentry, even in the printing of the Scriptures, which, it might appear, ought to have been free from such an unseemly squabble. It was, however, characteristic of such controversies in which by virtue of his office the Protector was drawn as the successor to the royal authority.

It only served to interrupt more important matters. It was reported that the Protector was jealous of Mazarin and was irked by Bordeaux's prolonged stay in Paris and had therefore put off Whitelocke's visit there en route to Sweden,<sup>201</sup> but he did not have long to wait, for Bordeaux was reported to have left Paris on the 10th of March, on which day Mazarin wrote to the Protector as ambassador extraordinary.<sup>202</sup> It was also reported that the Duke of Buckingham had left Paris for London to raise troops for France<sup>203</sup> (but more probably to raise money for himself), and that Sir Kenelm Digby was in France in the Protector's service to hinder any agreement between France and Spain.<sup>204</sup> It was reported from the Hague that the Protector was trying to draw the States General into the war against Spain,<sup>205</sup> which was a natural move for him to make and was doubtless no news to the Protector's government. Meanwhile the situation with regard to Portugal was not yet settled. Meadows left England, probably on March 11, to receive the money due the English merchants and to learn the King's resolution as to the ratification of the treaty.<sup>206</sup> On Thursday, Bonde, accompanied by Coyet, had a "long and notable" conference with the Protector, in which the Protector's opinion of the Anglo-Dutch, "said the Protector, "had misgivings that England and Sweden had concluded negotiations to the [Anglo-Dutch] disadvantage, and that the Protector was not easy to acquire."<sup>207</sup> On the next day Bonde met Cromwell in Hyde Park and

March 7/17, *ibid.*, p. 588

<sup>207</sup> Carlborn, pp. 68-69



was treated, according to Bonde, with great respect.<sup>208</sup> According to Giavarina, Bonde asked for twenty ships but was promised only ten, fully equipped. He noted also that Cromwell had received a messenger from Cartagena, who described places which might be attacked.<sup>209</sup> The Prince de Condé's agent, Barrière, was now out of favor. His request to remain in England was refused by the Protector on the ground that the latter felt himself bound by the treaty with France, more especially in that, Giavarina reported, Mazarin replied to Cromwell's objection to the Duke of York's being permitted to remain in France by noting that Barrière was in London, contrary to the treaty.<sup>210</sup> Further than this, in conversation with Nieupoort, Thurloe implied that the Swiss situation continued to trouble the Protector and he was making efforts to straighten it out.<sup>211</sup> It further appears that at this moment a certain Sir Robert Walsh, otherwise unknown to fame, had just arrived in England to make a proposal of some sort to the Protector, apparently in connection with the Royalist situation on the Continent, as a man of that name was busily engaged in writing to Charles II in this same period.<sup>212</sup>

Amid all these annoyances, small and great, it is not surprising to learn that the Protector was in a bad temper. Ormonde was informed by a correspondent in London that on "Friday last [the 7th], a friend met him [Cromwell] in St. James's Park with only one man with him, and in a distempered carriage; if any people offered to deliver him petitions, or the like, he refused, and told them he had other things to think of, Fleetwood was in the park at the same time, but walked

passion which (they  
Robert's."<sup>213</sup> The same

letter added that Lambert was the Army's darling, that he chose all of the new life-guard, that it was in his power to raise Cromwell higher or to set up in his place; that a member of the Council had said that Lambert would let Cromwell continue as Protector but would rule him as he pleased; that Lambert daily attends Council and carries all as he thinks best, and that Lockyer was going to France with "Lambert's secretary (the best part of Lambert) a dangerous man."<sup>214</sup> There is, of course, a certain amount of suspicion to be attached to the various Royalist reports about Cromwell, written

<sup>208</sup> D. J. D. . . . *Pub. Records*, App II, p. 51

<sup>209</sup> . . . *en* (1655-6), p. 190

<sup>210</sup> '1 . . . also Giavarina to Doge, Mar.

12/2 . . . 195

7/17, Thurloe, iv, 588

*ibid.*, p. 574

<sup>212</sup> Sir K. Digby wrote to Thurloe that he heard from Bordeaux's secretary that Walsh had spoken slightly of Digby to Thurloe (*ibid.*, p. 591)

<sup>213</sup> Letter to Ormonde, London, Mar. 13, *Carte Orm.*

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89, Nicholas to Jane, Mar. 21 . . . -6), p. 236.

as they were by men connected to the government in the Continent. But there are two things which seem to make them more trustworthy than might otherwise be the case. The first is that they are all alike, though written by men who had no concerted action in writing them. The second is that, as other testimony seems to prove, their authors were well-informed as to the situation in England and had facilities for seeing and collecting news about the men in the government. About Lambert's—later Lockhart's—secretary, William Swift, there is little known, but his importance is suggested by the fact that Charles was advised "it he could not make a friend of him, to try not to make him an enemy."<sup>215</sup> However much the Royalists may have exaggerated his importance at this moment and his attitude toward Cromwell, there seems little doubt but that he played a great part in affairs at this time, and there seems equally little doubt but that he disagreed with the Protector and was overborne by him. He had been opposed to the West Indian enterprise, and his judgment there had thus far been supported by the event. He was no less opposed to war with Spain, and it remained to be seen whether he was not also right in this. Meanwhile on March 7 orders had been issued to Blake and Montagu to sail as soon as possible, but the weather had been unfavorable and they had not yet gone,<sup>216</sup> but from these various pieces of information it was apparent that the Protector's plan was to draw the more belligerent elements from Scotland and Ireland to the Continent or the colonies, and to press forward his attack on Spain.

Both Cromwell and Lambert seem to have been more or less disabled at this time by illness. Lambert had been confined to his house at Wimbledon, Cromwell largely to his apartments in Whitehall. During the second week of March he did not attend the Council meetings, and though there was issued on March 10 a letter of reprisal against Spain, which began, as usual, "Oliver, Lord Protector," it was sealed with the Admiralty seal and was probably not signed by Cromwell,<sup>217</sup> though it was, of course, issued with his approval. On this same March 10, 26 persons were named as a committee to prepare statutes for the projected college at Durham.<sup>218</sup> On the day of his speech, the 11th, at the Protector's order, Thurloe sent a request to the Admiralty Commissioners to submit estimates of the charges of the navy for the summer service, and Nathaniel Waterhouse reminded them that the £2,000 which the Protector had borrowed

<sup>215</sup> Wm. H. Dawson, *Cromwell's Understudy* (1938), pp. 210-11.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

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30, *ibid.*, p.

"... his Highness had lent for the use of the navy."<sup>219</sup> On Wednesday the Council advised the Protector to authorize George Fleetwood to raise 2,000 volunteers for the Swedish service, and on the next day advised sending an equal number of Irish into French service.<sup>220</sup>

According to the usual custom in times of stress, on March 13, a day of solemn fasting and humiliation was set for March 28,<sup>221</sup> and on that same day the articles of agreement passed between the Marquis of Argyll and General Deane on behalf of the Parliament on August 19, 1652, were finally ratified by the Council and approved by the Protector a week later.<sup>222</sup> As part of the preparations for the Spanish war, on that same 13th of March the Council proposed to the Protector that commissions be issued for prize goods commissioners;<sup>223</sup> and on the next day warrants were issued to Dendy for the arrest of various persons,<sup>224</sup> apparently connected with the plot of 1655, possibly in the fear of another plot now brewing, but few or none of them of any importance. Finally, "for his Highness' personal pleasure," the Council ordered Embree to have the marble fountain with its pipes and cistern moved from Somerset Garden to Hampton Court.<sup>225</sup>

The renewed arrests emphasized the situation of the country which was revealed in the reports from local officials, now coming in from every direction. The commissioners for Oxford asserted their good faith and their obedience to the Protector's reference to the petition of Sir William Waller, not as an active Royalist but not demonstrably well-affected to the present government.<sup>226</sup> Whalley wrote for approval of his permission to the Earl of Exeter to enter his horse for the Great Game.<sup>227</sup> Two Wiltshire commissioners wrote concerning the Protector's order to forbear assessing Lord Seymour and his peti-

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 223. According to Giavarina, 1,000 of the 2,000 for the Swedes had been sent to Prussia, the other 1,000 were to be sent soon, to be followed by 1,000 for the French, *ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>221</sup> *Healing Question*, May 12. Reason for humiliation: people not properly thankful for peace. Crawford, I, 371, no. 3069.

<sup>222</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), p. 222. Text in Firth, *Scot and Commonwealth*, pp. 48-50.

<sup>223</sup> *There is a great deal of money to be made by the sale of the goods of the enemies of the Commonwealth, and the Council have resolved to issue commissions to the commissioners to purchase the goods of the enemies of the Commonwealth, and to sell them for the use of the Commonwealth.*

<sup>224</sup> Rich Bennet, —Chandler, Jer Read (servant to Sir F Mackworth?), *ibid.* (1655-6), p. 579.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>226</sup> Thurloe, IV, 608.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 607.

tion, with one from a Mr. York for exemption from taxes.<sup>228</sup> Addresses were presented from certain corporations in regard to altering their charters; some as already considered, others still under consideration.<sup>229</sup> In the morning the Protector, Captain Nedham broke up a Royalist meeting at Rufford and took several prisoners.<sup>230</sup> Robert Lilburne reported eight men in the Hull garrison secured, one woman sent to London and Sir Richard Mauleverer fled.<sup>231</sup> Nathaniel Bunch was examined as to his prophecy—or his project—that Cromwell would be killed at the gate of Whitehall, like Charles I.<sup>232</sup> How suspicious the government was, or how “puritanical,” is further revealed by the soldiers seizing horses out for exercise on Sunday by the grooms, though the latter were released the next day after being fined 10s. each.<sup>233</sup> According to Ormonde’s correspondent, Barkstead, who was the most feared of all the major-generals, was about to seek out Royalists, who were fleeing into the country, “fearing massacre.” The same informant declares—that the great need was money; that the Protector had sent a privy seal letter to the states concerning the embargo on the Dutch ships.<sup>234</sup> The other twenty day embargo following the one which had now just expired.<sup>234</sup>

On Thursday morning, according to Bonde, he had another “long and notable” two-hour conference with the Protector in regard to the chief points of the proposed alliance,<sup>235</sup> but none of the other envoys seems to have been able to secure an audience. Schlezer complained on behalf of the Dutch ambassador that he had made little progress with his naval treaty, and for himself that he had been told by Thurloe that the Protector ‘esteemed’ the Brandenburger’s proposal, which had been handed to him on March 8, and contained the words “defensive and offensive alliance,” but he would like some comment from Schlezer as to the benefit England would receive from it in the war with Spain. “In his opinion the right way to come to an agreement . . . was when the thought and interests were the same or could be adjusted,” and he wished to know whether Schlezer had instructions to negotiate a special agreement with him. The Brandenburg envoy commented that he had been shown more attention than

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 610.

<sup>229</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Mar. 10-17.

<sup>230</sup> Thurloe, IV, 598-99.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 614.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 621, on March 6, 1655.

<sup>233</sup> C.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

<sup>235</sup> Carlbom, p. 69; cp. Giavarina to Doge, Mar. 14/24, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 194.

formerly, and added that there was a possibility of war between England and Spain.<sup>235</sup> The Protector had suggested that the Dutch should attack Spain.<sup>236</sup>

At this point, too, the question of Jamaica arose again. Sedgwick and Goodson had just sent in a full account of the situation there.<sup>237</sup> It had not yet reached England; but on Tuesday Nathaniel Bacon attended the Protector and discussed that problem without coming to any definite conclusion, the Protector referring to the Admiralty Commissioners the "particular cases," "so that the Council might be able to sum up the whole under one rule."<sup>238</sup> It was at this time and apparently in this connection that instructions were drawn up for commissioners to sail to Jamaica, incidentally acknowledging receipt of the letters of November 9 and February 24 from the Jamaica authorities to the Protector.<sup>239</sup>

On March 17 Bernardi reported that he had tried his best to obtain the long promised documents of indemnity and that on the 13th he had been summoned to a private audience with the Protector, but had been received by Thurloe, as Cromwell was not well and had instructed him to act in the Protector's stead. The delay, Thurloe explained, was due to reports from trustworthy sources that the Genoese were secretly planning to give monetary and other aid to Spain, which Bernardi naturally denied.<sup>240</sup> But the main business of the moment was in connection with the troops and militia. Besides signing a commission for a Thomas Butler as cornet of horse,<sup>241</sup> the Protector seems to have done little, but the Council, especially the President, Lawrence, was busy with letters to the major-generals and commissioners which indicate something of the activities of those hard-worked officials. The Suffolk authorities were ordered to discharge Sir William Harvey from all proceedings against him or his estate.<sup>242</sup> Butler was ordered to distribute prisoners taken at sea so as to prevent their doing mischief; and like orders were sent to the other major-generals. Whalley was instructed to discharge Sir Robert Thorold from further proceedings; Packer and Fleetwood to reduce the militia to eighty men in a troop and pay those dismissed; and on the 20th, the major-generals of Suffolk, Bucks and Somerset were ordered to transmit the particulars of the estates of the Earl of Devonshire,<sup>243</sup>

<sup>235</sup> Schlezer to [Jena?], Mar 14/24, and Schlezer to Kurfurst, Mar 16/26, Mendenhall trans. Cp. Nieupoort to de Witt, Mar 14/24, De Witt, *Brieven*, III, 204.

<sup>237</sup> Thurloe, IV, 600-2.

<sup>238</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), p. 233.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 29, 333-35.

<sup>241</sup> Offered by Maggs, cat. no. 196 (1903), no. 361.

<sup>242</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), pp. 231-32.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 233-34, 236.

the former Royalist general, then an exile excluded from pardon and forbidden to compound for delinquency, though this was apparently permitted, perhaps at this time

There were reasons for this renewed activity apart from the stoppage of proceedings against various individuals. During the preceding week, Thurloe wrote Henry Cromwell, there had been a meeting of

many of the Anabaptist churches . . . all the discontented of that partie and of the fift monarchy men, with a full intention to have engaged the churches in blood . . . but . . . some grave and sober men of their owne judgment were sent to meet them, where matters were soe handled . . . that these men with their principles were rejected, although they were soe bold as to provoake the churches to arms; but they are now looked upon as men of wrathfull spirits and favouringe the things of satan and of this world. what course will be further taken with them I cannot tell yet. Colonel Danvers is one, who would faine be in armes, and was at one of these meetinges to incite others to the same thunge.<sup>244</sup>

Following this, notwithstanding an earlier order to cancel the warrant for the release of Harrison and his fellow-prisoners, on March 20, according to the Fifth Monarchist Rogers,

came Captain Floyd and Major Strange with an order from Whitehall to remove Maj Gen Harrison from us to Highgate to his own house, a prisoner, under pretence of the very desperate danger of death his father, the Colonel, was in, . . . but our precious Con-Captive thus surprised was in great fears of the serpent's snares in this order, and would not give them any resolve what to do until he had acquainted us therewith, . . .<sup>245</sup>

Apparently Cradock, the Baptist minister, was sent to interview Harrison and to advise him that the Protector would give him his freedom if he would agree to remain peaceably at home and not act against the government,<sup>246</sup> while Fleetwood was sent on a similar errand to his friend Rich. But Rich was as dubious as Harrison, indicating that his release would be an admission of the original grounds for his imprisonment.<sup>247</sup> Carew was to be permitted to remain in his own house as a prisoner, but Rogers and Courtney were kept in gaol.<sup>248</sup> It appears—whether or not in connection with this threat from the Fifth Monarchists—that Dendy was given a warrant

<sup>244</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Mar 18, Thurloe, II, 629.

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<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105, citing Rich's letter to Fleetwood, cp Thurloe, VI, 251, and *Resol.* M. 11. A. 6. 2. 28.

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to arrest and bring before the Council Lord Willoughby of Parham and a George Bartlett,<sup>249</sup> and on March 25 Lord Willoughby and George Bartlett were examined before the Council in regard to a quarrel between them. The whole incident is obscure, but in connection with a note that Cradock had been engaged in "private feeling of pulses . . . at the Isle of Wight,"<sup>250</sup> it indicates that the government was considerably concerned about the possibility of a Fifth Monarchist rising and was consequently keeping a close watch on the leaders of that sect. Whatever lay behind these various maneuvers, it would appear that Willoughby of Parham, who had been implicated in the rising of 1655, was sent to prison, presumably on suspicion of being connected with these Fifth Monarchist activities which threatened another outburst of fanaticism, and Willoughby's correspondence with Charles II in the preceding months seems to indicate that he was somehow involved in a new design.

This was interrupted by an untoward circumstance. On Friday Archbishop Ussher died. His funeral did not take place until April 17, and even then the Protector did not know Ussher and had a high opinion of him. Ussher's political beliefs, contributed £200 to the expenses of the funeral out of the Exchequer funds,<sup>251</sup> as he had earlier required his army in Ireland to contribute funds to buy Ussher's library for Trinity College, Dublin. In the meantime, on March 17—though Bonde, curiously enough, does not note it in his diary—a paper relating to the proposed treaty between England and Sweden was delivered to Thurloe. The terms of the proposal were, in effect, only those for a defensive alliance against the enemies of either signatory. They left the Protector in a difficult position, for in case of war between Sweden and the Dutch, he would be bound to take sides against the latter with whom he had recently signed a treaty, and who might conceivably join the Spaniards against him in the war now pending between England and Spain.<sup>252</sup> Ormonde's correspondent was no doubt right when he wrote that Cromwell was much disturbed at the news of Charles II's arrival in Flanders at this time<sup>253</sup> when a combination of Royalists and Anabaptists threatened the Protector at home and a combination of Dutch and Spaniards threatened him abroad. He was, therefore, unwilling to commit himself to such an agreement with Sweden, which, so far from improving

<sup>249</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), p. 580.

<sup>250</sup> Thurloe, vi, 252.

<sup>251</sup> Thurloe, vi, 252. <sup>252</sup> Thurloe, vi, 252, says out of "public moneys," which is apparently correct as <sup>253</sup> Thurloe, vi, 252, 7-14, says "out of the Exchequer." See also Hearne's *Collections*, 1 (Oxford Hist Soc, 1888), 187.

<sup>253</sup> Document (in Latin) in Thurloe, iv, 623-24. Cp Gardiner, *Comm and Prot*, iv, 212.

<sup>254</sup> Letter to Ormonde, London, Mar. 21/31, Carte, *Orig. Letters*, II, 94.

well add to the number of his enemies on order, therefore, that Nieupoort reported that the Danish envoy, Simon de Petkum, was received by the Protector with great cordiality,<sup>254</sup> since under the circumstances, Denmark, like Brandenburg, might conceivably be of much use to him in the situation of the Germanic-Baltic states.<sup>255</sup> If this were not enough to disturb him at this moment, he received and referred to the Council the petition of Menasseh ben Israel and six other Jews for permission to meet in their own houses for religious services, and, what was more important, to bury their dead outside of the City "with leave of the proprietors."<sup>256</sup>

Partly, perhaps, in view of these circumstances, partly, no doubt, on account of his health, the Protector was not present at the Council meetings in the last week of March,<sup>257</sup> of which the Friday session was omitted as a day of fasting and humiliation.<sup>258</sup> That the threat of disturbance was regarded as serious is evidenced by the fact that the Council appointed five commissioners for securing peace in the City; and that the customs situation was unsatisfactory appears from the fact that the Council drafted and the Protector approved orders making the accountant-general a Protectoral appointment, with other checks upon the activities of the collectors.<sup>259</sup> This was, in fact, connected with the financial situation, which all evidence goes to prove was as bad as it could be under the government, and even found reflection in the instructions which were presently issued to the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland.<sup>261</sup>

Taken all in all this first three months of 1656 was one of the duller and most depressing periods in the history of the Protectorate, partly on account of Cromwell's illness, partly on account of the opposition to his rule, which always expressed itself when it seemed possible he would not be able to go on with the conduct of affairs, and partly because, owing to that circumstance, the greater affairs with which he was concerned were more or less at a standstill.

<sup>254</sup> Nieupoort to States General, Mar. 21/31, De Witt, *Brieven*, III, 208.

<sup>255</sup> However, Beverning later reported from Copenhagen that Thurloe had made it

known to him that the Danish king was not inclined to receive him.

<sup>256</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), pp. 238-39.

<sup>257</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Mar. 10-17.

<sup>258</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), pp. 238-39.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>261</sup> On March 24 the Protector issued letters patent of the same rights as those of



## CHAPTER III

### IRELAND, FRANCE AND SWEDEN

MARCH 24-JUNE 1, 1656

The long illness of the Protector, the consequent delay in business, the uncertainty of the situation which might result from his permanent incapacity or his retirement from office, combined to make the winter of 1655-6 a peculiarly difficult period in Cromwell's life and the Protectorate in general. As spring came on, with improvement in the war, there seemed some promise of renewed energy and activity on the part of the revolutionary government. The Protector began to take a greater share in affairs than he had been able to in the preceding months. It was reported that on the Saturday of the last week of March, 1656, he personally examined a highwayman, one William Francis, who was said to have robbed travellers of the amazing sum of £11,000 in one year;<sup>1</sup> which, among other things, evidenced the laxity of policing the roads in this disturbed time and, indeed, for long thereafter. He was, at any rate, well enough to write one of those perhaps too frequent letters to the Oxford authorities to request a degree for a certain Peter Vashon, and to issue additional instructions to the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland.

*For Dr John Owen, Dr. in Divinity, Vice-Chancellor of our University of Oxford*

SIR,

We have received very good satisfaction from several letters of yours, touching his skill in the faculty he professeth, and especially through the blessing of God, his conversation.

We are pleased out of our especial favour and regard had to a person under so good a character to vouchsafe him thus our especial recommendation to you, and by you to the rest into whose hands our power to that purpose is delegated, together with our house of Convocation in the University of Ox-

<sup>1</sup> *Pub Intell*, Mar 24-31

Your loving Friend,

OLIVER P:

*Additional Instructions to the Lord Deputy and Council*

1 That the Crown lands, bishops', deans' and chapters' lands, the cities, corporate towns, and the lands common of pasture, and other hereditaments formerly belonging unto such cities and corporate towns and within the liberties thereof in Ireland, be reserved for the State's use, and carefully distinguished from the forfeited lands in each county and barony set apart for the satisfaction of the Adventurers and soldiers.

Lord Deputy and Council for the better carrying on and ordering of trade in  
Ireland

respective qualifications contained in the Act of Settlement, and that letters patents under the Great Seal of Ireland be accordingly granted unto as many of them, their heirs and assigns as shall desire the same, provided that the said rent of one penny-halfpenny by the acre do not commence to be paid by any of them until one full year after he or they shall respectively be put into possession of the same, and that no lands or tenements shall be assigned

4 That the forfeited lands undisposed of and in the State's gift lying within the County of Donegal in the Province of Ulster, the counties of Wicklow and Longford in the Province of Leinster, and the County of Leitrim in the Province of Connaught be, with as much speed as may be, set apart to satisfy the claims of the officers and soldiers, their executors, administrators and assigns who have not already received satisfaction for the same, and who shall have right to claim the said arrears, according as

-Co 106-11, 41-12, 42-13, 43-14, 44-15, 45-16, 46-17, 47-18, 48-19, 49-20, 50-21, 51-22, 52-23, 53-24, 54-25, 55-26, 56-27, 57-28, 58-29, 59-30, 60-31, 61-32, 62-33, 63-34, 64-35, 65-36, 66-37, 67-38, 68-39, 69-40, 70-41, 71-42, 72-43, 73-44, 74-45, 75-46, 76-47, 77-48, 78-49, 79-50, 80-51, 81-52, 82-53, 83-54, 84-55, 85-56, 86-57, 87-58, 88-59, 89-60, 90-61, 91-62, 92-63, 93-64, 94-65, 95-66, 96-67, 97-68, 98-69, 99-70, 100-71, 101-72, 102-73, 103-74, 104-75, 105-76, 106-77, 107-78, 108-79, 109-80, 110-81, 111-82, 112-83, 113-84, 114-85, 115-86, 116-87, 117-88, 118-89, 119-90, 120-91, 121-92, 122-93, 123-94, 124-95, 125-96, 126-97, 127-98, 128-99, 129-100, 130-101, 131-102, 132-103, 133-104, 134-105, 135-106, 136-107, 137-108, 138-109, 139-110, 140-111, 141-112, 142-113, 143-114, 144-115, 145-116, 146-117, 147-118, 148-119, 149-120, 150-121, 151-122, 152-123, 153-124, 154-125, 155-126, 156-127, 157-128, 158-129, 159-130, 160-131, 161-132, 162-133, 163-134, 164-135, 165-136, 166-137, 167-138, 168-139, 169-140, 170-141, 171-142, 172-143, 173-144, 174-145, 175-146, 176-147, 177-148, 178-149, 179-150, 180-151, 181-152, 182-153, 183-154, 184-155, 185-156, 186-157, 187-158, 188-159, 189-160, 190-161, 191-162, 192-163, 193-164, 194-165, 195-166, 196-167, 197-168, 198-169, 199-170, 200-171, 201-172, 202-173, 203-174, 204-175, 205-176, 206-177, 207-178, 208-179, 209-180, 210-181, 211-182, 212-183, 213-184, 214-185, 215-186, 216-187, 217-188, 218-189, 219-190, 220-191, 221-192, 222-193, 223-194, 224-195, 225-196, 226-197, 227-198, 228-199, 229-200, 230-201, 231-202, 232-203, 233-204, 234-205, 235-206, 236-207, 237-208, 238-209, 239-210, 240-211, 241-212, 242-213, 243-214, 244-215, 245-216, 246-217, 247-218, 248-219, 249-220, 250-221, 251-222, 252-223, 253-224, 254-225, 255-226, 256-227, 257-228, 258-229, 259-230, 260-231, 261-232, 262-233, 263-234, 264-235, 265-236, 266-237, 267-238, 268-239, 269-240, 270-241, 271-242, 272-243, 273-244, 274-245, 275-246, 276-247, 277-248, 278-249, 279-250, 280-251, 281-252, 282-253, 283-254, 284-255, 285-256, 286-257, 287-258, 288-259, 289-260, 290-261, 291-262, 292-263, 293-264, 294-265, 295-266, 296-267, 297-268, 298-269, 299-270, 300-271, 301-272, 302-273, 303-274, 304-275, 305-276, 306-277, 307-278, 308-279, 309-280, 310-281, 311-282, 312-283, 313-284, 314-285, 315-286, 316-287, 317-288, 318-289, 319-290, 320-291, 321-292, 322-293, 323-294, 324-295, 325-296, 326-297, 327-298, 328-299, 329-300, 330-301, 331-302, 332-303, 333-304, 334-305, 335-306, 336-307, 337-308, 338-309, 339-310, 340-311, 341-312, 342-313, 343-314, 344-315, 345-316, 346-317, 347-318, 348-319, 349-320, 350-321, 351-322, 352-323, 353-324, 354-325, 355-326, 356-327, 357-328, 358-329, 359-330, 360-331, 361-332, 362-333, 363-334, 364-335, 365-336, 366-337, 367-338, 368-339, 369-340, 370-341, 371-342, 372-343, 373-344, 374-345, 375-346, 376-347, 377-348, 378-349, 379-350, 380-351, 381-352, 382-353, 383-354, 384-355, 385-356, 386-357, 387-358, 388-359, 389-360, 390-361, 391-362, 392-363, 393-364, 394-365, 395-366, 396-367, 397-368, 398-369, 399-370, 400-371, 401-372, 402-373, 403-374, 404-375, 405-376, 406-377, 407-378, 408-379, 409-380, 410-381, 411-382, 412-383, 413-384, 414-385, 415-386, 416-387, 417-388, 418-389, 419-390, 420-391, 421-392, 422-393, 423-394, 424-395, 425-396, 426-397, 427-398, 428-399, 429-400, 430-401, 431-402, 432-403, 433-404, 434-405, 435-406, 436-407, 437-408, 438-409, 439-410, 440-411, 441-412, 442-413, 443-414, 444-415, 445-416, 446-417, 447-418, 448-419, 449-420, 450-421, 451-422, 452-423, 453-424, 454-425, 455-426, 456-427, 457-428, 458-429, 459-430, 460-431, 461-432, 462-433, 463-434, 464-435, 465-436, 466-437, 467-438, 468-439, 469-440, 470-441, 471-442, 472-443, 473-444, 474-445, 475-446, 476-447, 477-448, 478-449, 479-450, 480-451, 481-452, 482-453, 483-454, 484-455, 485-456, 486-457, 487-458, 488-459, 489-460, 490-461, 491-462, 492-463, 493-464, 494-465, 495-466, 496-467, 497-468, 498-469, 499-470, 500-471, 501-472, 502-473, 503-474, 504-475, 505-476, 506-477, 507-478, 508-479, 509-480, 510-481, 5

<sup>1</sup> "I.e. by placing the lots in a box" (Dunlop's note)

the same is provided for in the Act of Parliament for stating and determining of the accounts of such officers and soldiers as have been employed in the Commonwealth's service in Ireland or otherwise, provided that none pay less for any thousand acres of profitable land lying and being in any of the counties and provinces aforesaid than the same is rated at to the Adventurers.

the Act, entituled 'An Act for the speedy and effectual satisfying of the Adventurers for lands in Ireland and the arrears due to the soldiery there'

5 That in case the forfeited lands, with the aforesaid four counties, shall not be sufficient to satisfy the arrears of pay due to the said officers and soldiers, their executors, administrators and assigns that then the remainder thereof be forthwith satisfied as aforesaid by and out of such lands as lie in the said Province of Connaught and County of Clare within one mile of the river of Shannon or of the sea, which is exempted from the transplanted Irish and reserved for the State's use, and that it be in the power of the said Lord Deputy and Council to reserve about every of the garrisons, already made and erected upon the said river of Shannon, or as shall be within one twelve-month thought fit to be erected on the same, so much of the ground aforesaid as they shall judge necessary for the use of the said respective garrisons made and to be made as aforesaid, provided that there be not above 1000 Irish acres reserved about each respective garrison as aforesaid for the use thereof, unless it be about the city of Limerick, the pass of Killaloe, the castle of Portumna, the town and castle of Athlone and Jamestown, where the said Lord Deputy and Council are to reserve so much of that land so reserved as they shall think necessary and fit for the use and service of the State

6 That letters patents under the Great Seal of Ireland be granted unto all or any the officers and soldiers, their heirs and assigns of their respective lands allotted unto them in Ireland (under the yearly rents already reserved), who shall desire the same for the better corroborating of their titles and interests to their said interests.

7 That upon request to be made by any of the officers, soldiers, Adventurers, or other Protestant proprietors in Ireland, their respective estates be granted unto them, and that fairs, markets, courts leet, courts baron, courts of pie powder, waifs, strays, goods of felons, goods of fugitives, free warren, as also courts of record to be kept in every market-town for the trial of personal actions not exceeding £200, and all other royalties, privileges, and immunities formerly usually granted to planters in that country, be granted under the Great Seal of Ireland unto the aforesaid persons, their heirs and assigns, and that yearly on each of the said grants unto his Highness's Majesty's yearly rent as may further enable and give the said respective persons encouragement to plant their said estates with English

8 That all the church livings in Ulster that are vacant and in the State's gift and all other church livings in that province which have been in any

in any part of Ulster or in the County of Louth, and have at any time been in arms or hostility against the State in England, Scotland or Ireland (not being

they are freed

Great Seal of Ireland, if they  
ings out of Ulster and the said County of Louth, before 29th September 1657,  
into any other the provinces or counties in Ireland (except the said County  
of Louth) pardoned their respective offences, for the further encouragement  
of them thereunto, otherwise to pay such composition as to the Lord Deputy  
and Council in Ireland shall seem meet.

10 That all others of the Scottish nation, not guilty of bearing arms  
against the State as aforesaid, who since 24th June 1650 have come into  
Ireland, and are now dwelling in the said Province of Ulster or County of  
Louth aforesaid, be (by Proclamation or otherwise) commanded to remove  
their dwellings and stocks out of the said Province of Ulster and County of  
Louth before 29th September 1657, and to settle themselves in such  
towns corporate in Ireland,

tates, the one moiety whereof to be and accue to the State's use, and the  
other to the use of the informer or informers and prosecutors, and, if they  
have no estates, then upon pain of such further punishment as the Lord

11 That all others of the Scottish nation who have not now habitations in  
Ireland, and who shall at any time hereafter desire to come and dwell in

Province of Ulster or County of Louth until further order.

12. That the Courts for probate of wills and testaments, as also the Courts  
of Admiralty be again erected and resettled in Ireland as followeth,  
[(1) Courts for probate of wills to be erected in every three counties; (2) The  
judge and register of the Court to be appointed by the Lord Deputy and  
Council, (3) The Lord Deputy and Council with the advice of the judges to  
settle the fees of the Court for probate of wills, (4) A Preiogative Court to be

and other inferior officers to be maintained out of the fees, (7) To have power  
to receive appeals from inferior courts, (8) A Court of Admiralty to be re-  
settled under the Great Seal of Ireland, (9) In difficult cases to be assisted by  
the judges or masters of Chancery; (10) Judges, register and other inferior  
officers to be maintained out of the fees of the Court]

and  
of  
her  
imposition, subsidy, or charge than as from port to port in England, upon  
the said goods  
and or Scotland,  
and to return authentical certificates thereof within convenient time, to be  
limited in the said security to the officers of the custom house, residing at such

14. That all or any of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth of England

be permitted and licensed to export horses out of Ireland into the Barbados or other of the English plantations in the West Indies, they or any of them paying no more custom, subsidy or other charge for each horse so to be transported but twenty shillings as in England

15 That six months' longer time be given for the adjudication of such claims as have been found or made by order or direction of the Commissioners

ness' Ordinance of 23rd June 1654, and as yet remain undetermined in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, Eastmeath, King's and Queen's Counties, Louth, Antrim, Down and Armagh in Ireland, and that the said six months commence from the publication thereof in each of the respective counties aforesaid

16 That for the encouragement of foreign nations to come into Ireland to purchase or take to farm houses and lands there, letters patents of denization be granted under the Great Seal of Ireland to all persons of what nation soever professing the Protestant religion who are now dwelling abroad after a certain time to be limited by the said Ordinance

17. Whereas the estates of divers rebels (upon good and valuable considerations) have been granted by lease or in mortgage to Protestants before the rebellion in Ireland began, or otherwise made liable to the just satisfaction of statutes, judgments, recognizances, or any other legal encumbrance to Protestants, and likewise whereas the estates of divers of the Protestants have been granted in lease or in mortgage to any of the rebels or otherwise made liable as aforesaid to the satisfaction of any debt due unto the said rebels or any others at present or hereafter, of the cases aforesaid

always, that where any of the said encumbrances fall upon any lands that are assigned either to the Adventurers or soldiers, that the consent of such Adventurers or soldiers be first obtained before the sale be made thereof

18. That by Commission under the Great Seal of Ireland directed unto such persons within every county there, as the Lord Deputy and Council shall make choice of, it be carefully inquired into what free school or schools were formerly erected in each city, town-corporate, and county within Ireland, what yearly maintenance was formerly belonging unto the said free school or schools within each county, from whence it issued and by whom paid; how much the same amounted to yearly in 1640 and 1641, and what the same may be now set for yearly, as also what it will now fall short of £100 per annum in each county; and that upon return thereof there be allowed and paid yearly out of the rents formerly belonging to bishops, deans and chapters within each respective county in Ireland so much as will make up the said present revenue formerly belonging to the said free school or schools within every of the aforesaid counties £100 yearly, and where no such means were formerly allowed, that in such county there be allowed as aforesaid for the

maintenance of such free school or schools as shall be found fitting to be erected there so much yearly maintenance as the said Lord Deputy and Council shall think fit to allow, not exceeding the sum of £100 in the said respective counties

19 That power be given by the like Commission, directed as aforesaid, (according to Article 3 of the Act 17 Caroli for the better ordering of the ministers and erecting of public meeting-place, by the Act of Parliament entitled, 'An Act for the speedy and effectual satisfaction of the Adventurers for lands in Ireland and of the arrears due to the soldiers there') to enlarge or reduce each respective parish in Ireland, with consent of the inhabitants, to such limits and bounds as may afford, when the same is planted, a competent yearly livelihood to the minister, as also that the same be of such extent and circuit as that the parishioners may with conveniency come to the meeting-place on the Lord's Day, and to appoint the said meeting-place to be erected in the most convenient place of such parish for that purpose, and that the Commissioners' proceedings therein be from time to time certified to the Lord Deputy and Council to the end that upon their approbation the same may be confirmed by Act of State.

20 Whereas the poorer sort of Irish in Ireland do, as well as the rich, abound in children, and have for the most part no other means to support them and their said children but either by begging or stealing or both, by which means they not only prove very burdensome, but also unnecessary members of the Commonwealth, and whereas the said children would, no doubt, in time prove of excellent use, if there were some course laid down

Ireland, that would not only make it their business to breed them as well principally, but also to be enabled,

by their own industry, and whereas it is likewise found by daily experience that there is a great want in England of labourers and servants of all sorts, occasioned partly by the late war, and partly by carrying of both men and women to foreign plantations, as also for that, no doubt, it would be a work most acceptable unto the Lord to have the said children bred and brought up as aforesaid, that for the effecting and carrying on a work of so great piety and charity a public collection be appointed to be made upon a certain day, once every year, in all the respective parishes in Ireland, in such manner as you shall think meet, that the collections so made be committed to such hands and put into such a way of distribution in Ireland as shall be found most conducing to effect and bring to pass so pious, charitable and advantageous ends, and that the said children may hereafter prove to the Commonwealth.

21 That whereas it is found by daily experience that in some parts of Ireland, and that probably more may be found hereafter, which may, if it be permitted to be exported out of that nation, prove very prejudicial to this Commonwealth; and whereas there hath not been any law, act or State, or penalty imposed for hindering the exportation thereof, because it was never before found there, that the exportation thereof anywhere out of Ireland be

(or Declaration or otherwise) prohibited upon the like penalty as the same

Such matters, even the instructions to Ireland, yielded in importance to the return of Bordeaux to London on March 28, and his audience with the Protector on the day following. He seems to have said little or nothing directly in regard to a closer alliance for military purposes at that interview, but he appears to have gathered that Cromwell had decided at long last to send a special ambassador to France, and the Protector apparently told Bordeaux of the information he had received in regard to Sexby's design to excite revolt in the English fleet.<sup>5</sup> The sending of an English ambassador to France at this moment was probably far from the wishes of Mazarin, who still contemplated some arrangement with Spain. The wily Cardinal offered various objections to the presence of an English envoy in France, chief among them the difficulties presented by the residence there of some of the royal family and their adherents, from whom some danger to the envoy might be feared. But Cromwell insisted—and he had, in fact, already selected for that post Colonel William Lockhart, who was to start on that dangerous and difficult enterprise within a few weeks, so that Mazarin bowed to the inevitable.

At the same time, the fleet of Blake and Montagu finally put to sea.<sup>6</sup> At about the same time, the insurrectionists imprisoned at Exeter were sent to Barbados,<sup>7</sup> whose assembly at that moment was expressing its satisfaction with the Protector's government,<sup>8</sup> and there was being circulated in New England a handbill urging its inhabitants to emigrate to Jamaica—which few of them did.<sup>9</sup> With these efforts to provide settlers and servants for the West Indian possessions, there went further diplomatic activities in London. Schlezer, after his audience with the Protector, or at least with the President of the Council. He believed, he said, that Cromwell would be inclined to prevent any misunderstanding between Brandenburg or Sweden and the States General, since his intentions were to keep all the Protestants together, indeed he

<sup>5</sup> *Dunlop*, II, 578-85.

<sup>6</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Mar. 28/Apr. 7, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 208. Same to same Apr. 4/14, says he arrived. Bordeaux to Brienne, Mar. 28, *ibid.* *des Instructions, "Angleterre,"* I, 215.

<sup>7</sup> Thurloe, IV, 676; Giavarina to Doge, Apr. 4/14, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 204.

<sup>8</sup> Mentioned in petition of M. Rivers & O. Foyle, Burton, *Diary*, IV, 255-57.

<sup>9</sup> Thurloe, IV, 651.

<sup>9</sup> F. W. Gookin, *Daniel Gookin* (Chicago, 1912), facs. facing p. 98, cal. in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, LV (1921-2), 3; cp. also Cundall, *Governors of Jamaica in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1936), Introd.

would doubtless be inclined "to strengthen the tie of friendship and confidence for a common cause"<sup>10</sup> He also noted in another letter the publication of a tract on the necessity of the hereditary succession of the Protectorate, of which no notice was taken by the Protector, for fear, Schlezer thought, it would have been regarded as a "deception"<sup>11</sup> In the Council, it appears that Cromwell gave no audiences to foreign representatives during this week, and it would seem that he was still suffering from his illness.<sup>12</sup> The week following saw him still absent from the Council,<sup>13</sup> though it was reported that he was with Desborough and Sydenham, even to life-guards. He was said to have driven twice around the park, then walked a little, then mounted a horse and galloped twice around; and, in fact, looked well and youthful.<sup>14</sup> He gave every evidence, in fact, of convalescence, though not of recovery.

The Council, on the other hand, was very active, though for the most part on more or less routine business. It considered the draft of a Protectoral commission for discovery of "concealed" lands,<sup>15</sup> ordered Jones to attend the Protector in regard to four ships which were to have been ready on February 23—but which, apparently, were not.<sup>16</sup> On Wednesday the Admiralty Committee reported on the situation of the fleet; and at the Protector's request the Council ordered three

to pay his Highness' life-guard.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile letters were being written to inform him of the situation in the Baltic, and of the fact that who was still having burg,<sup>18</sup> from Danzig excusing its behavior to the English merchants there<sup>19</sup>—but not exempting them from taxation; from various merchants in England protesting prohibitions levied on them by Com-

<sup>10</sup> Schlezer to Kurfurst, Mar 28/Apr 7, Mendenhall trans.

<sup>11</sup> Mar 28, *Ibid*.

-6), p. xciv. He approved a number of orders, *ibid*, pp. 245,

256.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p. xxiv.

<sup>13</sup> R. J. to M. Potel, Thurloe, iv, 675-76.

<sup>14</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1655-6), pp. 245-46.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 246.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p. 248.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 249.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 249.

which pleased the court, and that the Dutch ambassador was preparing to leave, not having been able to obtain assurances of free commerce in the Baltic (*Atti della*



mon Law Courts when their suits were before the Admiralty courts, to which the government hastened to put a stop.<sup>21</sup> From Whalley came a plea on behalf of his brother-in-law, George Middleton, who had been ordered apprehended.<sup>22</sup> The Council in Ireland asked approval of a form of pardon for Protestants in Leinster, Munster and Connaught<sup>23</sup> and expressed inability to make a deduction of £1,500 ordered by the Council, referring the matter back to the Protector for further consideration.<sup>24</sup>

Such were some of the various problems presented to him for solution at a moment when his principal concern was with foreign affairs. On March 31 Rolt finally returned by way of Sweden from his long wanderings in eastern Europe.<sup>25</sup> On the next day the Protector gave Bonde an audience, apparently after keeping him waiting for more than an hour, which greatly angered the Swedish envoy, who was persuaded with difficulty to remain. According to Whitelocke, Cromwell seemed less eager now for the treaty and would make no agreement which did not include the Dutch. Bonde's report of his audience confirmed this impression. He briefly stressed the need for his departure, he wanted the Protector's decisions in writing, he gathered that the chief impediment was the lack of money, and he said that the Protector<sup>26</sup> There was no doubt of the Protector's position. Whatever news Rolt brought, it was apparent that an alliance which would bring England no advantage in the Continental situation and might well bring her into conflict with the Dutch, if the Swedish proposals were accepted, was the last thing the Protector desired at the moment that Blake and Montagu were starting for their attack upon Spain. Thus far, at least, the Anglo-Swedish negotiations, if they had not precisely failed, had fallen far short of the hopes which Cromwell had held of them, and Bonde and Cromwell were equally disappointed. The situation was too critical to risk the displeasure of the States General, to whom he wrote at this moment another protest at the treatment of English merchants.

<sup>21</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1655-6), pp. 254, 256.

<sup>22</sup> Thurloe, iv, 663, cp. Worsley to Thurloe, Feb. 1, *ibid.*, p. 495.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 668-69.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 673, cp. Dunlop, II, 573, for Lawrence's letter of March 8 and history of the case.

<sup>25</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Mar. 31-Apr. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Whitelocke, pp. 636-37, Carlbom, p. 73.

*To the High and Mighty States of the United Provinces*

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS, OUR DEAREST FRIENDS;

Certain merchants, our countrymen, Thomas Bassel,

writing signed by Lambert himself testifies, that the ship and whatsoever goods belonged to the English should be restored at Flushing. where when the vessel arrived, the ship indeed with what peculiarly belonged to the seamen was restored, but the English merchants' goods were detained and put forthwith to sale. for the merchants who had received the damage, when they

against them by those judges, of which some, being interested in the privateer,

find the more inclinable to do them justice, if assisted by our recommendation And men are surely to be pardoned, if, afraid of all things in so great a struggle for their estates, they rather call to mind what they have reason to fear from your authority and high power, than what they have to hope well we make integrity, rather than by our intreaties, you will give that judgment which is just and equal, and truly becoming yourselves God preserve both you and your republic to his own glory, and the defence and succour of his church

Westminster,  
April 1, 1656

OLIVER P<sup>r</sup>

Among these various items of business, Pell, then at Zürich, reported that the Senate there was writing the Protector for a second time concerning the debts owing its citizens from Sir Oliver Fleming.<sup>28</sup> From Copenhagen it was reported that Cromwell's promised reply toward an alliance between Sweden and Denmark had not yet arrived,<sup>29</sup> which seems to indicate that the Protector was still undecided as to his course in that region. As matters of minor interest, it was reported that it was by the Protector's order Ussher was buried in Westminster and not at Reigate, as Ussher had desired,<sup>30</sup> and a Royalist intelligencer again stressed

<sup>27</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 398-99 with corrections from Latin in *Columbia Milton*, no 66, cp Masson, v, 250

<sup>28</sup> Pell to Thurloe, June 30, 1655, Robert Vaughan, *The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell* (L., 1839), i, 210-11, same to same, Apr 1, 1656, Thurloe, iv, 664

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p 680

<sup>30</sup> *Hist Mss Comm. Repts., Egmont Mss.*, i, 576-77

Lambert's power, his influence in the army, his choice of Cromwell's life-guard, and the fact that the Protector was "far in debt but contrives all wayes . . . to come out."<sup>31</sup> From this and various other like pieces of evidence, it seems that the Royalists still had hopes of winning Lambert to their side, a dream they had long entertained, not disturbed by the fact that Lambert had his hopes of succeeding Oliver as Protector.

It was the more necessary that matters be cleared up in that Blake and Montagu were approaching Lisbon. They sent Meadows his instructions from the Protector, following which Meadows had an audience with King John, but with no definite results.<sup>32</sup> On April 9 it was ordered in Council that four months' allowance—£480—be given Lockhart for his service in France,<sup>33</sup> and it was noted by Giavanna that "a confidential correspondence is noted between Cardinal Mazarin and the Protector here, their letters being very friendly and obliging. It is said that Cromwell has already received three from his Eminence,"<sup>34</sup> from which it may be suspected that Cromwell knew as much of the mind of France as the Dutch to whom he applied for such information. Apart from these matters, on April 9 the Protector made a reference on the petition of Joanna Lawrence, the wife of the agent at Constantinople, apparently to the effect that his salary for the time there be paid by the Levant Company;<sup>35</sup> and on April 11 he authorized Mr. Walker to pay from the army contingencies £9/6/8 each to Major Woolmer and 22 other members of the Committee of Officers appointed by his Highness,<sup>36</sup> which seems to indicate that the body which bore this name in previous years had been revived or another body under the same name with different functions had been constituted. And as one of the curious side-lights on the times, it was noted that a preacher in Whitehall chapel on Sunday, April 13, being disturbed by a Quaker, the Protector, who was present, ordered the Quaker to be taken before a justice of the peace.<sup>37</sup>

The second meeting of the Council in this second week of April,

<sup>31</sup> R. J. to M. Potel, Apr. 4, Thurloe, iv, 676.

<sup>32</sup> Blake and Montagu to Meadows, Apr. 5, Thurloe, iv, 679, Meadows to Blake.

<sup>33</sup> Giavanna to Doge, Apr. 11/21, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 205.

<sup>34</sup> See also Scott to Thurloe, *1656*, v, 6, and Cromwell's letter recalling Lawrence, May 28, 1656, *infra*. It appears from a journal to C. G. . . . Constantinople in 1653, but he was never introduced nor able to deliver his credentials. Ordered to . . . (4) on order of the

Council to the army committee to pay Walker *et al.* out of the Council's contingency fund.

<sup>37</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 14-21, Whitelocke, p. 636.

1656, was chiefly concerned with the erection of the college at Durham. . . . fourteen men were appointed to receive subscriptions for it.<sup>38</sup> On Friday the 11th, when the Council met in the Protector's lodgings, the chief business was the militia. Its companies were to be reduced from 100 to 80 men, the Army Committee was authorized to get from the major-generals the particulars of money derived from delinquents and issue warrants to pay it to the militia, whose cost for officers and men came to £80,067/12/4 a year.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile reports came in from the major-generals. Barkstead acknowledged Cromwell's directions in regard to some obscure business between one Andrew Sell and a certain Robert Savory.<sup>40</sup> Haynes reported a meeting of ministers who thought the government less godly than it had been and wanted a change,<sup>41</sup> and Whitelocke observed that a report from the Scots that they were glad to comply with Cromwell's government indicated more conformity than they had ever shown before<sup>42</sup>—if the report were true.

The Swedish business still hung fire, but Bonde had not yet gone, and on Monday, according to the Protector's directions, Whitelocke went to see him to assure him that Cromwell's intentions and inclinations in regard to the Anglo-Swedish alliance were unchanged and that the Protector still desired it, for Bonde had complained that at his last audience, Cromwell had seemed "cold in it, and of another opinion than he was before." After considerable discussion about Bonde's proposals, Whitelocke went to report to the Protector, but found that "he was gone abroad."<sup>43</sup> On Tuesday the commissioners appointed for drawing up the agreement, who had been supposed to wait on Bonde on Saturday, discussed the matter with him and Coyet.<sup>44</sup> Bonde complained that the treaty was in English, so Milton was summoned to turn it into Latin, to which Bonde again complained that Milton must use a secretary to read it to him, who might publish the substance of the articles, and it was curious if there was "none but a blind man capable of putting a few articles into Latin."<sup>45</sup> The Swedish envoy may have been somewhat reassured by his "long and considerable" audience with the Protector on Friday evening, in which he again requested an answer to his propositions. Reporting that the Emperor had sent 10,000 men to aid Spain and that these

<sup>38</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 262; *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 7-14; see *supra*.

<sup>39</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 262-63.

<sup>40</sup> Thurloe, iv, 685.

<sup>41</sup> Haynes to Cromwell, Apr. 9, *ibid.*, p. 687.

<sup>42</sup> Whitelocke, p. 636.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 637-39.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 639-42.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 645. The translation was not finished until April 22.

might be used against England unless steps were taken to prevent it, Bonde demanded to know what could be expected of Holland, to which the Protector replied that,

he had decided to enter into an alliance with Charles X for mutual defence, *contra quoscumque*, although *in medius* there were some differences between him and the King. in the first place the Protector did not see how he could bind himself to uphold the treaty of Osnabruck, nor was he certain how the King himself wished to go about it that in this matter there was great

to include  
uld see the  
commissioners at the first opportunity about everything he had discussed

Bonde, sticking to his original position with great tenacity, urged the importance of upholding the peace of Osnabruck, which, in effect, secured the religious rights of the German Protestant states; declared that there was no similarity between Swedish and English interests in the matter, stressed the advantages of an alliance against Austria; and contradicted the report that the Swedish army had been destroyed and the King killed. For this the Protector professed great joy and "the audience ended with his signifying his genuine admiration for the honor and great kindness that had been shown by the King in the reception which Rolt had been granted during his embassy"<sup>46</sup> It seems apparent from this that the Protector had received Rolt's report and that, apart from all the diplomatic amenities which marked the discussion, Rolt had given him a clearer conception of the actual situation of the powers of eastern and central Europe than he had had before. This was expressed in various ways, among them in the interview the next day with Nieupoort, as that envoy reported.

On Saturday last the 22d current I had audience of the Protector in the  
what I had on Thursday last proposed to him in my audience. The Lord Protector made answer that he must needs acknowledge they had been something tedious in their deliberations about that business, but that some of the lords of the Council had been absent, and others undisposed, and that he himself without the Council did not use to dispose of such affairs. That however he could assure me, that notwithstanding the reports, that were spread abroad to the contrary, or impressions made, that their high and mighty lordships should always find him sincerely as a faithful friend to the

<sup>46</sup> Carlbom, p. 77

common good, and likewise in such a manner, that the Swedish ambassador should have no cause to complain, that he hath not been sincerely treated. That he would not desire any one thing here on earth so much, as that all the Protestant powers were united together by a good alliance.<sup>47</sup>

To this Thurloe added, in a note made by him on April 18, certain more definite corollaries, to the effect that the Protector had revised the paper which Nieupoort had presented in his last audience and judged it necessary that the Dutch ambassador explain the intentions of the States-General in relation to the words 'troubled in their rights, liberties and commerce, or charged and wronged', the second, the import and extract of the words 'troubled in their rights, liberties and commerce, or charged and wronged', the third, whether there was "any thing of the kind of France knowne upon this busines, or any transactions with that court therein."<sup>48</sup>

The French situation, at least, seemed to be clearing up. On April 9, in accordance with Cromwell's understanding with Mazarin, a pass was issued for Condé's agent, Barrière,<sup>49</sup> and it appears that Lockhart left for Paris on the 14th,<sup>50</sup> carrying with him letters both to Louis XIV and Mazarin, besides his instructions. Thurloe wrote to Montagu that "his errand is to interpose on the behalf of the poor Waldenses, who are made very miserable by the late peace,"<sup>51</sup> but this was only one article of his instructions which covered a much wider field, notably that of an agreement for joint Anglo-French action against Spain. The choice of Lockhart was, as it proved, admirable. He was not only in favor with Mazarin but, unlike some of those proposed for this delicate and even dangerous mission, he was not afraid of Royalists, as he had demonstrated before and was to demonstrate still more thereafter.

### *To Louis XIV of France*

William Lockhart, to whom we have given this letter to be carried to your Majesty, is a Scot by nation, of an honourable house, beloved by us, known to be a man of great fidelity and integrity of speech and action. He, that he may signify

<sup>47</sup> Thurloe, iv, 712. <sup>48</sup> 84. The audience "on Thursday Witt, Apr 11/21, De Witt, Brieven, iii, 216)

<sup>49</sup> Thurloe, iv, 712.

<sup>50</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), p 580

<sup>51</sup> Vaughan, *Cromwell*, i, 377n, says Apr 14; Giavarina (*Cal. S P Ven* (1655-6), p. 210) says Monday, Apr 14, Thurloe says variously "upon Monday was sevennight" (Thurloe, iv, 698)

may be occasion, and place absolutely the same trust in whatsoever may be said and settled by him in our name as if the same things had been said and settled by Ourselves in person. We shall hold them all as ratified. Meanwhile we pray all peace and prosperity for your Majesty and your kingdom.<sup>22</sup>

April 14, 1656

*To Cardinal Mazarin*

MOST EMINENT CARDINAL,

Seeing the affairs of France most happily administered by your counsels, and daily increasing in prosperity to such a degree that  
 pressly to your Eminence: to wit, William Lockhart, a man of honourable family, closely related to us, and respected by us besides for his singular  
 and entrust to him in my confidence whatever you shall think fit to communicate to France, and what a well-wisher I am to your reputation and dignity

Whitehall 14 April 1656

OLIVER P.<sup>23</sup>

*Instructions unto Colonel William Lockhart sent unto the French King*

1. As soon as you have received these instructions, you shall forthwith repair on board the ship appointed for your transportation, and hasten to such place in France, where the king shall be

in the late treaties, that a firm peace and friendship is settled, and established between these two nations, I have thought fit to send you unto his majesty to assure him, that I shall not only most inviolately keep, and observe the said treaty of peace, but shall be ready to cultivate and improve the present good

<sup>22</sup> Masson, v, 251, from the Latin in the Skinner transcript. The text is also in Hamilton, *Milton Papers*, p. 9, with the date Aug. 1658.

Dec. 1655. On April 9 Lockhart's departure on his embassy was definitely settled in the Council Order Books (Thurloe, iv, 688, *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), p. 259). Masson, therefore, uses April 9 as the date for Lockhart's credentials. The originals have been found in the *Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères* in Paris, with the date April 14, 1656. Columbia *Milton*, no. 145.

intelligence between us, to a further increase of amity and good will, and doubt not of the same good inclinations, and dispositions in his majesty, with such further expressions of friendship as you shall judge fit and necessary.

3 After your public audience, I shall be able to express to his majesty, affection towards him and his interest, you shall let him know that I do understand it to be the true interest of both these nations, and for the common good of a considerable part of Europe.

each other, but to come to a nearer union, and more intimate alliance than is settled and established by the late treaty.<sup>64</sup>

4 That I have always showed a propensity thereunto, and have at all times with much willingness [received] any propositions and tenders of that nature, as thinking that they had a mutual conveniency in them, and to be very agreeable to the interests of both.

dependent communication therein, your majesty, and in answer to the treaty of interests.

that they had, at that court, the same sense of affairs, and were disposed to

dom, concerning these things, and as well to open my mind and intentions

and France to join intimately with me and this commonwealth, he shall find upon experience that there is no person in Europe who will be a more certain and constant friend to him and the affairs of France than my self

7 And upon this occasion, you may insinuate, that I have taken France for a friend, not out of necessity, but choice, that it cannot be unknown to the cardinal what tenders have been made by Spain to have turned the arms of this state another way, nor what my principles are which lead me to a closure with France, rather than with Spain; I having often declared them to the French Ambassador here, viz that the one gives liberty of conscience to the

of this state, but pursued my own principles and conscience, and if the amity

ceive the happy effects of so hearty a conjunction

8 And in pursuance hereof, you shall either at the first, or any other conference, as you find it most proper and convenient, acquaint him, that I do fully agree with what was propounded by the said French Ambassador at

<sup>64</sup> The treaty of Oct 24/Nov. 3, 1655



the time of his departure hence, that now is the time for both sides to consider and take counsel, concerning Spain the common enemy of both States, whether, and how one confederate may be useful to the other in any design against him

9 And to that purpose, you shall let him know that before I would take any resolution, or purpose any thing in particular to France upon this subject, I thought it necessary to send you thither to communicate with the cardinal therein, that I might further understand his mind, and know what advice he

10. In case you shall have any opinion that any design be to be undertaken against Spain, by joint counsel and forces, and proponnd anything in particular (which you shall endeavor by fitting arguments to draw from him), you have power to confer with him, of the equality, mutual conveniency, and reasonableness of such propositions, and you are to transmit

by an express, whereupon you shall have further instructions how to proceed, in the mean time, you may let him know that other things being agreed, we shall be willing to consent, that neither confederate shall make any peace or truce with Spain, without the consent of the other

11 You shall take all opportunities to penetrate into the counsels as well of the Cardinal as other ministers of state, in reference to this Commonwealth, and how they stand inclined to the particulars aforesaid, as also what the dispositions of that Court is, as to a peace with Spain, and whether there be any advances made therein, and you shall during your residence in France, use all possible endeavors by such proper mediums as you shall judge fit to hinder

12 It shall be necessary to the King, the sad and miserable condition of the poor Protestants of Piedmont, in the Dominions of the Duke of Savoy, many of their brethren having been massacred in a most cruel manner, and those who do survive are like to be destroyed, either through the hard terms of peace, which they have been persuaded to take, or by not performance, or rather violation, of those conditions which were given them

13. That when any addresses are made to the Duke on their behalf, his answer is, that he hath wholly referred that business to the French king, and that he will do what the French king shall think fit. It is to be observed, that the Duke of Savoy is come into the league, to preserve these dominions, which he now in, or to be in, in friendship and amity, and alliance hath always professed towards the Protestants in their own dominions, that he will take such effectual course, that the Duke of Savoy may not only make good and stand by the conditions, but also that he will do what is just and pleasing to the Protestants of the same profession, but oblige those men to him, and further encourage his own protestant subjects to continue their fidelity and services to his Majesty.

14 And you shall press the matter of the foregoing article with such other

arguments as you shall judge proper, and with all manner of instances insist thereupon, until you shall procure somewhat to be done with effect for those poor people, and therein you shall correspond with Mr. Moreland, our com-

be insisted upon in particular on their behalf.

15. And as you shall understand the condition and institution of affairs to be in Switzerland, you shall accordingly endeavor to dispose the court of France towards the protestant cantons.

16 You shall from time [to time] assist the English merchants trading into France, in all such their occasions as shall require your help and countenance at the court, and in case any of the articles of the late treaty be not performed by the king of France, or any of his subjects, you shall represent the same where it shall be necessary for redress therein.

17 You shall hold a good correspondence with the ambassador and public ministers of other Princes and States in amity with us residing in the court of France.

18 You shall give frequent accounts of . . . that you may  
[April, 1656]

On Tuesday, Coyet, resident for the crown of Sweden, was knighted by the Protector, preparatory to his returning home, and also was presented with "a fair Jewel with his Highness's Picture, and a rich gold chain, it cost about £400";<sup>48</sup> in addition to a letter commending him to his sovereign:

*To the most Serene Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, etc*

MOST SERENE PRINCE,

embassy . . . without the ornament of his deserved praises, is now returning to your Majesty. For he was most acceptable to us, as well and chiefly for your own sake, which ought to be . . . diligent acquaintance . . . received from you in his behalf (if anything may be added to it by any testimony) . . .

to relate and most truly to declare our singular affection and observance toward your Majesty. It remains for us to beseech the most merciful and

3, and Bernard's

all powerful God to bless your Majesty with all felicity, and a perpetual course of victory over all the enemies of his church

Your Majesty's most affectionate,

Westminster,  
April 19, 1656

OLIVER P.<sup>m</sup>

Even while Lockhart was on his way to France, Mazarin had written to Bordeaux to ask him to persuade the Protector not to send an ambassador to France for fear of the English and Irish around the French court; to get hold of Barrière, if possible, and to decipher a letter from Barrière to Cardenas, which, with another not in cipher, Bordeaux was instructed to hand to the Protector.<sup>88</sup> The Cardinal's anxiety to avoid such an unfortunate incident at the French court as the fate of Dorislaus in Holland and Ascham in Spain is understandable in view of the delicate situation of French negotiations at this moment, though it is equally possible that his tortuous mind had in it something more than this. In any event it is apparent that, for whatever reason, he was not anxious to have an envoy from the Protector about him at this moment. In that he was disappointed, for Lockhart was already on his way to Paris

So far as the Protector himself was concerned, he attended the Council meeting on Thursday, April 17,<sup>89</sup> the day on which Ussher was buried.<sup>90</sup> On the day following, the Committee for Trade and Navigation went with Whitelocke to Whitehall to consider the petition of one Jacob Momma, London merchant, for a monopoly of Swedish copper, which had come before the Protector in the preceding January. When Whitelocke offered to read the report, the Protector

took it and read it himself, and then said, My Lord Whitelocke, you are one of the Commissioners to treat with the Swedish Ambassador, and therefore I hope you will take care of that particular of your Report in the Treaty with the Ambassador, and as to the buying of the Swedish Copper, the Council shall be acquainted with that Proposition, who will take it into their Consideration, and advise with some of the Committee of Trade about it, and do therein what they shall find to be convenient; that it seemed to be a Business of Concernment, and would require good Advice and Deliberation.<sup>91</sup>

Such was the fashion in which business was done under the Protectorate. For the rest, the Council itself was chiefly concerned during

<sup>88</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 100-101. See also *Columbia Milton*, no. 67, cp Masson, v, 250-1. Original in Swedish archives

<sup>89</sup> Mazarin to Bordeaux, Apr. 16/26, Thurloe, iv, 703-4

<sup>89</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp xxx, 281

<sup>90</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 21-28, Whitelocke, p. 643.

<sup>91</sup> Whitelocke, pp. 642-43.

this week with petitions sent to it by the Protector,<sup>62</sup> with considerations and the Dutch ambassador extraordinary;<sup>63</sup> with an order for relief of debtors in Scotland;<sup>64</sup> and the question of the major-generals and the new militia.<sup>65</sup> On Friday the long quarrel between the Hamburg merchants and the resident, Bradshaw, came before the Council, and Francis Townley, deputy-governor of the Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg, was summoned before it on information from Bradshaw presented by Thurloe.<sup>66</sup> From Ireland came two letters referred to the Council by the Protector, the one objecting to lands being given to Thomas Dawson, deputy-commissioner of musters, on the ground that he received a good salary, the other asking for a mint to protect the country from counterfeit coin and "coin from Peru" which was flooding the island.<sup>67</sup> With these came the usual grist of communications from the major-generals and commissioners. Colonel Dawkins in South Wales reported that wickedness was somewhat suppressed and enemies of the government terrified.<sup>68</sup> The Norfolk commissioners replied to the Protector's order of January 26 concerning Thomas Knyvett's petition by advising he be taxed, though he had not been an active Royalist for eleven years. It was, in fact, almost exactly ten years earlier that Cromwell himself had written a sharp letter to this same Knyvett (whom he had forced out of Lowestoft) in connection with one of Knyvett's tenants, though he had now interceded for him with the sequestration committee, apparently to no avail.<sup>69</sup>

Finally this week was notable for another violent attack on the Protector in the form of a tract, *The Picture of a New Countier*,<sup>70</sup> "cast about the streets," as Thomason recorded, and written possibly by Cromwell's old antagonist, the Fifth Monarchist, John Spittlehouse, or by the Protector's old supporter turned into an opponent, the colonel-painter, John Streeter. But in one direction, at least, he had something to be thankful for. John Lilburne, now, as he declared, turned Quaker, was released from prison, celebrated that release by a

<sup>62</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 268, 270-71, 276-77, 281-82, *Cal S P Col* (1574-1560), p. 439. None of these were of more than personal or private interest.

<sup>63</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1655-6), p. 275.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 274-75.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283. For Bradshaw's account see Thurloe, iv, 665-68.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 701, 711-12, cp. Dunlop, ii, 592-94. and Firth, *Last Year*, ii, 163-64.

<sup>68</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1655-6), p. 265.

<sup>69</sup> Thurloe, iv, 705. In his remonstrance before the Council on June 3, Knyvett wrote, "According to -  
me to your presence, - -  
344-45).

<sup>70</sup> Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, no. 844.

last pamphlet, *The Resurrection of John Lilburne*,<sup>71</sup> and presently died, so that the Protector was at last free from that gadfly that had so long annoyed him.

Meanwhile Protector and Council turned to consider the question of English power in the Mediterranean. Their first act was the preparation and despatch of a communication to Sir Thomas Bendish, English resident or minister in Constantinople.

*For Sir Tho Bendish*

SIR

Petition hath bin made to his Highness by Captaine Joh Casse commander of the ship *Stamboline* for himselfe, the owners and Interested therein, shewing that he the foresaid Captain being on his returne

isles of Signano & Serio surprized by the Captain Basna of the Grand S. . . . .

coming from Smyrna they were at length for a summ of money released, notwithstanding that they had neither done any thing irregular nor omitted ought of respect or ceremony requir'd in these seas by capitulation as by certificates & informations herewith sent, you will more particularly understand the losse receiv'd is therein also specified, & the dishonour done to our nation you cannot but apprehend to be much more. You are therefore requir'd by his Highnesse & the Councell to make complaint of these things to the Grand Signior or to those Ministers of State to whom the cognizance hereof belongs, insisting with all earnestness for a just restitution & of honour by just . . . . . our men & violated the peace

Whitehall, Apr 19, 1656<sup>72</sup>

Taken in connection with the letters presently sent to the Dey of Algiers, such a communication as this evidenced, among other things, not only an increasing interest in the affairs of the Mediterranean, but the ability, thanks to Blake's fleet, to make good the somewhat threatening tone of English diplomacy in that quarter of the world. This particular letter seems, indeed, not to have been signed by the Protector himself, but there can be little doubt but that it and the matter to which it referred had come to his personal attention

Again in the week of April 21, the Protector attended only one meeting of the Council.<sup>73</sup> That body, as usual in this period, spent much of its time in considering petitions, few of them of much general interest, apart from that of the erstwhile colonel, John Streater,

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, no 851

<sup>72</sup> *Columbia Milton*, no. 160

<sup>73</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), p. 221x

now describing himself as "Bible Printer," who begged to be allowed to dispose of his stock of Bibles before the Protector's order of the preceding month went into effect;<sup>74</sup> and that of one Anthony Rodrigues Robles, informed against as a Spaniard, though actually, it would seem, a Portuguese Jew, whose goods had been seized and whose appeal for their restoration was referred by the Protector in his own hand to the Council.<sup>75</sup> Two other matters of very different

the one was the Council's advice that letters patent be granted, as proposed by Thomas Ogle<sup>76</sup> to all whom he should recommend for making saltpeter out of salt water,<sup>77</sup> which, however unpractical, indicated the straits to which Great Britain was put to secure that war material for which she had been dependent on the Continent.

The second Council proposal revealed the anomalous situation in which the revolutionary government found itself. It was that the arrears of pensions granted by Charles I be not allowed, but that arrears of personal pay be considered,<sup>78</sup> on the ground, presumably, that, whatever changes took place in the form of government, administration went on, whether royal or revolutionary, and civil servants' rights with it. To this the Council added the advice to his Highness that he issue a warrant to the Treasury Commissioners to pay Frost £3,000 from the Council's contingency fund to meet the demand of the "inferior officers" of the Council for their back salaries.<sup>79</sup> At the same time it was reported that the Protector was considering a list of members for the commission for discoveries,<sup>80</sup> and an order was issued for the seizure and burning of all copies of a "scandalous" book, *Sportive Wit, or the Muses' Merriment*,<sup>81</sup> probably obscene rather than seditious in its nature. Finally, he wrote on April 21 to his son Henry, to whom two days earlier—though the Protector did not know it—had been born a son, to be christened Oliver.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 294-95, and *Jewish Hist Soc Trans.*, 1 (1893-4), 77-78

<sup>76</sup> See Mar. 14, 1655-6, *Cal S P Dom.* (1655-6), p. 227

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

<sup>80</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Apr. 21-28.

<sup>81</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1655-6), p. 298, approved Apr. 26, see *ibid.*, p. 288, and *Pub Intell.*, Apr. 21-28

<sup>82</sup> Thurloe, iv, 742, 757 (Nieupoort to States General, May 2/12).

*For my Son Harry Cromwell*

HARRY,

I have received your letters, and have also seen some from you to others, and am sufficiently satisfied of your burden, and that if the Lord be not with you, to enable you to bear it, you are in a very sad condition.

I am glad to hear what I have heard of your carriage: study still to be innocent, and to answer every occasion, roll yourself upon God, which to do needs much grace. Cry to the Lord to give you a plain single heart. Take heed of being over-jealous, lest your apprehensions of others cause you to offend. Know that uprightness will preserve you, in this be confident against men.

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Take care of making it a business to be too hard for the men who contest with you. Being over-concerned may train you into a snare. I have to do with those poor men, and am not without my exercise. I know they are weak,

fear the sending of any over to you but such as will be considering men, loving all godly interests, and men 'that' will be friends to justice. Lastly, take heed of studying to lay for yourself the foundation of a great estate. It will be a snare to you: they will watch you, bad men will be confirmed in covetousness. The thing is an evil which God abhors. I pray you think of me in this.

If the Lord did not sustain me, I were undone: but I live, and I shall live, to the good pleasure of His grace; I find mercy at need. The God of all grace keep you. I rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER P

Whitehall

21st April, 1656.

My love to my dear Daughter (whom I frequently pray for) and to all friends.<sup>83</sup>

For the rest, on April 27 the Protector granted a charter to the city of Cork,<sup>84</sup> among the first of a long series of such documents which the corporations hastened to secure to strengthen their position with respect to the government. From many directions came the usual crop of reports and complaints. Separatists or Separatists had been se

<sup>83</sup> Lomas-Cariyle, CCVIII. Autograph was in possession of Sir W. Betham, Dublin. Pr. in *Irish Arch. Soc. Misc.*, 1 (1846), 125-27.

<sup>84</sup> Rich. Canfield, *Council Book of the Corporation of Cork* (Guildford, 1876), p. xii.

<sup>85</sup> Thurloe, iv, 720.

shire commissioners desired instructions as to the examination of witnesses.<sup>86</sup> Broghill wrote of the disputes over the Tweed salmon fisheries between the men of Berwick and the English borderers, and asked the Protector to appoint commissioners to settle the question.<sup>87</sup> Morland wrote to Thurloe of his mission to the Piedmontese.

reception of the Piedmontese.<sup>88</sup> It was reported that the Protector desired Genoa to provide haven for his ships;<sup>89</sup> that Mazarin had sent 150,000 pistoles for their equipment;<sup>90</sup> that Lockhart had arrived in London to raise 6,000 men for Sweden.

Charles II could do nothing in Flanders, and, more fantastically, that he had hired Mr. Halsey's man Streight to murder Charles with the assistance of a member of the family of one of the Dutch ambassadors.<sup>91</sup> Thus the Royalists amused themselves and each other with reports in which, among great masses of chaff, there was here and there some small grain of truth. More definite and more truthful was the report from Oxford that "Dr. Wilkins is likely to prove the man of men" having lately married the Protector's sister, Dr. French's widow. This troubles Dr. Owen and other grandees, who foresee that he will overtop them all.<sup>92</sup> That story, of them all, had foundation in fact and more probable conjecture than most of the rumors which flew through England and Europe in these days while Blake and Montagu were making their way toward Spain, and Continental coasts wondered about their destination and their purposes.

The situation at this moment was well summed up by Thurloe who wrote to Montagu on April 28 that money was very scarce and they were doubtful as to the means of raising it. The Protector and Council had voted to raise an excise to the navy. The only ships in the harbor were only fifteen or twenty left; Harrison was in his house at Highgate and the rest were in prison.<sup>94</sup> There was, however, nothing of all this in the letter from the Protector sent on the same day to Blake and Montagu.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 733.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 742.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 724-25; Samuel Morland, *Hist. of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont* (L., 1658), pp. 676-88; Vaughan, *Cromwell*, I, 390-91.

<sup>89</sup> R. Clement to Hyde, Macray, III, 115, no. 317.

<sup>90</sup> Hyde to Ormonde, *ibid.*, p. 121, no. 328.

<sup>91</sup> Thurloe, IV, 739, *Pub. Intell.*, May 5-12.

<sup>92</sup> Macray, III, 115-16, no. 319.

<sup>93</sup> Thos. Smith to D. F., *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* 12, App. VII, p. 22 (*LeFleming MSS.*).

<sup>94</sup> Carte, *Orig. Letters*, II, 102-6.



*To Generals Blake and Montagu, at Sea*

MY LOVING FRIENDS,

You have, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going for proved ministers and Christi- discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you which are to us, and I trust will be to all this, it will be affairs to the disposition of our All-wise Father, who, not only out of prerogative, but because of His wisdom, goodness and truth, ought to be resigned unto by those who are children of His begetting taught<sup>16</sup> that it is not in man to direct his way. Indeed all the dispensations of God, whether adverse or prosperous, do fully read that lesson We can no more turn away the Evil, committed, if not to rejoicing, at least to contentation with whatsoever shall be

Wherefore we have thought fit to send this honest man, Captain Lloyd,<sup>16</sup> who is known to us to be a person of integrity, to convey to you some thoughts, wherein we do only offer to you such things as do arise to us, partly upon intelligence, and partly upon such a measure as at such a distance we take of that great affair wherein you are engaged; desiring to give no rule to you, but building much more, under God, upon your judgments on the place than our own, forasmuch as our intelligences, coming much upon the examinations of merchants ships and such ways, may not be true oftentimes in matter of fact. And therefore we do offer what we have to say rather as queries than as resolutions.

We are informed that not many of the Plate Fleet are come home, viz two Galeons and two Pataches,<sup>17</sup> and we hear they are not so rich as they give out. We are informed also that the Spaniards' fleet in Cadiz is in no preparation to come out, and some think they will not come forth, but delay you upon the coast, until your victuals are spent, and you forced to come home We apprehend that, when General Blake was there last year, they could not have told how to have manned-out a fleet, if the merchants there and gentlemen interested had not (principally for their own interest in the return of their fleet) done it

We are informed that they sent what men they could well spare, by those six or seven ships which they sent to the West Indies in March last We know also that it hath ever been accounted that the Spaniards' great want is men, as well as money at this time What numbers are in and about Cadiz you best know We only discourse probabilities Whether now it might not be worthy to be weighed by you and your council of war, whether this fleet of theirs now

<sup>16</sup> At Hispaniola

<sup>17</sup> For Capt Lloyd's mission see Carte, *Orig Letters*, II, 102, 115

<sup>18</sup> "Patache" is a small vessel, used for the service of war, "patache"—"a note)"

noways to be separated from relieving the town by the bridge, the Island being so narrow in some parts of it? Whether the Island being especially that of the town and castle, which is the most commodious made tenable by us, would it not be both an advantage to our trade and an annoyance to the Spaniard, and enable us, without keeping so great a fleet on that coast, with six nimble frigates lodged there to do the Spaniard more harm than by a fleet, and ease our own charge?

You may discourse freely with the bearer concerning any thing contained in this letter, to whom the whole was communicated, that so he might be able to bring back to us a more particular account of things. The Lord guide you to do that which may be pleasing in His sight

Whitehall  
28th April, 1656

I remain,  
Your very loving friend,  
OLIVER P.<sup>r</sup>

It was probably at about this time that there was drawn up a letter presumably to the Dey of Algiers, of which there are three versions extant

*To the thrice Illustrious, thrice noble, & right worthy the Aga Captain Generall, his Brethren, the Aga Bashas & the rest of that Honourable society of the great Councell of State & war in the city of Algiers wisheth health & peace from god*

We have receiv'd a letter from your honours dated on the 3d day of the 2d moon of Rabia, in the year 1066 according to your account, by the care & diligence of Rich: Casson, who faithfully deliver'd it to us, & hath given us to understand the honourable respect wherewith our letters also were receiv'd by Casson late Agent in Algiers

from the state of England ~ we rejoice that we have a league with just men, the covenants whereof you recite truly in your letter & we acknowledge them

given to our fleet & ships sayling to & fro, or trading in your ports whereas you write that the Flemish being your enemies do oft weare English Flags & we will speak thereof to the Flemish or Dutch Ambassadour residing with us, that it may no more be so done, & this is all we can perform herein, for the Flemish are not under our Authority, neither can we be answerable for their misdoings next wheras you write that many Flemish & French mariners go

struc-  
*International Status of Gibraltar*  
Cp. vol. III of this work, pp 743-44, letter of June 8, 1655, to the Dey of Algiers

in English ships, & land on your shore, & in particular that Captain Griffith of the ship *Acorn*, & Mr Francis Butcher Merchant coming into your harbour with some of their mariners that were Flemish carried away with them a Fleming who was slave to Masulaga, we will strictly forbid the merchants to take with them to your ports any Flemish or French seamen for the future, & will call Captain Griffith to an account for the Fleming whom he hath brought away; & will cause him to do that which shalbe just. wherein else we can be usefull to you we offer in like manner on our part, & recommend you to god Given at Whitehall on the                    day of the month Aprill in the year 1656<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *Columbia Milton*, no 162. The copies which follow in these notes are variants, of which this seems the best Mrs Lomas dated this letter 1657 That date is difficult to accept.

71, 305)  
28, 1655- receive and answer the Dey's letter. Two of the copies of this letter are dated April, 1656 Blake's letter (Powell, *Blake*, p. 362) notes that confirmation of Browne had not

adds that the "title of Basha was very loosely employed" (Suppl. 136) The other versions follow

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, Ireland & the dominions thereof To the Lord Hamet Basha wisheth health & peace from God.

We accept well of the love & friendship which your Highness expresseth towards us in your letter, and do assure you by these, that our affection is no lesse sincere & brotherly towards you Your faithfull performance of the league made between us we acknowledge, & your friend<sup>1</sup> many thanks. as also your much esteem as a reall confirmation of our league & peace & we desire you to understand that it is no way with our consent or pleasing to us that many Flemish do come in English ships as you write & walk on your shore, neither that the Flemish ships meeting with yours do put out English colours whereby your ships are often lost We will strictly forbid henceforth the English merchants to take with them any Flemish or French mariners to the disturbance of your ports or shores, & we shalbe earnest with the Dutch or Flemish Ambassadour who resides with us that the ships belonging to that nation shall put forth no more the English colours to the abuse and damage of you our friends and Allies. more then this we cannot promise herein, for the Dutch are another nation & not under our authority, whereby in reason we cannot answer for what they do as for the misdemeanour of Captaine Griffith, who suffer'd his Flemish mariners to carry away with them a Flemish captive from your shore, we will call both Captaine Griffith & Francis Butcher the Merchant before us; & will cause them to doe right as touching that Fleming of the M- in their ship towards you, & do likewise commend you to the almighty god Given at Whitehall on the                    day of the moneth Aprill in the year 1656 (*Columbia Milton*, no 161.)

Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England etc, to the lord Hamet Basha wisheth health and peace from God. We received two letters from you, dated both on the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of April, 1656. We have now turned our answer.

And first, we rejoyce, as you do, at the peace which we have made with you, the

Beyond this there was not much of consequence in the week of April 28 when the Council met only on Tuesday and Thursday, according to the new order made on April 29,—still without the presence of the Protector,<sup>101</sup> save on Friday which was spent by Protector and Council in private prayer and fasting.<sup>102</sup> The major-generals were ordered to have the troop captains pay the twenty men who were mustered out of each company up to June 24;<sup>103</sup> and at least one major-general—perhaps all of them—had orders to be in London on Saturday, May 17.<sup>104</sup> All these things seem to indicate that the government was extremely anxious over the outcome of Blake's expedition and the possibility of disturbance in case it did not succeed. On Thursday, at long last, Schlezer managed to get an audience at which Thurloe and Strickland were present. He was congratulated by the Protector on the treaty between Sweden and Brandenburg, as evidence of the good relations which were so necessary among the evangelical princes, the Protector expressing his pleasure that the kings of Sweden and Denmark, the Elector and the States General were "of one heart and mind"—which . . . the fact He said he would be glad to h . . . his aspirations in the matter of the Julich-Cleves succession Or, to quote Schlezer's report of the conversation, when he had presented his proposals.

ships sailing to and fro, or trading in your ports

Whereas you write that the Flemish, being your enemies, do oft wear English flags and colours in their ships, whereby your ships are deceived and sometimes lost, we will speak thereof to the Flemish or Dutch Ambassador residing with us, that it may no more be so done, and this is all we can perform herein, for the Flemish are not under our authority.

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Masulaga, we will strictly forbid the merchants to take with them to your ports any Flemish or French seamen for the future, and will call Captain Griffith to an account for the Flemish whom he hath brought away, and will cause him to do that which shall be just

Wherein else we can be useful to you, we offer you in like manner on our part, and recommend you to God (Lomas-Carlisle, Suppl. 136, from Thurloe, i, 745)

<sup>101</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom. (1655-6)* pp. 300-301, 303

<sup>102</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom. (1655-6)*, p. 303

<sup>104</sup> Mentioned in Goffe to Thurloe, May 5, Thurloe, iv, 765. Not mentioned by . . . He wrote on May 13 that he had from York on May 16 that he had not been able to come but would be there next Thursday or Friday (*ibid.*, p. 33)

After he had received and read through the communication of your Honor, the Protector answered that from it and from my proposition he perceived first of all with gratitude the kind affection with which your honor favored him. For the rest—because he had to complain that his memory was failing to some extent and also that he had not quite understood this and

so that he could communicate with me about various matters, in particular about the good understanding between the evangelical princes and lords, which he considered so highly necessary in these times and he was glad to see that his Majesty in Sweden, your honor, the king in Denmark, the States General, and others were of one heart and mind. And if he should have an opportunity and think fit that the interest of your honor in the Julich lands was covenant with the general work which he had primarily to look out for, he would not fail to give your honor assistance with all possible friendship and service, for he heard that the Count Palatine of Neuburg was a great enemy and persecutor of religion and it stands to reason that one should watch out for such people <sup>105</sup>

Giavarina contributed his quota of gossip at this moment to some purpose. Bordeaux, he reported, had permission from Cromwell to levy troops in Ireland, and added, "The Protector agreed to this solely from the desire to get rid of that race, as the most prone to sedition, who are the present government and professing the . . . . .sted and persecuted by this state." He also heard that Bordeaux was instructed to get the Protector's consent to the Duke of York's remaining in France, on the ground that it was to the Protector's interest to keep him there. If the Duke left France, he would join his brother in Flanders, whereas in France he would be fighting against the Hapsburgs—though the real reason was that Mazarin feared his departure would weaken the King's army since the Irish and French were both fond of him <sup>106</sup>. Nearer at home, the Royalists reported that after the Protector's illness he had been advised to go to Bath, but the Council vetoed it for fear his absence might be dangerous. "The Council," he added, "to the same authority, fell la . . . . ., tooled" by the Protector that it threw him into a fever which turned to downright frenzy. The physicians took more than thirty ounces of blood from him, but nothing did him any good until the Protector sent to see how he was, and he was still at Whitehall <sup>107</sup>. Whatever the truth

<sup>105</sup> Schlezer to Kurfurst, May 2/12, *Urk u. Actenst.*, vii, 743-45

<sup>106</sup> Giavarina to Doge, May 2/12, *Cal S P U*, vii, 66-67

<sup>107</sup> Dr. Thos. Smith to D. F., *Hist Mss C*

of the details of this story, it is certainly true that Peter, as he confessed himself, was in bad health at this time, though he was to live long enough to die on the scaffold after the Restoration, 'the most hated man in England.'

It was probably true that the Duke of York could do as little harm in France as anywhere else, and that, apparently, was not made an issue by Cromwell, who had more important matters on his hands at the moment. On May 4 Goodson reported that he had taken the *Rio de Hacha* with four brass pieces, together with two vessels laden with wines and cocoa, which he was sending to England, and asked for more men.<sup>108</sup> Meadows wrote from Lisbon that his agreement with Portugal was practically complete. Instructions were drawn up for Blake and Montagu, apparently on the basis of Meadows' letter, as well as the information of Maynard who had returned to report, among other objections, the King's unwillingness to consent to a Protestant church in Lisbon.<sup>109</sup> Bordeaux's version was that Cromwell had ordered Blake to Lisbon because he heard that the King had said the English could have religious liberty in Portugal only if the Pope consented.<sup>110</sup> The situation was further complicated by an attempt on Meadows' life.<sup>111</sup> Under such conditions, with further consideration of the Jamaica business, there were sent the instructions to the generals-at-sea, a letter to Monk and another to Lieut.-Col. Brayne, who was to command the forces to be despatched to the West Indies.

#### *Further instructions to the generals at sea*

Whereas the king of Portugall doth refuse to ratifie the treatyes lately made with this comonwealth by his extraordinary ambassador here, or to performe any part thereof, either in what relates to the state, or to the people and merchants, and by his proceedings gives ground to beleve, that nothing is lesse in his intentions, then to give just satisfaction therein, wherefore wee doe hereby authorize and require you, as it will consist with the present condition of the fleete under your comand, and with your other principal instructions, to use your best endeavours, by the fleet or such part thereof as shall be thought fittest, to take possession of the said cities, towns, forts, and harbours, and seize upon the fleet or fleets, ships, goods, and merchandizes whatever, now expected from the East and West Indyes, and to keepe and deteyne the same without breakinge of bulke or imbezilment, towards such satisfaction for the wronges and damages, which this state hath suffered from Portugall, and to give notice forthwith of what

<sup>108</sup> Goodson to Cromwell, 4 May 1655, *Cal S P Ven.*, 1655, 76, 151.

<sup>109</sup> Maynard to Cromwell, 10 May 1655, *Cal S P Ven.*, 1655, 76, 151.

<sup>110</sup> *Pub Intell.*, May 5-12, Giavarina to Doge, May 9/19, *Cal S P Ven.* (1655-6), p. 217.

<sup>111</sup> Bordeaux to Cromwell, 10 May 1655, *Cal S P Ven.*, 1655, 76, 151.

<sup>112</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Thurloe, v, 150, cp *ibid.*, pp. 28, 123-26.

you shall doe therein And in case any of the ships of the said kinge or his people shall make any resistance, you have hereby power to fight with, kill, and destroy, and to seek for, and burne all such as shall soe resist Neverthelesse if mr. Philip Meadowes, our envoy with the king of Portugall, shall before any seisure or act of hostility as aforesaid give you assurance, that satisfaction is obteyned upon the said treatyes, that this instruction shall be voyd.<sup>113</sup>

Whitehall, May 6, 1656

*To Generals Blake and Montagu, at Sea*

GENTLEMEN,

You will perceive, by the Instructions herewith sent you, what is expected by myself and the Council at your hands And although we are satisfied that you will believe we have sufficient grounds to give you these directions, yet we have thought fit, for the farther strengthening you unto this action, to give you a short knowledge of the true state of the difference between us and the King of Portugal

You very well know that it is very near two years since we and the Ambassador of Portugal did agree a Treaty, they having wronged us and our merchants, and took part with the late King against us When the Articles were fully agreed by the Ambassador, who had full power and authority to conclude with us, we on our part ratified and confirmed the same, and sent it to the King of Portugal to be ratified and executed also by him. He, delaying to do it according to the first Agreement, in which there were some preliminaries to be performed by him before we would enter upon the whole body of a Treaty,—not only refused to give us satisfaction therein, but instead thereof sent us a pretended ratification of a Treaty, so different from what was agreed by his Ambassador that it was quite another thing In some essential Articles, it was proposed that if we would condescend to some amendments, the King of Portugal would agree to confirm the whole.

They, as yet, have not answered to the Treaty, nor executed it. We, on our part, have been instructed, and authorised by us to take away all scruples by yielding to their own amendments; thereby to discern whether they were sincere or not. But, contrary to all expectation, they have not only refused to give us, that we are put to, but have also given us, that we are put to, a provisional, either for the good of the State or of our Merchants, or else we must have no Peace with them

In one of the Articles agreed, it was proposed that the merchants should enjoy liberty to trade in their own houses and aboard their ships, enjoying also the use of English Bibles, and other good books, taking care that they did not exceed this liberty Now, upon the sending of Mr. Meadow,—unless we will agree to

<sup>113</sup> In the handwriting of secretary Thurloe *Ibid.*, iv, 769.

<sup>114</sup> Carlyle altered this to "by the answer he gave us," but Cromwell means exactly what he says It was Maynard's abrupt dismissal by the King which showed that Portugal meant to yield nothing (Mrs. Lomas' note.)

submit this Article to the determination of the Pope, we cannot have it: whereby he would bring us to an owning of the Pope, which, we hope, whatever befall us, we shall not, by the grace of God, be brought unto. And upon the same issue is that Article put whereby it is provided and agreed by his Ambassador, that any ships coming to that harbour, any of their company, if they shall run away from their said ships, shall be brought back again by the Magistrate, and the Commanders of

the said runaways their wages, upon which may be a colour for any knave to leave his duty, or for the Roman Catholics to seduce our men; which was thought necessary to be provided against. Yet to this also, as I said before, they would not consent without the approbation of the Pope, although it was agreed also by their Ambassador.

Upon the whole matter, we find them very false to us, who intended nothing but what was simply honest. And truly we cannot believe that Article that was for our good was really intended by them. And we are not able to

we pray you to be very exact in the prosecution of your Instructions; which we do not see from the beginning to the end, but

pretence of a treaty, nor yet answer the just demands this nation hath for wrongs done them, but must in some sort be guilty of bringing our People as it were into a net, by such specious shows which have nothing but falseness and rottenness in them;—we are necessitated, having amongst ourselves found out no possible expedient, though we have industriously sought it, to save these things, [and] have concluded out of necessity and not out of choice, to go in this way.

You will receive herewith the copy of an Instruction given and sent to Mr Meadows, wherein is a time limited for the King's answer, and we desire that this may not be made use of by the King to delay or deceive us: nor that you, upon the first sight hereof, delay to take the best course you can to effect your Instructions, or that the Portugal should get his Fleet home before you get between him and home, and so the birds be flown. We know not what your affairs are at the present, but are confident that nothing will be wanting on your part for the effectual accomplishment of this service. But knowing that

we recommend you to the grace and guidance of our good God, who, we hope, hath thoughts of mercy towards us. and that He would guide and bless you in the prayer of,

Your loving friend,  
OLIVER P.

Whitchall  
6th May, 1656

known your instructions, nor to make a breach upon them<sup>11a</sup>

<sup>11a</sup> Lomas-Cariyle, CCX, from Thurloe, IV, 768-69.



*To General Monk*

[Substance only]

The charge of the additional pay of the regiment now to be raised in Scotland for service in Jamaica, caused by adding no officers to his regiment, and raising other . . . yet charged, and . . . to take order accordingly, on advising with Gen Monk, who is to signify speedily the amount of the said charge <sup>118</sup>

May 6, 1656

*The Protector to General Monk*

SIR,

Before this comes to your hands, it is probable Lt. Col Brayne will have been with you, and given you an account of some counsells had here concerning the West Indies (he being instructed in that behalfe), we having accorded to that which he hath presented to the Council, and ing upon him . . . not trouble you from hence with a more particular information herein, other . . . we determined of sending thither out of Scotland . . . 500 of that number out of Scotland, to go along with Col Brayne, and to be employ'd in pursuance of those intentions of ours which he will communicate to you And forasmuch as there is very pressing occasion that all expedition be used in preparing of these forces, and putting them under good conduct in respect of officers, and that choice be made of such soldiers as have given good testimony of their courage, resolution, and obedience, we doe recommend it to you in a more particular manner to afford your endeavours not onely for the dispatch of this service, but that the officers and souldyers be such as we may hope (through the mercy and blessing of God) will carry themselves well, both in point of courage and fidelitie For the better encouragement of officers we have given power to Lieutt Col Brayne to appoint and preferr (by your advice) such . . . of the severall regiments and companies as shall be . . . for that . . . dition, we have given him power (with your advise also) to take such whole companies or . . . willing and fitt for the worke, wherein . . . ance, and to issue your orders and directions for putting in speedy execution what shalbe so agreed upon by you We have had consideration of the most commodious place for the rendezvous and shipping, and have resolved upon Port Patrick as most convenient, both in order to their voyage and their joyneing with the rest of the said forces, which are to be raised in Ireland, and are appointed to be shipped at Knockfergus We apprehend it would have been much for the advantage of this affaire in point of tyme and lessening of charge, if ships could have been procured in Scotland for their transportacion But not

<sup>118</sup> This was an order of the Council of State, which was approved by Cromwell by his signing a letter to Monk in pursuance thereof (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 310).

thinking fitt to depend in that, we have treated for ships to be sent from hence, which we hope may be in Scotland to receive the forces aboard, within a moneth from the date hereof, yet if you shall find that fitt ships may be provided in Scotland within convenient tyme, we desire you to agree with them, (giving us speedy notice thereof, that we may accordingly proceed with the merchants here) in which case we suppose you may not onely save tyme, but also charge, we being here to give six pounds per head, (because they must goe from hence to take them in, and so make in some sort a double voyage) whereas probably you may gett them there for 111<sup>11</sup> per head <sup>117</sup>

*The Protector to Lieut. Col Brynne*

SIR,

Since you left this place wee have given direccions to Generall Monke to be assistant to you, for putting in execucion those things which wee discoursed with you here, as you may see by the copie of our letter to him herewith sent, and for the more full and effectuell carying on of that business, wee doe hereby authorize you to nominate and appoint such officers, for this service, as by advise had with Generall Monke you shall judge fittest for the employment. (Onely wee recomend to you Majour Brampton for your Lieutenant Colonel, of whose fidelity wee have had very good assurance, and who shalbe dispatched to you with all possible speed) As also, (by like advise), to draw out with the officers, such companies, in part, or in whole (to compleate the whole number of five hundred private souldyers) as you shall judge fittest. Wee doubt not but the discourses you heard here will sufficiently satisfy you of the necessity of expedicion in this matter, and therefore shall not needlessly call upon you therein. If you shall judge Port Patrick, the place appoynted for shippinge them, not to be convenient, and can offer a better, wee desire to know it by the next returne, that other direccion may be given. I have writt to my sonn Harry to put the other part of the forces (which are to goe from Ireland) into the same readiness, that they may be at Knockfergus about the same tyme that you may probably be at Port Patrick (which wee hope wilbe within a moneth at furthest) At which place the Comaunders of the ships shalbe instructed to observe such further orders, as shalbe from tyme to tyme given them by you as their Comaunder in Cheife. If you could be able to come up hither, and returne backe to the shipping of your forces, without loss of tyme to this affaire, wee should be glad of further comunicacion with you concerning it before your going away. But feareing you will not be able to performe such a journey in tyme, without hazard to the stay of the forces, wee have appoynted your comission and instruccions to be drawne up, intending to send them to Port Patrick by some safe hand, who may also be able to give you a further accompt of our intencions, and of the tyme when to expect him there, you shall hereafter receive more particular notice, as wee are from tyme to tyme enformed by you of the probability of your being in readyness there. Yet if you shall, upon good grounds judge that you may leave your business in such a posture with your Lieutenant Colonel that your coming up may be no de-

lay to the forces, and that you may returne back in due tyme, we desire you to signify soe much to us by the next post, and soe to take your owne tyme to come up accordingly <sup>118</sup>

[1656]

Despite all the rhetoric which has been spent on the spectacle of Cromwell's rise from private station to the Protectorate and his command in the European world, his far-reaching influence is not so apparent that in this period of his life he led a rather dull existence, as all men must when involved in the routine of office. It was illuminated, indeed, by various events, some insignificant, some important, some even spectacular, but no one can read the chronicle of the daily doings of Protector and Council without perceiving how unfavorably his life at this period compared with the more exciting and adventurous years of his rise to eminence, and he, unquestionably, realized this, as many of his letters indicate. It was the price of power, and one can realize the depth of his feelings in the remark attributed to him that "I shall rather der a hedge than deal with the governr

sis that probably was not true, but it was a natural observation from one who was harried continually by the infinite complexities of his situation, and now feeling the strain not only of affairs but of increasingly poor health. None the less he was compelled to go on. His chief concern at this moment was the Spanish war, but he was little less concerned with the irritating negotiation with Sweden and the pertinacity of its representative, with whom he now had another of those conversations which filled so large a part of his life at this time.

As Bonde reported the matter, he talked with the Protector "in a more serious manner than ever before"—if that were possible—"and showed himself dissatisfied," noting the presence of a Dutch fleet in the Baltic, which, he declared, would not have happened if England and Sweden had allied themselves two months ago, with other no less disagreeable observations. To these reproaches, Bonde recorded,

The Protector answered as usual by expressing his good will and friendly feelings for the King and said that he was not satisfied with the state of the war, but that he knew for certain which was the better, he knew that his intentions were good, but that it often happens that one gets in one's own way even in the achievement of that which one most desires. He had always striven to avoid offend-

<sup>118</sup> Firth, *Narrative of Venables*, pp. 172-73. Cal in Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 118(1). Brayne had been lieutenant-colonel in Daniels' regiment in Scotland, in 1654 governor of Inverlochy. He took 504 soldiers from Scotland, 700 from Ireland. He died in Sept. 1657 and was succeeded by Edward D'Oyley as governor. Cp. Firth-Davies, pp. 704ff., and *Calendar of State Papers*, xl. Letter endorsed, "The Protector's letter about the Dutch fleet in the Baltic."

ing anyone; he had taken considerable pains to prevent differences and parting of the ways among the Protestants. They could be definitely sure that the Dutch could not prevent any such thing.

He sent to him about it, as he understood that 'to bring the differences to a close.' He con- just of the Dutch if they, as was reported, brought harm to the Swedish king, but he did not believe they would do that.

be inclined to interpret it in no other way than as if it had been done to himself, and he hoped he would be able to accomplish some good. For that very reason he had placed himself in such a position, so that without doubt of partiality for the one or the other, he could intervene. Concerning the other tractate—he had put that in the hands of his commissioners, and it was with them that Bonde in one way or another could not agree. But if the points of disagreement were brought before him he would be glad to do what he could. Above all, he had heard that the fault for the delay was more Bonde's than his—something to which Thuloe too could testify. The most the Protector said amounted to protestation of his inclination to His Majesty in friendship.

thus with His Majesty, he talked much in my favour and wished to show his great affection and esteem he had for me, with more of the same.

Bonde was not appeased. He replied that the "reason for the disagreement in regard to the alliance was due merely to the method and treatment of it." He wished to have an ambassador sent to Charles X with the Protector's decision in the matter. Avoiding the Dutch question, he said that the King of Sweden had shown friendliness to them, and expected the same in return. He went on to say that five

mediate settlement

To this the Protector answered

with the same protestations as before, apologized for what he had said, that he had wished to put any blame on me other than, perhaps, that I had not requested the commissioners, as they had order to wait on me when I requested their appearance. I did not wish to dispute the matter with him, but left, showing great coldness, in order to see if that attitude would better than before, hasten my departure, and would have liked to argue with him as he was imagining that the fault lay principally with me whereas the greatest reason was that he monopolizes everything in his own hands.<sup>119</sup>

It was probably at this same audience that the Protector declared that England must observe

<sup>119</sup> Carlbon, pp. 90-94, Bonde, *Diary*, 43rd Rept. Dep. Keeper Pub. Records, App. II, p. 5.

neutrality between Sweden and Holland because their state of mind, which  
 demand for hemp, rope, sails, masts, pitch, tar, *etc.*, was not considered  
 contraband by Borde.<sup>120</sup>

This, in fact, lay at the root of the matter. England, like Holland, was largely, if not wholly, dependent on the Baltic lands for the naval supplies which they furnished. As yet little trade in those commodities had begun with America and less with the rest of the world, and without naval supplies both England and Holland were more or less helpless. In addition to this, as Cromwell had already pointed out, Danzig was Holland's "bread-basket," and no arrangement which he made with Sweden could ignore the necessity of his keeping on good terms with the Dutch, who were at once the rivals and the allies of the English. It was his purpose, therefore, especially in view of the Spanish war, not to enter into any agreement which might turn the Dutch against him and add them to Flanders as a danger to English coasts and shipping. There was still the problem of contraband at issue with the Dutch who were reported to be angry at the Protector's refusal to permit enemy goods to be carried in Dutch ships on presentation of a pass.<sup>121</sup>

Apparently Lockhart had his first audience with Louis XIV—with Mazarin present—on May 5,<sup>122</sup> and was shown every courtesy, and meanwhile, too, in spite of the order of April 29 that the Council was to meet only two days a week, it met nearly every day in this first week of May, with the Protector present at every session.<sup>123</sup> In addition, he wrote to the committee for Gresham College, which is another illustration of his personal interest in securing proper men for places in educational institutions, often, it would appear, for religious or political no less than for intellectual reasons, though these latter were doubtless not wanting.

*For Our worthy Friends the Committee of the City of London for Gresham College These*

GENTLEMEN,

We understanding that you have appointed an election this afternoon of a Geometry Professor in Gresham College, We desire you to

<sup>120</sup> Carlbom, pp. 97-98.

<sup>121</sup> Thurloe, v, 2, 4.

<sup>122</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, May 12-19, Thurloe, v, 8 (letter to Bampfild).

<sup>123</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. xxx, 312. He approved numerous orders in person, on Tuesday, 3 of Apr. 29 (*ibid.*, p. 309), on Friday, 3 more of Apr. 29-May 1 (*ibid.*, p. 315).

suspend the same for some time, till We shall have an opportunity to speak with some of you in order to that business I rest,

Your loving friend,

Whitehall, May 9, 1656

OLIVER P.<sup>124</sup>

The "zealous" Neal declares that "If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out, and reward him according to his merit." Dr Cudworth, in Cambridge, was commissioned to "mark among the ingenious youths of that University such as he deemed apt for public employment, and to make the Protector aware of them."<sup>125</sup> But it may also be noted in that connection that his recommendations for degrees to be conferred by Oxford seldom failed to note the religio-political as well as the professional qualifications for such honors. The educational institutions were naturally a great concern of the government which had not only "reformed" them drastically in the interests of the revolutionary party, but kept close watch upon them for recruits. But it is especially notable that it was not his own university of Oxford with which, in consequence, he seems to have kept in closer touch. Cudworth was a friend of Thurloe's, as Owen was of the Protector's. Wilkins, a relative by marriage of the Protector, was the head of Wadham, and a member of the body which was presently transformed into the Royal Society, and it was largely through these men that the government kept in touch with the educational institutions. Though the Protector had a personal interest in education, especially such parts of the system as some of his courtiers, notably Prince Rupert, they had an immediate and practical interest in education, especially such parts of the system as could contribute to their own position.

It is a tribute to our ignorance of many things in the past that there seems no reason for the fact of the frequent meetings of the Council during the week of May 5.<sup>126</sup> There seems to be no record of any matters of importance. There were the usual petitions.<sup>127</sup> They considered reports of the Committee on Trade with respect to wool and leather and abuses in that branch of commerce, together with the Protector's reference to the problem of Antigua.<sup>128</sup> They took into consideration the bill for the coaches and footmen attending the re-

<sup>124</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, CCXI, from original in Guildhall Library.

<sup>125</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, II, 493.

<sup>126</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), pp. xxx, 312.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 310-11, 313-14.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309. According to *Cal. S. P. Col* (1574-1660), pp. 439-40, on May 6 H. H. delivered to the Council the report of the Committee of Trade on the petition of Chris Keynell, gov. of Antigua, for preservation of that island from ruin and destruction.

ception and audience of the Swedish and Venetian ambassadors, for bringing the French ambassador to dinner, and the Brandenburg agent to an audience, and referred them as usual to Mr Jessop.<sup>129</sup> But these were the commonplaces of minor problems of administration. They have only one interest. They reveal how time was spent—or wasted—on matters which would never come before a modern cabinet, but which consumed the hours and the energies of a ruler and a council whose primary duty was the direction of national policy, foreign affairs and domestic administration. It was not merely a symptom of an earlier, simpler time. It revealed how closely Protector and Council kept in touch with even the most minute details of government and how much the pressure of that government weighed upon them. It revealed, among other things, that they did not choose—or dare—to let even the slightest detail escape them.

It is evident from the fact that the Council met six times during the first week of May, with the Protector present, and three times during the second week, with the Protector present at two of the meetings,<sup>130</sup> that the business of government pressed hard on those directing it. This is confirmed by the report of Giavarina, who wrote,

They are indeed so fully occupied that they do not know which way to turn, and the Protector has not a moment to call his own. He is forced to hold frequent councils of state to discuss and digest so many matters under the present constitution of England's affairs. His Highness is in great need of money, and because the necessary sums fail him, . . . when speaking recently in the Council and pointing out their difficulties, to consider how they might most readily obtain money, he could not restrain his tears as he spoke, in order to move them to contribute more readily what he wanted. Many methods of raising money are discussed, but they do not know how to put them in force because of the outcry of the people, so excessively afflicted and exhausted by the charges they have to bear.<sup>131</sup>

The Venetian envoy was certainly not unaware of the fact that at all times in his life the Protector seems to have had tears at his command, or, as a later writer observed, he was "so great a Dissembler, that he could shed Crocodilian Tears at Pleasure."<sup>132</sup> He was highly emotional and at every stage of his career there is testimony that

<sup>129</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 308-9. On Friday Scobell was ordered to draw up the draft of an order for the assessment of £60,000 a month for six months from June 24, which was to be printed at once (*ibid.*, p. 315, *Pub. Intell.*, June 2-5). Order for Scotland May 22.

<sup>130</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. xxx, 321. For orders etc. cp. *ibid.*, pp. 316, 323-24, and Thurloe, v, 22.

<sup>131</sup> Giavarina to Doge, May 16/26, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), pp. 221-22.

<sup>132</sup> Wm. Howell, *Medulla Historiae* (1719), p. 238.

tears were among his most natural if not his most effective weapons

spondents, "contracted debts of £1,500,000 for supply, and it was moved in the Council to double the monthly taxes, but after a hot debate it remained undetermined"<sup>133</sup> There is every indication that the question of money was growing more and more acute Every Council meeting seemed to be concerned with it in some form On the 13th Thurloe presented the draft of a proclamation ratifying the charter of the Merchants Adventurers who had chosen Dordrecht for their mart and "staple," ordering all of that company in Holland to move thither and exercise their trade only there and forbidding the export of English, Scotch and Irish woollens to any but "staple" towns in Germany or Holland<sup>134</sup> On that same day the bill for the commission for the discovery of fraudulent debentures was announced as published, with a list of the commissioners.<sup>135</sup> On Thursday, with the Protector present, the question of the salaries of the auditors and receivers-general of the counties was determined, with minute provisions for the auditing of the accounts<sup>136</sup> Meanwhile there was sent a letter to Ireland in regard to Sir John Clotworthy, who, in addition to the services there noted, was on the committee to resolve the delicate and difficult disputes among the Irish Adventurers.

*To the lord deputy and council of Ireland*

RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELBELOVED, WE GREET YOU WELL

Whereas sir John Clotworthy knight hath set forth to us by his petition, amongst other things, that there is a growing pension of six shillings and eight pence *per diem* due unto him for life, which by a report of

Clotworthy, and his father sir Hugh Clotworthy, have long served against the rebels in these parts, to the end some mark of the value of their services

hereby  
said sir

as it was surrendered to the late king on the first day of July 1640, by the then and now lord Chichester, there being such acknowledgment of rent reserved on the same, as unto you may seem meet And our deputy and coun-

<sup>133</sup> [Wm Rumbould] to Mr Pickering [Ormonde], May 12/22, Macray, 10, 134, no 383

<sup>134</sup> *Cal. S P Dom* (1655-6), pp 317-19, cp also May 22 Proclamation dated May 30

<sup>135</sup> *Pub. Intell*, May 12-19; pr in *ibid*, May 26-June 2

<sup>136</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), pp 321-22.





Council who were, presumably, dealing only with great affairs of state.

The administration was still concerned with the publication of obscene or salacious literature. On the 9th the Council had ordered that "all books stuffed with obscenity and of bad manners,"<sup>145</sup> and on May 16 a like order was issued as to all copies of *Evotio negotium*, or *Martial's Epigrams Translated*,<sup>146</sup> "being stuff tending to the corruption of manners," to say nothing of morals. Of more general, if not more important, interest, however, were those questions relating to France, of which several came before the Protector and Council at this time. The first was the usual quarrel between an English consul and the merchants; in this case John Aldworth, consul at Marseilles, and one John Holworthy, a merchant there, supported by the former consul, of no consequence save that it provoked information to the effect that Louis XIV had acknowledged Aldworth as consul.<sup>147</sup> Of far more consequence was the discussion in regard to Dunkirk, which the Protector had refused to allow to fall to England but not

the agreement. This was the more annoying in that the outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish war, as had been long since foreseen, enabled the privateers from Dunkirk to interfere with English shipping to such an extent that Giavarina reported the Protector might have to recall Blake's fleet to put down the daring freebooters from Dunkirk and Ostend who even ventured into the mouth of the Thames in search of their prey,<sup>148</sup> which, among other things, raised the price of Newcastle coals in London.<sup>149</sup>

The whole situation was complicated by two other circumstances. The first was a treaty between Charles II and Philip IV, of which, the Protector soon learned.<sup>150</sup> The second was that Louis XIV and Philip IV might come to terms—in fact even while Mazarin had first objected to Lockhart's embassy and then put off meeting him as long as possible, he had sent Lionne to Spain to sound out the possibility of arranging a peace. Thus was projected a treaty between the two great Catholic powers, as against the Protestant League which Cromwell was trying to form. In addition the Protector had to face an arrangement between Charles II and Philip IV, involving the use of 6,000 Spanish

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid* (1655-6), p. 314.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. <sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. <sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. <sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. <sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. <sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. <sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. <sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325. <sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

... a port at which they could be landed Charles, when and if he regained his effort to regain Portugal; and the promise of the English conquests in the West Indies, as well as toleration of Catholics in his dominions. To this were added new differences in regard to the Piedmontese. At the moment that the Protector had decided to assist the Swiss Protestant cantons to resist persecutions of the Protestants in Catholic Schwytz, a peace was signed under French influence permitting each canton to deal as it chose with its own inhabitants. Thus when Lockhart arrived in Paris, though he was greeted with great civility, and Mazarin wrote the Protector to express his pleasure in Lockhart's embassy and his confidence in the Protector, the English ambassador, though he was received by both King and Cardinal, found no opportunity to discuss matters with Mazarin, who put him off until some word could be had from Lionne's mission to Spain.<sup>181</sup> Lockhart, therefore, found himself in the same position with respect to Mazarin as Bonde had experienced in his dealings with the Protector, and Cromwell was confronted with the possibility which he had long professed to fear—an alliance of the Catholic powers and the Pope to counteract the Protestant crusade which he had preached so long, and thus far with no ill effects. He had, in fact, been crying "Wolf! Wolf!" for a long time, and now, it would appear, there *was* a wolf, for whose appearance he himself was

There were, indeed, two wolves. At this moment appeared Vane's *Healing Question* in reply to the Protector's proclamation of March 14. In it Vane defined "The Good Old Cause" as religious liberty and parliamentary government, modified, however, by the exclusion from political activity of all except the adherents of the party which then held power. It was a powerful and subtle attack on the military government which had won the day, and which had won it by the sword. It woke echoes in many hearts, for this was, in fact, the old cry of the Puritans, and of calling "the root of the matter," that is to say government by the army or by Parliament, and it was this which had been the chief basis of the opposition to the Protector among those who had fought for religious liberty. To this complaint was added the protest of the persistent Bonde to Charles Fleetwood against the delay in the Anglo-Swedish treaty, concerning which he "remonstrated briefly and haughtily," though he wrote that since his talk the previous week with the Protector "the affair seems to be progressing somewhat better."<sup>182</sup> Schlezer also felt more cheerful after his interviews with Cromwell and Thurloe, though, as he reported, the difficulty was, as usual, money. He believed, however,

<sup>181</sup> Cp *ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>182</sup> Carlbom, p. 95.

that it would come in either by a new Parliament, by further impositions on Royalists or other "malcontents," or by a "good booty" from Spain or Portugal.<sup>153</sup> None of these things, however, affected the note of protest Cromwell sent to Louis XIV in connection with that most fertile subject of diplomatic correspondence in this period—the seizure of English ships and goods.

*To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis, King of France*

MOST SERENE PRINCE,

John Dethick, mayor of the city of London for this year, and William Wakefield merchant, have made their addresses to us by way of petition, complaining that about the first of October, sixteen hundred and forty nine, they freighted a certain ship called the *Jonas* of London, Jonas Lightfoot master, with goods that were to be sent to Ostend, which vessel was taken in the mouth of the river Thames by one White of Barking, a pirate robbing upon the seas by virtue of a commission from the son of King Charles deceased, and carried to Dunkirk, then under the jurisdiction of the French. Now in regard that by your majesty's edict in the year sixteen hundred and forty seven, renewed in sixteen hundred and forty nine, and by some other decrees of the Royal Council in favour of the parliament of England, as they find it recorded, it was enacted that no vessel or goods taken from the English, in the time of that war, should be carried into any of your majesty's

then governor of the town, more especially finding them in the place for the  
ment upon him of his

to depend upon  
your majesty's justice and clemency, to which they thought they might have  
the more easy access by means of our letters, and therefore that neither your  
clemency nor your justice may be wanting to people despoiled against all law  
and reason, and contrary to your repeated prohibitions, we make it our re-

innate integrity than any entreaty of ours.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER P.<sup>154</sup>

Westminster,

May [14], 1656

<sup>153</sup> Schlezer to Waldeck, May 1656. *Flück u. A. Kunst* vii 728

<sup>154</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 400

On the same day that he addressed Louis XIV, the Venetian Senate replied to the Protector's letter in behalf of the heirs of captain "Giones" [Jones] of *Cal S P Ven.* <sup>155</sup> was to be released and the crime *Cal S P Ven.* <sup>156</sup> On that day also King John of Portugal wrote in regard to the attempt on Meadows' life, in an endeavor to conciliate Cromwell, though the perpetrators of the outrage, inspired by Peneguaão in revenge for the death of his brother, were not arrested <sup>157</sup> It was further reported, doubtless with some exaggeration, that Blake's fleet had been observed off Cape Finisterre, with 10,000 men aboard, of whom half were soldiers <sup>157</sup> From Hamburg came information that the Swedish army, then at Burmack, was expecting 3,000 soldiers from the Protector. <sup>158</sup> Still more significant of trouble was the fact that on the 18th Sexby wrote to Wildman, requesting a cipher to continue their correspondence <sup>159</sup> A Royalist agent in England was informed by Wildman that "a petition from the army is about to be presented to Cromwell, which it is supposed will greatly displease him, they will ask to have several ports and garrisons in their hand, among them Deal Castle," which Wildman thought he could secure for the King. He hoped that "the King will be able to get it" yet things will turn out to *Cal S P Ven.* <sup>160</sup> He replied that the King was glad to hear from Wildman, and that the "petition should be set forward as much as may be, and anything else in the army or in the new Parliament which may distract Cromwell" <sup>160</sup> This would perhaps have been more serious save for the fact that Wildman, who, though a prominent Leveller, had not been averse to taking his profit wherever he found it, was not much trusted by either side. It was especially unfortunate for Lockhart's secretary, Swift, who went to Paris with Cromwell's "factor," described by the Royalists as "a pernicious, dissembling knave," whom the Royalists planned to secure and send to Flanders where "the King may get out [of] him all he knows" <sup>161</sup> It may possibly have been that the major-generals had been called to London to discuss this situation among other things. They did not all arrive on the day set, but on Wednesday such of them as were present held a day of fasting and prayer with the Protector and Council, which indicates, as always, matters of importance under consideration. <sup>162</sup> This was, indeed, according to

<sup>155</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ven.* 1655-6, 1656-7, 1657-8, 1658-9, 1659-60, 1660-1, 1661-2, 1662-3, 1663-4, 1664-5, 1665-6, 1666-7, 1667-8, 1668-9, 1669-70, 1670-1, 1671-2, 1672-3, 1673-4, 1674-5, 1675-6, 1676-7, 1677-8, 1678-9, 1679-80, 1680-1, 1681-2, 1682-3, 1683-4, 1684-5, 1685-6, 1686-7, 1687-8, 1688-9, 1689-90, 1690-1, 1691-2, 1692-3, 1693-4, 1694-5, 1695-6, 1696-7, 1697-8, 1698-9, 1699-00, 1700-1, 1701-2, 1702-3, 1703-4, 1704-5, 1705-6, 1706-7, 1707-8, 1708-9, 1709-10, 1710-1, 1711-2, 1712-3, 1713-4, 1714-5, 1715-6, 1716-7, 1717-8, 1718-9, 1719-20, 1720-1, 1721-2, 1722-3, 1723-4, 1724-5, 1725-6, 1726-7, 1727-8, 1728-9, 1729-30, 1730-1, 1731-2, 1732-3, 1733-4, 1734-5, 1735-6, 1736-7, 1737-8, 1738-9, 1739-40, 1740-1, 1741-2, 1742-3, 1743-4, 1744-5, 1745-6, 1746-7, 1747-8, 1748-9, 1749-50, 1750-1, 1751-2, 1752-3, 1753-4, 1754-5, 1755-6, 1756-7, 1757-8, 1758-9, 1759-60, 1760-1, 1761-2, 1762-3, 1763-4, 1764-5, 1765-6, 1766-7, 1767-8, 1768-9, 1769-70, 1770-1, 1771-2, 1772-3, 1773-4, 1774-5, 1775-6, 1776-7, 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all accounts, one of the most significant councils yet held under the Protectorate. Giavarina reported that,

"... and the  
to this end it is  
said they have decided to call a parliament shortly, which is so greatly desired by the people, as they think it will bring order and rule to many things which they claim to be abuses and irregular. This announcement about summoning parliament is considered a trick designed solely to pacify the

friendly to the government and consequently more disposed to serve him. He knows that every breach he may make for the destruction of the present rule may not be fired, seeing the force it wields for beating down its enemies, yet it will cause great perturbation and anxiety to his Highness. To this end, like a wise government, they are trying to keep the people quiet by fresh regulations while holding out hopes of satisfying them, though they have no intention of following up their fair words by deeds. They are aware that the summoning of a parliament would produce disorder rather than order owing to the many things it would claim to renew and to alter.<sup>153</sup>

He had written a week earlier to something of the same effect, that

They cry out against the numerous impositions and they want a parliament, declaring that his Highness has no authority to burden them with such insufferable burdens out of all proportion to their strength. To soothe them and induce them to obey and submit blindly to every wish of his Highness they are flattered by promises of easy enterprises, to induce them to contribute as speedily as possible, thinking that blandishments may sweeten the bitterness they feel at the constant charges laid upon them.<sup>154</sup>

Every indication pointed to the correctness of the Venetian's judgment. Thurloe's report in advance of the meeting of the major-generals confirmed it, as he wrote that they

"are sent up for to give an account of their proceedings, and of the posture and condition of their severall associations, that thereupon further consideration may be had of the security and peace of the nation", and a week later he wrote, "the major-generals are all here, and have this day given in an account of the state and condition of the counties of their severall commaunds ... themselves, what is further to be done for the carryinge on of this worke, which certainlye hitherto hath been much blest"<sup>155</sup>

*Civil Service Papers, Venetian Archives* (1655-6), pp. 226-27.  
p. 224.

<sup>154</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, May 20 and May 27, Thurloe, v, 45 and 63

To these statements of the purpose of this important meeting, Nieupoort gave certain additional pieces of information. Since Wednesday, he wrote, they have

been assembled, with the other high officers of the army, to deliberate upon matters of moment. Some think, that the maintaining of the fleets which are fitted out already, and the fitting out of a good number of ships anew,

protector, with the advice and consent of the Council, as also after previous communication with the said major generals and high officers of the army will give judgment, that the necessity of the state in the present junctures requires, that the said tax must be doubled, and that those of the King's party instead of the tenth penny of their estates shall pay one fifth.<sup>166</sup>

It is scarcely too much to say, in view of this evidence, that the Protectoral system and party felt in great danger. It seems obvious

able advice to summon a Parliament, from which as much was to be feared as to be hoped. There seemed, however, no other resource, for government by the army was breaking or had broken down, and though it was apparent that a new Parliament was almost certain to provide a forum where the national dissatisfaction would be able to express itself, the military dictatorship which governed the country saw no alternative. Vane's pamphlet had struck a popular note, and not all the Protector's power or eloquence or tears persuaded the nation that it was only in his wisdom and that of his officers that salvation was to be found.

After the long and dull period which accompanied and followed his illness in the winter of 1655-6, this spring was busy enough, especially in the second and third weeks of May. Besides his conferences with the major-generals and officers, in this third week he attended three meetings of the Council, one on Tuesday and two on Thursday,<sup>167</sup> in addition to giving audience, probably to Nieupoort,<sup>168</sup> and certainly to Bonde on Friday,—which got them no farther along, though Bonde

<sup>166</sup> Nieupoort to States General, May 23/June 2, *ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>167</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), p. xxx.

<sup>168</sup> *Pub Intell*, May 19-26. He also issued a commission for discoveries under the Great Seal, probably Friday the 23rd (*Cal S P Dom*, 1656-7, pp. 242, 248) but possibly Monday the 26th (*ibid.*, p. 595) to seven men recommended to him by the Council (*ibid.*, 1655-6, pp. 242, 278).

asked for a final decision in writing. That the Protector evaded, voicing his distrust of both treaty and "tractate," and pointing out that the differences between the interests and wishes of the two countries were too great to be arranged.<sup>169</sup> In the Council it was determined that the Council in Scotland should send the Protector the details of the estate of Lord Cranston in order to answer the Swedish king's inquiries.<sup>170</sup> On Thursday the Protector's proclamation of May 13 in regard to the Merchants of the Staple at Dordrecht was suspended and the Committee on Trade, to which some additions were made, apparently for that purpose, was ordered to reconsider it,<sup>171</sup> with the result that the deputy governor and the Merchants Adventurers immediately lodged a protest with the Protector.<sup>172</sup> New prize goods commissioners were appointed to succeed the old body,<sup>173</sup> and in accordance with a previous request from the governor of the Levant Company, the Protector wrote a letter of revocation to the agent at Constantinople, Richard Lawrence. The Company itself sent the letter to Lawrence and advised their treasurers at Smyrna to pay Lawrence before his departure.<sup>174</sup>

*To our trustie and welbeloved Mr. Richard Laurence at Constantinople*

OLIVER P

Trustie and welbeloved, wee greet you well. The companie of merchants tradeing into the Levant Seas haveing by their humble petition desired us to send unto you our letters of revocation in respect their affayres doe not require your longer staye in the parts where you are, to which request of theirs wee haveing condescended, you are forthwith upon the receipt hereof to returne hither, and give us an accompt of the things which have been given you in charge from the State. You will alsoe herewith receive letters from the companie for payment of the money due to you for your enterteynment dureing your aboade at Constantinople, and five hundred dollars for the charge of your returne And soe wee bid you farewell  
Whitehall, May 28, 1656<sup>175</sup>

<sup>169</sup> Carlborn, pp. 99-100

<sup>170</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), pp. 327-28. On 15 June the note was discharged at the  
one noted "by his Highness's signature of the

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327. ambiguous and Thomas added

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 334-35

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 329, 332

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 332

<sup>175</sup> There is a letter to the Protector  
to an order  
153; but was  
never introduced or permitted to deliver his credentials, so his return was ordered in  
(Thurloe, iv, 705).



Apart from these various matters of miscellaneous business,<sup>176</sup> the only question of public importance in these days accompanying the assembly of the major-generals seems to have been the despatch of two ketches, carrying 200 men, outfitted as men-of-war, as a species of coast-guard for Jamaica, in which the Protector seems to have been personally interested.<sup>177</sup> It appears, also, that the embarrassing arrest of Dr Owen at Whitehall gate brought the complainant, Henry Emsley, before the Council and so to gaol until September 12, by which time, it would appear, the matter had been settled.<sup>178</sup> But this week was notable for one thing apart from any political importance. In September, 1642, an order had been issued prohibiting operatic and theatrical performances, but on May 23, 1656, Davenant was permitted to produce "An Entertainment at Rutland House," among its other features, had a discussion of the "defects" of Paris and London, "ending with new songs relating to the victor (the Protector), the last, deriding Paris, ended,—

'And though a ship her scutcheon be  
Yet Paris hath no ship at sea''<sup>179</sup>

On May 19, Lockhart finally secured an audience with Mazarin at Compiègne, in which the Cardinal accepted the association of the Protector's offer to assist a French expedition to Italy and suggested an attempt on Mardyke.<sup>180</sup> Meadows wrote from Lisbon to Blake and Montagu that if the Protector's orders were to be carried out, the five days allowed him to accomplish the signing of the treaty had elapsed and since he was confined to his bed as a result of the attempt to kill him, he was in no condition to leave. His feeling was that the King would give no satisfaction unless at the moment of his departure.<sup>181</sup> On the other hand, Thurloe was advised from the Hague that the Princess Dowager of the Netherlands, the Elector of Brandenburg and Count William were well affected toward the Protector.<sup>182</sup>

That was of far less importance to Cromwell at this moment than

<sup>176</sup> A writ from the Protector to the Lord Mayor of London, dated 1656, is his wife, executors of the will of . . . . . Thos Blackmore and Edward Alcock (Brownhill, "Cal of Moore Papers," *Lancs and Cheshire Rec S* . . . . . and Lynn and to Bt . . . . . -6, p 332)

<sup>177</sup> Cp *ibid.*, pp 330-32

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p . . . . .

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p . . . . . -6, Fuller, *Worthies*, III, 420

<sup>180</sup> Thurloe, v, 41, 52-53, *Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin*, VII, 218

<sup>181</sup> Thurloe, v, 59

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

the meeting of the major-generals, who had been coming up to London in these last days of May to make their reports on the 27th,<sup>183</sup> so that he apparently had time only to attend one Council meeting.<sup>184</sup> This, however, did not prevent both Protector and Council from getting through a considerable amount of routine business,<sup>185</sup> which involved, among other things, the writing or signing of a number of letters and orders:

*Warrant*

OLIVER P.

Whereas certain letters and Bills of Exchange have been intercepted, whereby it appeared that the sum of Four hundred fifty one pounds and the sum of Three hundred fifty two pounds and ten shillings have been returned and remitted over from Antwerp unto Captain Edward Hall by one Bonnell and one Butler, persons unknown unto the said Captain Hall who have given no order or direction to him for the disposing thereof and it appearing unto us by several letters which we have seen and by other intelligences that the said sums of money were returned over hither by Edward Sexby (A traitor to this Commonwealth and who is fled to and now resides in

raising of tumults and insurrections in this Commonwealth and for involving the same into blood, We have seized upon the said several sums of Four hundred fifty one pounds and of Three hundred fifty two pounds and ten shillings, in the hands of the said Captain Hall, and commanded required the payment thereof to the use of the Commonwealth and do hereby acknowledge the said Captain Hall hath paid unto Gualter Frost Esq, Treasurer of the Contingencies of our Council the said several sums of Four hundred fifty one pounds and of Three hundred fifty two pounds and ten shillings and do therefore acquit and discharge the said Edward Hall from the same and every part thereof and of and from any demand which may be made by the said Sexby or other persons pretending right thereunto and do declare that he shall be

Westminster the eight and twentieth day of May 1656<sup>186</sup>

<sup>183</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, May 27, *ibid.*, p. 63

<sup>184</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1655-6), pp. vxx, 341. On May 29 he approved five orders of Apr 29 to May 29, and sixteen more on Friday (*ibid.*, p. 342)

<sup>185</sup> Mostly petitions, one from Rich Turpin for £100 a year for life in lieu of £500 a

*For my loving Son Richard Cromwell, Esquire, at Hursley: These*

SON,

You know there hath often been a desire to sell Newhall, because in these four years last past it hath yielded very little or no profit at all, nor ever did I hear you ever liked it for a seat.

It seems there may be a chapman had, who will give 18,000<sup>l</sup> It shall be either laid out where you shall desire, at Mr. Wallop's or elsewhere, and the money put into feoffees' hands in trust to be so disposed or I shall settle Burleigh, which yields near 1,300<sup>l</sup><sup>187</sup> *per annum*, besides the woods Waterhouse will give you farther information.

I rest,  
Your loving father,  
OLIVER P

Whitehall, May 29th 1656.

My love to your Father and Mother,<sup>188</sup> and your dear Wife <sup>189</sup>

Whatever information and advice the major-generals brought, on May 29 the Protector issued a proclamation for an assessment of £60,000 a month from June 24, it having been decided, apparently, that in spite of the necessity for money, it was inadvisable in the state of public opinion to raise the assessment openly to its earlier figure of £90,000, much less to the £120,000 that had been levied at one time.<sup>190</sup> On Thursday he attended the Council, it would seem for the express purpose of approving an order for the so-called Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers to consider a provision for ministers in market-towns and supplying such places with able and godly preachers.<sup>191</sup> Thus was extended the provision for what may be called a Nonconformist established church in place of the now proscribed Anglican system. On that same Thursday a petition from Charles Lloyd, deputy-governor of the Merchant Adventurers, read on Tuesday, was acted upon. The original proclamation establishing the staple at Dordrecht, as revised, was issued on the 30th,<sup>192</sup> with the proviso that consideration of the regulation of the Company be referred to the Committee on Trade.<sup>193</sup> With the appointment of certain commissioners for the assessment,<sup>194</sup> an order to the Army

<sup>187</sup> Written above is £1,260.

<sup>188</sup> Mr and Mrs Mayor of Hursley.

<sup>189</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, CCXII, from orig. owned by H. W. Field, of the Royal Mint, later in Tangye coll. and reproduced by him in his "Two Protectors," opp. p. 228. (Lomas-Carlyle notes.)

<sup>190</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 22-23. 'n of this work.

<sup>191</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 24.

<sup>192</sup> Crawford, i, 371, no. 3072.

<sup>193</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 24-25, 342. Procl. to be "same as that issued" Pub. June 5 (*Pub. Intell.*, June 2-9).

Committee to hasten their proceedings regarding raising money to pay the militia;<sup>196</sup> and, apparently, an interview between the Protector and his old antagonist at Lowestoft, "The ...".<sup>197</sup> His fine,<sup>198</sup> this last week of May 1656, was a ... period. It was, indeed, more than that, for the meeting of the major-generals, though there was no public announcement of their proceedings, so far as we know, any record of them, in the Protectoral system.

This was emphasized by the difficulties encountered at sea. Late in May the Dunkirk privateers set out on new expeditions, and it was reported that twelve Flemish ships seized ten English merchantmen under convoy of a Peter Salomons. It was a serious thing to happen at any time, but especially at this moment; so serious that the Dutch Admiralty commissioners instructed Nieupoort to deny that Salomons—who was apparently a Dutchman—was at fault, and to inform the Protector to that effect.<sup>197</sup> Giavarina's report of the episode was that twenty ships were taken *en route* to Holland, suggesting that the Dutch may have been in collusion with the Flemings.<sup>198</sup> Another correspondent informed the English Admiralty Commissioners that "22 sail of the enemy fought with and took 10 ships from Amsterdam bound for London; also a Dutch ship that was convoving them."<sup>199</sup> On the other hand the Venetian resident at Madrid reported to his government that "Ten ships of the English fleet passed through the Strait and falling in with a Dutch vessel carrying a rich cargo, they captured it, the device of flying false colours and trying to pass for a Hamburger proving unavailing."<sup>200</sup> Taken in connection with the losses earlier, such incidents increased the unpopularity of a war toward which the people at large were either indifferent or definitely hostile, especially since there seemed some danger of involvement with the Dutch by some untoward event over which the Protector and Council had little or no control. Thus far, at least, with the half a dozen ... the West Indies the danger of the ... of ... S.

... been peculiarly unfortunate, a situation not concealed by his brave words at home or his threatening letters sent abroad. Only in one

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341.

<sup>197</sup> His remonstrance considered in Council June 3 on ref. by Protector, allowed him ten days after May 30 to clear himself (*ibid.*, p. 344). See also report of the Norfolk commissioners, Apr. 16, 1656, in Thurloe, iv, 705.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 279.

<sup>199</sup> C ... .. -b), p. 228.

<sup>200</sup> ... .. S. P. Dom., 1655-6, p. 553).

<sup>201</sup> Zane to Doge, June 4/14, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 230.

direction at the moment did the clouds lift. On May 30 Meadows wrote to Blake and Montagu that their anchoring at Cascaes and his demanding an audience "hath much altered the state of affaires heer. To-morrow morning all things are alike to be agreed, and so a peace settled betweene both the nations." His prophecy was true, for on the next day he wrote that "This morning I was with the king at the Alcantara, where the instruments of ratification were exchanged on both sides; so that a peace is now fully agreed and ratified."<sup>201</sup> Thereafter Blake and Montagu hastened to receive from King John the £50,000 stipulated in the peace terms.<sup>202</sup> It was on May 31 that Meadows had his final interview with the king. On June 1 he wrote again to the States General in regard to the Lower case which had apparently not yet been settled.

*To the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Provinces*

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS, OUR DEAREST FRIENDS,

The same persons in whose behalf we wrote to your lordships in September the last year, Thomas and William Lower, the lawful heirs of Nicholas Lower, deceased, make grievous complaints before us, that they are oppressed either by the favour or wealth of their adversaries, notwithstanding the justice of their cause, and when that would not suffice, although our letters three times pleaded in their behalf, they have not been able hitherto to obtain possession of the inheritance left them by their father's will. From the court of Holland, where the suit was first commenced, they were sent to your court, and from thence hurried away into Zealand, (to which three places they carried our letters) and now they are remanded, not unwillingly, back again to your supreme judicature, for where the supreme power is, there they expect supreme justice. If that hope fail them, eluded and frustrated, they have long been tossed from port to port for the recovery of their right, and have been long tossed from port to port. For as for our letters, if they find no benefit of these, the fourth time written, they can never promise themselves any advantage for the future. However, it would be most acceptable to us if, through a decision rendered without delay, the heirs may realize that there has been very great help for them in your firmness and justice, and some also in our influence with you. Of the last of these letters we presume you will allow the other

From our Palace at Westminster 30th May 1656.

Your good friend

OLIVER P<sup>203</sup>

<sup>201</sup> Meadows to Blake & Montagu, May 30, 31, *ibid.* loc. cit., May 30, 31, 137, no. 398, E. Prestage, *The Diplomatic Relations of Oliver Cromwell*, 16 etc (Watford, 1925), p. 134, and *Stowe MSS* 192, ff. 1, 21, 35, date it, apparently incorrectly, May 9.

<sup>202</sup> Blake and Montagu to Adm. Commrs., June 19/29, Powell, p. 364, cp. Thurloe, v, 97-98, 105-7.

<sup>203</sup> The name of the friend is not known. It is not Oliver Cromwell, as he was not on Co.

To this he added on the next day a like protest in the case of other merchants:

*To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces*

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS, OUR DEAREST FRIENDS.

John Brown, Nicholas Williams, Joseph Vaughan, etc.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

they who have engaged to insure the said vessel refused to pay the money),

their just right. Which in regard it is an unjust grievance, that lies so heavy

former damages, we make it our earnest request to your lordships, that you will vouchsafe your integrity to be the harbour and refuge for people tossed so many years, and almost shipwrecked in your courts of justice, and that

you all prosperity to the glory of God, and the welfare of his church From  
our Palace at Westminster, 31st May, 1636

Your good friend,  
OLIVER P.<sup>204</sup>

From these matters the Protector turned to affairs nearer home. These, it seems, were no less disturbed than they had been for some time. It appears that some time previously money had been intercepted on its way from Sexby to his fellow-conspirators,<sup>265</sup> which indicated that the plots were still being framed; and there was now some question of separating the Protectorate from command of the army. Giavarina wrote that

says he is thinking of appointing his son-in-law Richard J. as general in his stead. But the soldiers do not seem quite satisfied and would rather have Cromwell, who is more popular with them. Cromwell wants to give them more training and invigorated to continue to render good and loyal service to him. He cannot feel the same confidence that Lambert would instil similar prin-

<sup>204</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 402, and Columbia *Milton*, no 69, with corrections added after comparison with photostat of original in Algemeene Wetenschap der Letteren te Haarlem, St Gen 6915, which has the additional notation:

<sup>206</sup> See above, Cromwell's letter of May 28, 1656.

ciples, since he is aware that that officer, though outwardly loyal and friendly to him, is at bottom quite the reverse. He dissimulates because he cannot do otherwise, but given a favourable opportunity he would like to try his own chance with Fortune <sup>206</sup>

In addition to this there was the question of the marriage of the Protector's daughter, Frances. The Earl of Warwick wrote to his grandson, Robert Rich, complaining of the extravagant demands Cromwell made for a match. The Earl had already tried to secure Frances for his grandson, because he knew of Robert's great affection for her, but so far without success.<sup>207</sup> He was, in fact, nearer success than he thought, for

within the next year Frances married Robert Rich, bringing with her Newhall as her marriage portion,<sup>208</sup> at about the same time that her sister Mary married Lord Fauconberg.

These were not his only, nor the greatest, of his troubles. In behalf of the Merchant Adventurers of Rotterdam, one W. Van der Aa wrote in regard to the transfer of the staple to Dordrecht.<sup>209</sup> Lockhart was still being held off by the Cardinal, pending the result of Lionne's negotiations in Spain.<sup>210</sup> Sedgwick had died in Jamaica;<sup>211</sup> and Stokes, the governor of Nevis, was writing that in accordance with the Protector's proclamation the poor families in Nevis had

These spring months of 1656 were, with all their apparent dulness, full, not so much of great events, indeed, but of the seeds of great events. The threads of many diplomatic activities, though as yet not drawn together, were being spun for the weaving of a pattern of foreign policy which was presently to emerge as the principal achievement of the Protectorate. In the difficult and complicated game of foreign affairs the Protector was playing his part slowly, cautiously yet forcefully. He had to face the problem of making war with Spain and securing his conquests in the West Indies, and at the same time of keeping peace among the northern Protestant powers to secure himself on that side. No less important for his purposes, he had to meet the skilful and tortuous diplomacy of Mazarin, at best a slippery friend, at worst a dangerous enemy, to evade the snares which the

<sup>206</sup> Giavarina to Doge, 26 - 27

<sup>207</sup> Earl of Warwick to

*Frankland-Russell-Astley Mss*, pp. 21-22

<sup>208</sup> Cp. Lomas-Carlyle [Mary Cromwell's letter, June 23] II, 497-99

<sup>209</sup> Thurloe, v, 74-75.

<sup>210</sup> Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, IV, 244 and n.

<sup>211</sup> Thurloe, v, 154

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67

astute Card  
He had, at

minutely almost from day to day to perceive how complex and how difficult his problem was. It is easy to paint his administration in bold strokes, to avoid that accumulation of detail of which his life

his power was maintained and extended. It is no glittering chronicle, it drags its slow length along encumbered by masses of apparently insignificant incidents and documents. Yet in each of them resides something of the life, the policy and even the character of the Protector.

may be his power. From them it may be the dominant figure he has sometimes been painted, so far from his rule being accepted by the nation, he was often at a loss as to his next move; he was often mistaken in his foreign affairs. he

was finally driven to summoning a Parliament to extricate him from the dangers and difficulties by which he was surrounded. He was, perhaps, a "weary Titan struggling toward his goal," but he was often a wrong and always a perplexed Titan, and never more than now.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE CHOICE OF THE PARLIAMENT

JUNE 1—AUGUST 28, 1656

By the first of June, 1656, the Protector had evidently recovered sufficiently to take on their usual appearance. The hopes of his opponents and the fears of his supporters were equally disappointed. There had been a time when it seemed that he might and while the routine business of administration had gone on, no new policies had been initiated and no important steps taken. In any event there had been enough to keep the machinery of government at work; but now that he was better, it seemed that some more active measures might be taken to meet the problems which pressed upon his administration. The first of these was, in a sense, out of his hands and those of his advisers. The capture of the Spanish fleet, the evacuation of ships off the Spanish coast, and the complications and certain questions which even Blake could not answer. De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, had been ordered to attack the Spanish fleet, which he was doing, even at the cost of an engagement; though he was also ordered not to permit the vessels under his care to take on or discharge cargo at the Spanish ports. Thus far all seemed in accord with the peaceful relations existing between England and Holland, but the English admirals could not be blamed for suspecting that de Ruyter might have some orders—or ideas—about the protection of the Spanish Plate fleet, which Blake and Montagu had orders to seize, and Dutch interference might well produce a difficult situation. The second problem which the Protector's government had to face was the election and the meeting of a new Parliament, which was then contemplated. Thus both at home and abroad the situation needed a firm hand, and it was with great relief that his followers perceived the return of Cromwell to his usual duties, though he was not yet entirely recovered from his recent illness. The third problem was, as usual, money for these enterprises.

According to the usually well-informed Giavarina, though the Protector failed to attend the Council during the first week of June, he

keeps up his consultations with his Council and the Major Generals, but the objections to the proposals made delay a decision longer than expected al-

discussing the expedients for raising money, . . . Four suggestions were put forward. . . The first was to double all the ordinary taxes. . . The second was to issue privy seals, . . . forcing the person addressed to lend a sum of . . . to the government or to his estate. . . The third was to grant the parliament for one year. . . The fourth was to call the people to draw them money out of the public treasury. . . he called to please the people to draw them money out of the public treasury. . . regulating, they would be instantly dismissed as on previous occasions.<sup>1</sup>

A week later he wrote that Cromwell's "representations" were "in spite of the 'fixed determination' . . . of the plans. . . Finally he yielded to the prudent representations, . . . as possible."<sup>2</sup> To such a pass had come the man who twenty-five years earlier had protested just such measures as he now proposed. He had not only learned by this time that the forced loans and unparliamentary taxation which he had once so denounced were a part of government, but he was prepared to go to even further lengths than Charles I in imposing them on the nation—and with not dissimilar results, save that Cromwell had, what Charles had lacked, an army to enforce his decisions. This was as definitely a personal government as that which he had once opposed, and it seemed probable that he would be driven, as Charles I had been driven, to the summoning of a Parliament, however much against his will. Meanwhile the Army Committee was ordered to send printed copies of the assessment declaration to the several counties;<sup>3</sup> and, to descend to lower levels of administration, he issued an order to the commissioners for ejection:

### *Order*

OLIVER P.

Whereas Mr. Thomas Fitch, late Incumbent of the Vicarage of Sutton Courtney in the County of Berks was in July last by virtue of an Order of the Commissioners for Ejection of Scandalous Ministers etc ejected out of the said Vicarage of Sutton Courtney. And whereas the said Mr. Fitch made application to us for a re-hearing of the matters upon which he was ejected as aforesaid, suggesting that the said business was unduly prosecuted, and indirect means used to procure process against him therein

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1653-54, pp. 230-31.

<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup>

We thereupon referred the same to Mr. John Osborne, Mr. William Ley, Mr. John Tickle, Mr. William Hughes, and Mr. Anthony Stephens, Ministers who in their report to us of the said business do seem somewhat to confirm the

do therefore desire the Commissioners (who were present at the Ejection of Mr Fitch and the Ministers before named who made the said report to us, or at least so many of the said Commissioners and Ministers as can conveniently) to meet together and to examine and consider of the whole business and to certify unto us their opinion concerning the same as also concerning Mr Fitch Given at Whitehall the second day of June 1656.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to this the Protector signed an officer's commission on June 3,<sup>5</sup> and ordered Thurloe to write to the Admiralty Commissioners to appoint Jer Smyth of the *Essex* as captain of the *Dunbar*.<sup>6</sup> The news from Scotland meanwhile was disquieting. There was a quarrel between Lieut-colonel Bramston's men and the guard at Ayr. The soldiers were apparently willing to go to the West Indies, but "the men designed . . . to work . . . appeared to be of another spirit" . . . the garrison cut off the nose of one of the complainants which "so exasperated the Jamaica party that they took it as an affront and injury to them all," and four men were killed and fifty wounded in the affray.<sup>7</sup> There were two fires in the citadel of St Johnston's [Perth], apparently incendiary, but fortunately all the powder was saved.<sup>8</sup> A third incident was the trial of one William Murray ordered by the English Council for the murder of three dragoons in 1653. Monk declared a court-martial had no authority to try him—he being, apparently, a civilian—and that he did not wish to hand Murray over to a jury, which would certainly acquit him, as they always did.<sup>9</sup> These were in part, of course, the ordinary incidents of military occupation, but the fire and the Murray trial seem to indicate something more serious in the feeling against the English domination.

This was unfortunate at any time but especially at this moment when the government was pressed for money and foreign affairs looked dark. Certain London citizens now came forward in an attempt to relieve the deficit by proposing a tax of ten *per cent* on all

<sup>4</sup> *S P Dom*, CLVII, 79 I. Endorsed "A. . . C. . . . . let examined by T. . . . . John . . . . . Fitch was . . . . . did not reinstated until Nov 5, 1657, after he had . . . . ."

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), pp. 334, 555.

<sup>7</sup> *Merc Pol*, June 19-26 Thurloe, v, 86-87, cp. Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 323-28.

<sup>8</sup> Thurloe, v, 97, cp. Firth, *ut supra*, pp. 330-31.

<sup>9</sup> Thurloe, v, 97, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), pp. 231, 233

ale and beer sold, with appropriate officers to enforce the measure, one-third of the receipts to go to paying off public faith bills, the rest to the Exchequer.<sup>10</sup> As to foreign affairs, Longland wrote Morland that Portugal would break her promise . . . Lisbon;<sup>11</sup> and Sexby was still actively . . . though Overton—who was still in the Tower—voiced his suspicions of Wildman as being a Cromwellian agent, and Sexby's plan for surprising Portsmouth presently came into Thurloe's hands.<sup>12</sup> It was at this moment, too, that there was published on June 5 *The Lamb's Defence against Lyes*,<sup>13</sup> concerning the sufferings and death of the Quaker, James Parnell, who had died on April 10, 1656, in Colchester prison<sup>14</sup> the "Quaker protomartyr," as he was called, and on June 8 appeared *A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army in Ireland to the Protector, concerning his Changing of the Government*.<sup>15</sup> Though written two years earlier and so not connected with the current effort . . . being attacked from so many different directions

Far more important was the news which Giavarina sent to his government at this time. Writing on June 6, he reported that, apparently on Thursday evening, a vessel sent express arrived in the Thames with despatches from Blake's fleet, the contents of which

are not yet known as they will not be opened before to-day. The Protector has gone for this to his country house . . . with a few of his most intimate councillors. This is to keep the news more secret than if it were read in the presence of the whole Council, especially as the relations between his Highness and some of . . . reserve and caution . . . not it will first be edited and issued in a mitigated form.<sup>16</sup>

This is doubtless the letter to which the Protector refers in his new orders to Blake and Montagu.

*To Blake and Montagu, generals at sea*

GENTLEMEN,

Wee have scene a letter written by you to the commissioners of the admiralty, dated the 9th of May from Tanger, which arrived

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 349-50.

<sup>11</sup> Leghorn, June 6/16, Thurloe, v, 92.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. Firth, *Last Years*, 1, 33ff.

<sup>13</sup> Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, no. 830.

<sup>14</sup> Fox, *Journal* (1911), 1, 419, 11, 333.

<sup>15</sup> . . . -6), p. 231.

to you not rationalle, to attempt the burneing of the Spanish fleet in Cadiz; and thereupon apprehending, that some of your ships may be spared into the chanel for the better secureinge of Dunkirk and Ostend, where the pirates lately eighteen or nineteen of them in a body tooke twenty of our merchant ships in two fleets, being under a convoy of a Dutch ship of thirty-six guns; therefore we have resolved to call into these seas part of the fleet now with you; and to that end wee desire you upon the receipt hereof, to give orders to ten shippes under a good officer to saile with the first opportunity of wynd and ymediate notice unto us of the shippes you will send, conceainge you to be best able to judge, which of them will be fittest for this service, and may be best spared by you. Some thoughts we have had, that frigotts, will best answer the aforesaid ends nere. This wee have resolved, not knowing any thing of your posture or counsell more then your aforesayd letter represents. But in case you are upon any designe, or if ought else hath emerged either upon our letter and instruction sent by captaine Lloyd, or from your own thoughts, with which these orders will not well consist, wee leave it to you, notwithstanding what wee have herein writt, whether you will send these ships or not; our intentions not being to disappoint any things, which may be in your eye or designe to be done there by the fleet

His highness present,

Lord president,  
Lord Lambert,  
Sir Gilbert Pickeringe,  
Mr Strickland,

Lord deputy,  
Lord Fiennes,  
Col Sydenham,  
Col Jones

Whitehall, 9 June, 1656

That his highness be advised to send this letter to the generalls now before Cadiz in Spayne.<sup>17</sup>

Further in connection with the Mediterranean situation he addressed another letter to the Algerians

*To the thrice Illustrious, thrice noble, & right worthy the Aga Captain Generall, his Brethren the Aga Bashas, & the rest of that Honourable Society of the great Councell of State & warre in the city of Algiers, wisheth health & peace from God*

The letter which we sent lately to your Honours in answer to yours which wee received by Richard Casson, we hope is by this time come to your hands whereby you may perceiue both the satisfaction which we have in your promises to keep the league between us, hitherto accompanied with just performances; & the order which things wherein you requir you who have declar'd your selves hitherto in all things to be men loving

<sup>17</sup> Thurloe, v, 101-2 [in code] This letter was received June 30 (Powell, *Blake*, p. 328) at Cadiz, and acknowledged July 1/11 (*ibid.*, p. 366).

righteousnesse, hating wrong, & observing faithfulness in covenant. Our  
 taken by some ships of warre belonging to Algiers whereby the owner Jon:

taken, as is manifest to all men directly against the league & friendship be-  
 month June in the year 1656

[OLIVER P]<sup>18</sup>

The Protector, like a wise commander who is ignorant of the precise situation of his lieutenants and of the enemy, was careful to leave Blake and Montagu the widest discretion. They had, in fact, not yet accomplished much. Off Cape St. Marie they had learned of 28 war galleons in Cadiz waiting for rigging and ammunition from the Netherlands and had set watch to intercept these supplies, as well as stragglers from the previous West Indies fleet, of which a few vessels had already arrived safely. They found it impossible to attempt Cadiz; could find no pilot; and so sailed for Tangier to take on water and ballast. They even considered going to the West Indies, or attacking Gibraltar, but Montagu, who viewed that stronghold, decided they could not attempt it without at least 5,000 troops. Thence they had sailed to Lisbon in time to receive the Protector's letters suggesting an attack on Cadiz or on Gibraltar and noting the attitude

an interview with Meadows, who had been wounded in the hand, and on June 3 they anchored in Cascaes Bay, collected, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, the £50,000 due for the injuries inflicted by Rupert on English merchants, and so alarmed King John that he hastened to sign the treaty with the Protector. But they had, more or less unconsciously, done much more than this, for their presence in the Straits and the western Mediterranean had disrupted Mazarin's plans for France to make another attempt on Naples, such as Guise had undertaken eight years earlier. They may also have done something to interrupt Philip IV. Indignant the Protector may have been with King John, he would scarcely have permitted the Spanish monarch to reacquire possession of Portugal, if an English fleet could prevent it. In any event the fleet was divided. One part blockaded Cadiz; another patrolled the

<sup>18</sup> *Columbia Milton*, no. 163; acknowledged by Browne, Aug. 7, 1657 (Thurloe, vi, 452). Browne had presented the letter, but to no purpose. "Those that did the fact . . . in reference to . . ."



*Passport for Peter George Romswinkel*

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, etc., to all Kings, Commonwealths, Princes, and Cities allied with us, and also to all others professing the religion of the Protestants, whom this our letter may reach, Greeting.

Whereas most people think in Religion with easy acquiescence in exactly what they have received from their forefathers, and not what they themselves, after imploring divine help, have learnt to be true by their own perception and knowledge, we considered that the bearer of this letter, Peter George Romswinkel, dear to us, doctor of both laws, was so much the more to be praised and favored with . . . he was born and reared in the . . .

theless, as has been confirmed to us by the fullest testimony, moved by the love of the divine truth by God's assistance when he had attached himself whole mindedly . . .

abandoned not . . . honors which he enjoyed in it, he preferred by far the orthodox faith and the purer worship of God along with uncertain exile. In order that he might be safer from the snares, and freer from the insults, of the papists, he betook himself to England, certain that this Commonwealth is what we especially

Now summoned by the Serene Prince and Lady, the widow of the deceased Duke

main with us or to return to us./ Accordingly we order our generals, governors, ministers and magistrates of the ports, and likewise our admirals and naval forces to grant this Doctor Peter George Romswinkel free and exempt passage to and fro on land and sea /without any annoyance or examination of his luggage;/ likewise we desire it to be signified and ordered in the same way to our ambassadors, prolegates and public ministers, wherever in the world they are sojourning, that they aid him by what means they are able, and furnish him protection.

Finally we earnestly request all kings, commonwealths, princes, and states allied to us that they be willing to show favor to him in every way, to come to his aid, to bestow their patronage upon him,—a thing which we are easily persuaded they will do most readily even unasked, in consideration of their pious zeal for the Protestant religion and its adherents and those dear to us,

March, 1655 This letter of June 10, 1656 was read June 25 and acted upon by the governors of the Hospital. There may possibly have been still another letter in between these others (Wm Steven, *Hist of . . . Heriot's Hospital*, pp 69-70, and cp *N. & Q.*, *ut supra*.) About this time too it appears that the Protector referred to the Council



and so, for the more complete authority of these letters, we have signed them with our own seal.

From our palace at Westminster, 13 June 1656.

OLIVER P.<sup>m</sup>

*To Charles X Gustavus of Sweden*

Although we have addressed our letters patent for Peter George Romswinkel, Doctor of Both Laws, generally to all Kings, Commonwealths, Princes and Powers allied with us, by the protection of which letters he may have been lacking any of our protection or favor, he who, after having forsaken the pontifical superstition betook himself to the purer cult of the Religion, we thought that he ought to be more fully secured and equipped over and above by these letters given separately to your Majesty. Besides, we ask that, if he should desire it, you kindly give him easy access and a kind hearing, and also that you give him constant aid. If anything should happen and be useful to the Church, we boldly assert that your Majesty will not find us wanting in any good will and service.

Westminster, June, 1656.

OLIVER P.<sup>m</sup>

Bernardi meanwhile had reported to his government the complaint he had heard from Thurloe that Genoa was secretly aiding Spain in the war effort. He was thereupon instructed to present himself to the Protector, which he did on June 12 and reassured him "of the inconsistency and malignity of these rumors"; that Genoa would certainly never be guilty of any such act, partly because it "would immediately be known publicly," but also because "Genoa is infinitely too grateful to you for your many past services." Finally, following up the Protector's promise given in his last audience that he would take immediate measures to stop his commanders from ill-treating Genoese subjects, goods and vessels, Bernardi requested the documents of Cromwell's orders to his commanders as a sign of his conviction of

<sup>21</sup> John in Hamilton, *Milton Papers*, no. 142. The copy with a copy of Cromwell's signature was apparently sent to the States General with the letter which follows. It lacks the parts set off thus: / . . . /, and adds the date. Columbia *Milton* is in error in calling the copy at the H. G. the original. spot which was in Cp Masson's remarks addition.

-7, from the Skinner Transcripts

our Lordships" etc., is in Algemeen Rijksarchief, St. Gen. 6915, at the Hague, dated June 13. Columbia *Milton*, no. 142. Another copy is in the archives at Amsterdam (Scheltema, *Inventaris van het Amsterdamsche Archief* (Amst., 1866-74), II, 126); and still another was apparently sent to the Kurfurst of Brandenburg (*Urk u. Actenst.*, VII, 751).

Genoa's loyalty.<sup>22</sup> Cromwell's response was of the usual—and somewhat empty—character in such cases:

We have heard and seen all that you presented to us in the name of your Superiors, and just as we feel entirely satisfied of the true affection and good will that that noble Republic cherishes toward us and this nation and of the  
 try to find the occasions to manifest fully the esteem we have for you and the desire to serve you

And inasmuch as it is a very friendly office, when such complaints are sent to one or the other side, to be communicated freely by means of their public  
 what you desire, you will receive a quick account of it from the Secretary, and please assure your Superiors that just as we have taken particular care in giving full instructions to our Generals to give every safe passage to our friends (of which we do not doubt your Republic and her subjects must al-

To the irrepressible Bonde, the Protector gave another audience on Friday, June 13, in which Bonde "brought forth both of the new errands," and the Protector again, as usual, declared his inclination toward a Swedish alliance, said he was willing to send his commissioners to negotiate about the last proposal, and that he "regarded me," so Bonde notes modestly, "as an angel from Heaven, if I could show the means and way to achieve the desired end"<sup>25</sup> Even before this audience, Thurloe had written to Montagu that the Protector would probably agree to an ordinary treaty with Sweden,<sup>26</sup> and Whitelocke recorded that Bonde hoped that the treaty could be agreed on "at last,"<sup>27</sup> a wish which the English authorities who had had to deal with the persistent Swede no doubt echoed devoutly.

The problems of money, of Scotland and of Jamaica jostled each other on the Council table at this moment. Besides appointing several commissioners for the new assessment, it was ordered that £10,000 a month be levied on Scotland for the six months beginning with June 30, 1656.<sup>28</sup> On Thursday the form of a declaration for the man-

<sup>22</sup> Bernardi's despatch, June 19/29, *Atti della Soc. Lig. di Storia Patria*, xvi, 358-60.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 360-61

<sup>25</sup> Carlom, p. 105

<sup>26</sup> Carte, *Orig. Letters*, II, 110

<sup>27</sup> Whitelocke, p. 649.

<sup>28</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 364.

aging of the tax was agreed to and approved by the Protector the next day—the chief, but significant, change from former procedure being that the Army Committee was to be responsible for the collection of the extraordinary ten *per cent* levy on delinquents and disaffected persons.<sup>29</sup> It appeared also during this week that various petitions of wives and widows of soldiers in Jamaica were referred to a committee for examining miscarriages by the trustees and surveyors of delinquents' lands.<sup>30</sup>

The official *Mercurius Politicus*, which reported the Scottish incident, also threw a curious side-light upon the matter of the seizure by Dunkirkers and Ostenders of the English colliers coming back from Amsterdam. It was to the effect that there were only ten vessels taken, not twenty-two as was rumored; that they went without convoy, which would have been provided had they requested it, and that they "had aboard them the most part unfree and prohibited goods," which, it was intimated, was why they did not wish a convoy.<sup>31</sup> This official explanation was apparently designed to clear the government's skirts of blame in the matter, and is no bad example of what a later generation learned to call "propaganda." It appears that this was not the only effort of enterprising men to take advantage of their neighbors and the government. Besides instructions for the survey of the four forests of Kingswood, Needwood, Sherwood and Enfield or Ashdown, reserved as security for army arrears, and the appointing of a commission to safeguard these properties,<sup>32</sup> on June 14 the Protector issued a warrant on behalf of Sir William Paston, of somewhat curious interest:

*Warrant to S<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Game*

OLIVER P.

By his Highness the Lord Protector

Barr<sup>t</sup> his suffic

all Gunns, Tranells, Netts, Snares, or other unlawful Engines from any Person or Persons within Seaven Myles of Oxnutt, in the County of Norfolk, who shall use or keepe the same contrary to the Law. And also to seize & take away all Greyhounds Setting-doggs, or Spannells from any Person or Persons who shall use them in taking or destroying of Pheasants, Herons, Ducks & Mallards Partridges or Hares within Seaven Myles of Oxnutt aforesaid contrary to y<sup>e</sup> Lawes and Statutes of this Comon-Wealth. These are also to authorize the said S<sup>r</sup> William Paston, and his sufficient Deputy and Deputies or either of them to apprehend the Parties soe offending & carry them to the

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 367-68.

<sup>30</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, June 9-16.

<sup>31</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, May 29-June 5, cp. *Pub. Intell.*, June 2-9.

<sup>32</sup> On petition of various officers in accordance with the ordinance of 1654 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655-6), pp. 368-69, cp. *ibid.*, pp. 364-65 and 368).

next Justice of Peace within the said County to be appointed by the Council of the said County, and all other Officers to be appointed by the Council of the said County, and his Deputy, this Warrant Given att White-Hall the fourteenth of June 1656<sup>33</sup>

In addition to these lesser matters, though the Protector was present at only one Council meeting in this second week of June,<sup>34</sup> he had an unusual amount of minor business come before him, to all of which he apparently attended personally. On June 10 he considered some thirty or forty orders.<sup>35</sup> He considered a number of Council various petitions,<sup>36</sup> among them so small a matter as the request for a warrant for £200 for a lack, in England on some mysterious errand, and presently voted him another £100 to defray his expenses home.<sup>37</sup> With this and some even less important business,<sup>38</sup> came news from Monk as to the still disturbed state of Scotland, including information of the seizure of powder packed in soap barrels to avoid the customs, the departure of

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75, from the original in the Tangye Collection

<sup>34</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 360-65, 372.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 369, John Warren, minister of  
369-70)

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 367

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 369

<sup>39</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, June 9-16

<sup>40</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 588 and *ibid.* (1656-7), pp. 127, 584

<sup>41</sup> Confirmation of Protector's ref. to comm. on public preachers of petition from Winston, Suffolk, on behalf of the minister, Wm. Walker, probably the same man ejected by Manchester's commission in 1644 (*ibid.* (1655-6), p. 370 and *ibid.* (1656-7), p. 127) and order to Strickland to look into it (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1655-6), p. 570)

the men bound for Jamaica held up by the failure of their ships to arrive; and, incidentally, the sinking of an English vessel by five enemy frigates.<sup>42</sup>

From the Continent it was reported that letters from the Protector had been intercepted, urging peace with Poland and the advantages of humbling the Papacy;<sup>43</sup> and from the Hague suggesting that Cromwell's anxiety

larity in the

Portugal came a letter from King John in regard to the new treaty;<sup>44</sup> and news that the indemnity money had been sent by the *Phoenix* and the *Sapphire*.<sup>45</sup> In return Thurloe advised Montagu that Lockhart had been well received at the French court; that Mazarin had offered to attack Mardyke by land if England would attack by sea, and that if taken it would be delivered to England.<sup>47</sup> It was, in fact, a peculiarly dull period in affairs at this moment. The major-generals had left London, "but the business of the Council went on through its usual routine of petitions and orders, among which the only one of much general importance was the discharge of Lord Cranston's estates at the request of the King of Sweden,"<sup>48</sup> and it ordered itself to "remind his Highness to send an Ambassador to Sweden."<sup>49</sup> He himself seems to have made only a brief appearance at one meeting,<sup>51</sup> and his only important activity appears to be a long letter he wrote to the commanders in Jamaica, in reply to a most discouraging communication from them written in January, since which time Sedgwick had followed Fortescue and Colonel Carter to the grave. The expedition thus far had been peculiarly costly, and the Protector, in addition to making preparations in Scotland to reinforce it, did what he could to revive the spirits of his evidently discouraged commanders:

<sup>42</sup> Thurloe, v, 103, *Pub. Intell.*, June 21

<sup>43</sup> G. B. Nau to Doge, Vienna, June 10/20, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 232.

<sup>44</sup> Thurloe, v, 111.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Carte, *Orig. Letters*, II, 110

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

(*ibid.*, 1656-7, p. 14).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* (1655-6), p. 382.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 372.



CROMWELL IN 1653

VERIUE'S ENGRAVING OF A PORTRAIT BY COOPER, *del. et sculp.* FROM A PRINT IN  
THE POSSESSION OF THE AUTHOR (111<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>" x 7")



*To the Chief Commanders in Jamaica*

GENTLEMEN,

We have received your letters of the 24th of January by the captain of the *Wildman*, with some other papers enclosed therein; whereby you give an account of the state and condition of the forces both at land and sea, and of our other affairs at Jamaica, which is such as doth still administer unto us further cause to be humbled before the Lord, and to search out what His mind may be in this His sad dispensation. And we do observe, that the hand of the Lord hath not been more visible in any part of this rebuke, than in taking away the hearts of those, who do survive amongst you, and in giving them up to so much sloth and sluggishness of spirit, that

themselves to be devoured by the Spaniard, than to labour for their own preservation in any kind, although they are in a place abundantly stored with provisions of all sorts, and very capable also of being fortified and secured against any attempt of the enemy. Nay, some former letters do inform us, that great quantities of the provisions sent from hence have been spoiled and lost,

otherwise squandered away through negligence. I do acknowledge these things have very great discouragements in them, but yet having fully considered the true state of this business, and after a solemn seeking of the Lord, seriously advised with our Council thereupon, we could not satisfy ourselves

be two regiments, consisting of 1,200; and with them, or soon after them, will be sent provisions for 6,000 men for four months. That which we judge most advisable in the first place, in order to the ends aforesaid, is, to secure your-

afford food and other provisions necessary for the life of man, whereof we see by your last letters you have had some consideration, and made propositions to that purpose to the officers and soldiers; whereof we hope you will have seen some fruit before this comes to your hands. And we do not only consent to the encouragements you offer by those propositions to such as shall plant, but give you power to allow such further terms, as you shall judge reasonable in you

As the situation of the harbour, where you now are, is described in the maps can make, which is therefore first to be fortified. And perceiving you are upon the point of land lying upon the entrance into that harbour, other places there are, as south of the harbour, as upon the main land, which seem very convenient to be fortified; but you, who are upon the place, can better judge what of this nature is to be done; and



therefore we leave it to you, desiring that no time may be lost in doing what shall be necessary.

be sent from hence, where they may be kept from those already there, to prevent infection and sickness.

Another thing which we observe in your letter, is the great disorder which hath been in hunting and killing of cattle, and in ordering and dressing the flesh when it was taken, every one having been left to do what seemed him good therein, by means whereof more were destroyed than was necessary, a great part of what was killed being left to putrify, and that which was eaten, being fresh and but half boiled or roasted, hath bred sickness and diseases in the army, besides what other excesses and disorders have done, and it seems this inconvenience hath also followed, that the cattle which do remain, are all run into the mountains and woods, that it is very difficult to take any of them.

Therefore your first and special care must be to put the victualling and providing for the men in some settled and orderly course, both as to flesh and also bread, such as the country will afford, that so they may have what is sufficient for the quantity, and good and wholesome for the quality, a thing, as we judge here, to be done without any great difficulty, you being in a coun-

tenderness and respect, which we have had to the army there, will not make them remiss and negligent in what is their duty for their own safety and preservation. We know you will do what belongs to you, and trust that the soldiers will again (through the goodness of God) recover their spirits, and readily comply with you in these necessary things, and what else shall be for their own good and our service, for besides the great charge we are at in sending provisions from hence, there is great uncertainty in respect of the wind and weather, which may so fall out that it may not be possible for us to send unto you timely supplies. And therefore we desire you that all which is possible may be done to improve the natural advantages of the country for food and provisions, that it may be rather a magazine of victuals for such men as may be sent thither for further work, than be in want for the support of its own inhabitants.

As concerning the fleet, you know what a vast charge we are at for the maintaining so great a fleet there, especially seeing there hath not been an opportunity of service such as was expected. That they have been most useful to the army, and deterring the enemy from making any assault upon them, but when they shall have in some measure fortified themselves we hope such of them, as are yet useful, may intend

other service at sea in those parts; and it is referred unto you to consider whether some of them, who are most sluggish and defective, may not be sent home, concerning which further of our resolutions shall be communicated to you. The fleet, which the Spaniard sent from hence in March, consisted of about 10 or 11 men of war, and 17 or 18 merchant men; and our best information is, that it is but he and now fleet as a fleet - - - trade; but not know - - - and landing men upon you, we - - -

thus far, we received yours of the 13th of March by the *Giantham*, whereby we see that the Lord hath been pleased to smile upon you in some measure, in respect of the health of the soldiers, and we desire to acknowledge the goodness of God to us and you therein, and hope it is an earnest of further mercy. We perceive you are already encouraged thereby to enterprise somewhat upon the enemy, and to put the soldiers into a posture of action. In the meantime we are very sorry to see the unworthy carriage of some of the officers who, instead of encouraging their soldiers in the undertaking of any worthy or honourable action, are upon all occasions ready to provoke them to discontent; and, though with dishonour to the cause of God in their hands, and disservice - - - island - - -

as well by giving all due and fit encouragement to those whom you shall find capable thereof, as also by discountenancing and punishing those who shall persist in these unworthy practices. And the better to settle the minds both

licence or liberty of leaving the army shall upon any terms be granted. And upon this occasion we have thought it fit to write a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, and the rest of the officers, which comes herewith.

We are very sensible of the timely notice you have given us of this spirit, and doubt not of your care in the suppressing of it, as also of your faithful and prudent management of the trust committed to you, through those many difficulties which it hath pleased the only wise God to exercise you with. We do assure you that we shall always retain a due sense thereof.<sup>22</sup>

17 June, 1656

For some time affairs seemed to have reached what engineers call a "dead center," in which little if any motion of the driving-wheel can be noted in either direction. Thanks chiefly to the appearance of

<sup>22</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 119, from Thurloe, v, 129, acknowledged Oct. 18 (*ibid.*, p. 500). "The colony of Jamaica shall be free of custom and excise for the space of seven years. For the encouragement of such here as shall desire to transport themselves to Jamaica" (May 29, 5 years, altered on June 5 to 7 years, *Cal. S. P. Col.*, 1547-1660, p. 441.). Cp. Searle to Thurloe, Nov. 24, 1656, Thurloe, v, 652.

Blake and his fleet, indeed, the treaty with Portugal had been signed and the indemnity collected, but in spite of the routine activity of the Protector and the Council all else seemed to hang fire. The preparations for sending relief to the hard-pressed forces in Jamaica went on in Scotland, though with many delays and disturbances. There were the usual incidents of a naval war, which thus far had reflected no credit on the government. The Jamaica business was evidently still hung fire; the relations with France were neither very favorable nor as yet definitely unfavorable. The system of major-generals was getting on as well as might be expected from a country held down, in effect, by an army of occupation, and it had been found necessary to turn the collection of the new taxes over to the army. Moreover, Giavarina reported, there was trouble between Blake and Montagu. Letters had arrived from the fleet, telling of a skirmish between some Spanish galleons and the English, but, as he said, truthfully enough,

this news, being of no consequence, was immediately published. But it is believed that the letters contained more important matter, not made public, about the quarrels between the leaders, Blake and Montagu. Every one speaks about it openly, but it is not absolutely certain, as only the Protector knows. There must certainly be something in it or the talk would not be so general. The fact that one who takes part in affairs of state has been heard to speak unfavourably of Blake and make several accusations against him leads one to believe that the reports are not far from the truth, unless it was due to a private grudge and to injure Blake, who is envied by many who would like to see him unhorsed and put down.<sup>43</sup>

—who was in  
ba  
ment, though it  
had not yet reached England, was not encouraging. De Ruyter had arrived with his squadron, ostensibly to convoy a Dutch fleet, but it was suspected to assist the Spaniards in case of an attack on their Plate fleet. Gibraltar had been reinforced, one of Blake's vessels, the *Cullen*, had been lost; and it appeared that the Protector's failure to write to the ruler of Tangiers seemed likely to produce a breach between him and the English. Even making allowance for Blake's indisposition, the picture which he painted was dark enough.<sup>44</sup> At the same time Meadows wrote to Thurloe to defend his conclusion of the treaty against Montagu's statement that he would have received more thanks for it from Whitehall if it had been signed before the fleet had arrived in Lisbon as a pressure and a threat. He complained also that the attack on him was a dishonor to the Protector, but he

<sup>43</sup> Giavarina to Doge, June 20/30, *Cal S. P. Ven* (1655-6), pp. 235-36, same to same, 238.

had no instructions about such an incident and so could do nothing about it.<sup>55</sup> All this was the more disturbing in that Nieupoort asked Thurloe to request an audience for him with the Protector that he might declare the intention of the States General regarding the "articles of marine," a copy of which he had left with the commissioners.<sup>56</sup> Intelligence from the Hague indicated that feeling there against Cromwell had increased;<sup>57</sup> and it was believed in certain quarters that the Anglo-Dutch peace would not last unless the Dutch broke with Spain, as Cromwell was urging them to do.<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile Lockhart wrote that Mazarin had agreed to advance money to levy 4,000 foot for Mardyke, the English to pay them after the place was taken.<sup>59</sup> It was small wonder that in such a situation, it had been decided to call a Parliament for September 17, according to Thurloe to receive advice as to the war with Spain.<sup>60</sup>

All in all, it appeared that the combination of discontent at home and the inconclusiveness, if not the actual miscarriages, of the situation abroad was virtually forcing the Protector to submit to the calling of a Parliament, which he had so long evaded. His actual authority was not precisely threatened, but it was evident that he faced opposition not only in the country but in the Council, and perhaps even among the major-generals, which forced him to accede to the frequent and widely expressed wish for some popular voice in administration. In the meantime he had to face a considerable amount of discontent among the foreign representatives in London. Nieupoort protested the failure to appoint John Becx as one of the arbitrators in the order of May 27 concerning money to be paid to Thomas Viner.<sup>61</sup> Bernardi wrote to insist that the stories of Genoa's not living up to the terms of the peace treaty were unfounded, enclosing letters concerning her contention, and was answered on June 25 by a declaration.<sup>62</sup> Giavarina requested an audience with the Protector to present two letters, one of them the reply from Venice in regard to the *Concord*.<sup>63</sup> The Danish agent wrote to his king that the Protector had resolved to send an ambassador to Denmark,<sup>64</sup> while the King instructed Petkum to apologize for not having

<sup>55</sup> Thurloe, v, 123.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>58</sup> Hyde to Clement, June 21, Macray, III, 139, no. 407.

<sup>59</sup> Thurloe, v, 142-43.

<sup>60</sup> "The Declaration of the States General," *ibid.*, v, 146.

<sup>61</sup> "The Declaration of the States General," *ibid.*, v, 146. <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 1654 (vol. 15, 1654 (vol. 15 of this work, p. 903), and "Sentence of Arbitration," July 31, 1654 (*ibid.*, pp. 907-9).

<sup>63</sup> Thurloe, v, 156-58.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169; *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), pp. 226, 237.

<sup>65</sup> June 24/July 4, Thurloe, v, 149.

sent the Protector the horses he had promised.<sup>66</sup> At the same time there came in complaints from various major-generals demanding that the constables for searching for seamen, for payment of the . . . is evident not only that the . . . what was almost worse, too expensive.<sup>66</sup> Whatever else it had done or had not done, it had not paid its way. Matters were reaching such a point, in fact, that a meeting of Parliament, with all the danger that involved, was becoming not only desirable but absolutely necessary if the Protectorate was to survive.

It was already known that the Protector and Council had ordered the issue of the writs,<sup>67</sup> and immediately thereafter that a warrant had been delivered to the Commissioners of the Great Seal to that effect.<sup>68</sup> The members were to be elected by . . . the approval of the Protector and C . . . ina reported—incorrectly, as it happened in this instance, but none the less echoing current rumors—that its task would be presumably

the selection of a successor to his Highness. . . . It is also believed that it will confer on his Highness legislative authority. This has been mooted before. . . . If it is managed this time, the people in future will have to submit blindly to every decision of his Highness and there will be no need for any more parliaments, as all power of every kind will be vested solely in him. . . . The readiest and most expeditious way of getting money in an amount proportionate to the . . . of parliament. This is consid. . . . their decision.<sup>69</sup>

Monk no doubt echoed the opinion of most of the officers when he wrote that the Protector "hath done very discreetlie in itt",<sup>70</sup> but the fact was that Cromwell had little choice. Yet, curiously enough, there is no reflection of the parliamentary question in the records of the Council, which met three times in this first week of July, with the Protector present twice.<sup>71</sup> Its business, with slight exception, was of

<sup>66</sup> June 26/July 6, *ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51, 165, 171.

<sup>68</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, July 1.

<sup>69</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, June 30-July 7.

<sup>70</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 4/14, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), pp. 240-41.

<sup>71</sup> Monk to Thurloe, July 1, Thurloe, v, 175.

<sup>72</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7) . . . an earlier patent of . . . (*ibid.*, pp. 5-6).

the most routine character. Among the many orders which Cromwell approved in person was one to send back to Flanders a certain woman, Lucy Walters or Barlow, —the later Duke of Monmouth of much consequence thereafter—had been imprisoned during the previous week.<sup>72</sup> The other order of note was to the Lancashire commissioners to cease further proceedings against the estates of Major Wildman that Wildman had made terms with the Protector and was, in effect, in his service.

From the major-generals, Goffe requested lodgings in Somerset House for the winter;<sup>73</sup> the Yorkshire commissioners advised the Protector to withdraw his promise to allow Lady Mauleverer the use of her house, as she was a Royalist; and Packer, Fleetwood's deputy, requested Cromwell to dismiss some members of corporations in his jurisdiction, according to the proclamation of September 21, 1655, as they were Royalists or drunkards.<sup>74</sup> The management of the corporations, as at this same time the Council appointed a committee to consider the renewal of the charters of Woodstock and King's Lynn;<sup>75</sup> and other corporations had already suffered the same fate.<sup>76</sup> Meanwhile the Protector wrote to his son Henry refusing the latter's plea to be recalled:

*To Henry Cromwell*

[Substance only]

In answer to Henry's letter toward the end of June asking to be recalled Explaining why he has countenanced the actions of some of the men who have been contriving against his son Assuring him of his affection and refusing to recall him.<sup>77</sup>

The chief information as to the Protector's situation and intentions which we have at this moment comes, as usual, from Bonde At his audience on July 3, the Protector promised to send an ambassador

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4; Thurloe, v, 169; cp. also *ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

<sup>73</sup> Order in Council for release, June 26 (*Cal S P Dom.* (1655-6), p. 387), Lancs. comms. to Thurloe, July 23, Thurloe, v, 241.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>77</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 5.

Henry Cromwell, July 8, Thurloe, v, 196, cp. Henry Cromwell's letter to Thurloe, July 2, *ibid.*, p. 177

to Sweden, but observed that it was hard to find the right person. A week later Bonde suggested Whitelocke for the post and again raised the question as to the relation of Holland and Denmark to the project. The Protector replied as before, that the Spanish war made it impossible for him to express himself differently from his former opinion. The situation in the North gave him much concern. To Bonde's inquiry as to how England could hope for success against Spain if the Dutch were allowed to continue in their present course, the Protector answered with unusual frankness and humor that 'they had the wolf by the ears,' but he hoped for the best, and went on to discuss the sending of an ambassador and the coming meeting of Parliament.

To this, Bonde added a more detailed account of the ensuing conversation. To his last query, he reported,

the Protector loftily asserted that his intention and his comportment had been faithful and upright, and although Holland as well as Denmark had done their utmost to drag him away from your Majesty, he not only had pretended not to understand but had shown great aversion, first to one and then to the other.

He did not yet believe that they would attempt any harm. He would confess that his intention had been to bring the matter to a close with your Majesty and could not know that he was not satisfied, that it would have taken place a long time ago if their affairs had not turned out so that it had been impossible. They had a fleet of some 40 or 50 ships in Spain, one of about 36 at Jamaica, and here at home some 40 or 50 on their coasts. They were so hard pressed that they had not dared engage in anything else and would have offered mediation if it had been advantageous to them. He knew well that their hearts had been mostly for your Majesty. He concluded with that and declared that the situation in which they were and the outcome of their affairs had hindered them; that their fleet cost them so much that they merely lived from hand to mouth, that he did not doubt that we wished them as much success as they did us.<sup>80</sup>

This conference, Bonde wrote, made him certain of two doubts he had long had. The one was that the king of Denmark had something in mind and had arranged something through the Dutch, but the Protector had not answered him on that point, one way or the other. The other was that in the preceding winter the English, in order that the Spanish silver should flow from them, had been inclined to ally themselves with Sweden, but they had dragged out the time in order to see how things would turn out—in addition to the fact that if everything had turned out well for them (though as it happened everything had turned against them) they

<sup>80</sup> Carlbom, pp. 109-10.

would undoubtedly have made the alliance. Though, he concluded, he knew perfectly well that there was nothing to be done, he still wished to make as much haste as possible in this lengthy matter, so that the affairs in hand could be concluded, and in order that they might leave the best possible impression, they should hasten their embassy with full instructions.<sup>81</sup>

The Swedish envoy was not far from the truth. The Protector had, in fact, hesitated, delayed and procrastinated with deliberate purpose. He was like a juggler keeping a number of balls in the air and finding it impossible to hold one of them for a moment until they were in such position that he could recover them one by one. He did not dare let this respect, if in no other, he resembled most of his allies and antagonists, and Mazarin not least. He had, besides, to consider the domestic situation, which naturally pressed on him more hardly than on any of his contemporaries. The Council held two regular meetings in the week of July 7—of which the Protector attended one—and a third at his lodgings in Whitehall.<sup>82</sup> The principal business was that relating to the forthcoming meeting of Parliament. It was ordered that the writs bear the date of July 10, at which time the Commissioners of the Great Seal authorized them.<sup>83</sup> The election was set for August 20,<sup>84</sup> and with these preliminaries the way was cleared for what promised to be one of the most important sessions of the Protectorate. Besides this, one of the first acts of the Protector and Council was the extraordinary number of augmentations of the income of the ministers granted on July 10,<sup>85</sup> indicating the increasing pressure from that body for incomes more in accord with their position and the cost of living. Scarcely less notable was the increase in the number of passports granted to those desiring to go to the Continent, especially to France.<sup>86</sup> To these may be added three lesser items, each of some little significance in its way. The first was the signature by the Protector of a measure constituting Lambert chief justice in eyre within the forest of Dean to protect the timber and woods there.<sup>87</sup> The second was the appointment of the great die-maker, Thomas Simon, as chief engraver and medal-maker for the government.<sup>88</sup> And it is notable that the Council by this time—and at least since the previous

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

<sup>82</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. xv, 17.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>84</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, July 7-14.

<sup>85</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 15. *Merc. Pol.*, July 10-17.

<sup>86</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 580.

<sup>87</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, July 3-10.

<sup>88</sup> Quoted in *Antiq. Reper.*, II, 408-12, and *Vertue* (1753), pp. 67-72.



October—is coming to be called the “Privy Council,”<sup>89</sup> which reveals another, if unconscious, step in the Protectoral progress. Finally, a warrant was issued for payment of Pell’s salary:

*To Gualter Frost Esq Treas. for our Council’s Contingencies*

OLIVER P.

These are to will and require you out of such Moneyes as  
Our Councils Contingen-  
Pell the summe of two hun-  
dred and fiftie pounds two hundred pounds thereof being towards his  
and the said fiftie pounds  
as Mathematicke Lecturer. Of which you are not to faile, and for soe doing  
this shalbe yo<sup>r</sup> Warrant, Given at Whitehall the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1656.<sup>90</sup>

On Thursday, “after ceaseless importunity,” the Venetian envoy, Giavarina, was granted an audience. He went “after dinner, accompanied by Sir [Oliver] Fleming, and was treated exactly like the residents of crowned heads. After passing through several rooms,” he wrote, “I found the Protector awaiting me, with the Treasurer of England and the Secretary of State.” He seems to have entered into a long exhortation, after “the usual civilities,” to the effect that the Venetian Republic was anxious to maintain and would take every opportunity to draw closer the bonds with England—which was interpreted by Fleming—and presented his credentials and the reply of the Venetian Senate to the Protector’s letter in regard to the matter of the ship *Concord*. In return,

The Protector expressed the highest esteem for the Republic and his regard for me personally whom he would always be glad to receive as the representative of so august a republic, as he was most eager to show his cordial feelings for the Senate. He also expressed his thanks for what your Excellencies have done to settle the affair of the ship *Concord* promising to send a suitable reply after he had read the ducal letter.<sup>91</sup>

In and of itself this more or less formal interchange of civilities is of small importance, but like others of not dissimilar character it has in it a commentary of some significance on the observation of Sir

<sup>89</sup> The ed. of *Cal. S. P. Dom* says (pp. 8-9) this is the first time, but there are notices under dates of Apr. 16, 1656, and May 27, with ref. from Oct. 27, 1655, and others in 1655.

<sup>90</sup> Original in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, London, communicated by J. V. Kitto, Esq. At the foot of the document is a note that “This warrant is cancelled by vertue of his Highnesse Issue of Dec<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1656 the fourth of November 1656 for payment to . . . hundred ninetye seauen pounds foure shillings & five pence.”

<sup>91</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 11/21, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), pp. 243-44, and p. 221.

Philip Warwick, whose first glimpse of Cromwell, some fifteen years before, described him as merely a good-sized man, "his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable" "very ordinary apparelled" in a "bin made by an ill country taylor, his linen . . . plain, and not very clean." It was this man, as he recorded, he lived to see "by multiplied escapes and a real but usurped power, having had a better tailor and more converse among good company, appear of great and majestic deportment and of comely presence." Such he obviously appeared to the representatives of foreign powers, not unacquainted with kings and courts, prepared to meet them with as great dignity and as great subtlety as any of the rulers and ministers with whom it was their business to deal. There is not in all their accounts of Cromwell any note of disparagement or patronizing superiority. As Marvell wrote, he seemed "a king by long succession born." If the ambassadors did not like him—and, whatever they may have thought, they were too shrewd to let any appear unconsciously in fear of him, and for one in his position that was the more desirable. Among the adventurers of the age he was the ablest and the most powerful; his authority so long as it had behind it the force of the army and navy under his command. As the famous engraving "The Royall Oake of Brittain" in Clement Walker's *History of Independency* indicated, he may have stood on a "slippery place" over the mouth of hell, while the royal oak was being cut down by his followers, but so long as the royal oak was being cut down by his followers, but so long as Continental rulers liked it, they were compelled to treat him as an equal.

That Cromwell stood in a "slippery place," whether or not over the mouth of hell, in the middle of July, 1656, no one realized better than he and his followers, for at that moment their place seemed more precarious than usual. The position of the Cromwellians, as they knew, depended on their control of the armed forces, and that was increasingly important. As the Protector and Council had earlier transferred the collection of the new taxes to the army, so they now ordered the Treasurers at War to set aside £360,000 of the present six months' assessment as "imprest" for the army,<sup>92</sup> and the Army

<sup>92</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 14.

Committee was continued as appointed in January, 1653-4.<sup>83</sup> The Protector's ill-health did not improve this situation, nor the situation improve his health. It seemed to many that he was breaking down, and various circumstances seemed to confirm that impression. The meeting of the Council on Friday, July 11, was held, as often of late, in his lodgings,<sup>84</sup> and his failure to go to Hampton Court for the weekend, according to his custom, may have contributed to the report that on Saturday morning "he was not in as good humour as usual," and "the speculators considered that the victory of the Spaniards over the French was true." That was in part confirmed by the report which included the observation that on Friday evening when he was

supping with President Laurence, and . . . there arrived a messenger sent by his envoy at the court of France, he read in particular a little note and without any demonstration he finished his supper and retired without any one learning the occasion of the message.<sup>85</sup>

If that story was true, his news probably referred to the situation of Turenne, who was defeated at Valenciennes on July 16 by the Spaniards; but his ill-humor was not wholly the result of his illness nor the news from the Continent. There was bad news nearer home, as usual of the plots against his government. He had recently been having an interview—or examination—of one Goodgroom, suspected of conspiring against the government. Cromwell asked Goodgroom "several questions about his being with Harrison and Bradshaw, and told him, he heard he was become a statesman, which made him [Goodgroom] think, that his Highness knew somewhat of their meeting." Okay and Goodgroom had, in fact, been with Bradshaw a month or six weeks earlier, and Bradshaw had "encouraged them in their discontents" and told them—as he had told Cromwell himself earlier when he had expelled the Long Parliament, and as he continually maintained—that "the Long Parliament, though under a force, were the supreme authority of England."<sup>86</sup> It is quite possible that, as in the case of the information in regard to the Levellers' approach to Charles II, this had come to the Protector's ears, in one way or another, through the medium of the Leveller leader who seems to have presented an address to Charles II in this month, but who was more than suspected of providing information to Thurloe of his party's designs. In any event, this was all part of a movement then on foot among the Protector's opponents to take a share in the formation of a new Parliament. On July 8, there was held a meeting of the Fifth

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>85</sup> Newsletter, July 16, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 15, App. VII, p. 160 (*Aylesbury Mss.*).

<sup>86</sup> Thurloe, v, 197, cp. Firth, *Last Years*, 1, 209ff.

Monarchy men, with Lawson, Henry Ireton's brother, Clement, and others, to consider "what opportunity they might have from the Parliament's meeting, and whether they were not to endeavour elections of good men."<sup>97</sup>

In other directions, however, there was better news. On July 11 Thomas Maynard returned from Portugal with the ratification of the treaty with that country and £50,000 indemnity;<sup>98</sup> and it was probably at the same time that Captain Clay of the *Sapphire* brought Lloyd with letters from Blake and Montagu. Maynard.<sup>99</sup> Apart from the treaty and the indemnity, the news were not so promising. Cadiz was reported unsalable, Gibraltar equally impregnable; and the Spanish fleet, refusing to come out and fight, could not be attacked. The expedition had been costly, it had not yet captured any such prizes as had been hoped for; and the delay at this moment not only was exasperating but might well be dangerous, especially if Mazarin's overtures to Spain should prove successful. Moreover it was reported again, truthfully or not, that Blake and Montagu were at odds with each other; so that, perhaps, despite the treaty and the indemnity, there was some ground for the rumor of the Protector's dissatisfaction with the situation.

That dissatisfaction could not have been much lessened by the report that letters had been addressed to Charles II from the Levellers, apparently under the direction of William Howard. Cromwell might have been even more irritated had he read their description of him as "that grand imposter, that loathsome hypocrite, that detestable traitor, that prodigy of nature, that opprobrium of mankind, that land-skipp of iniquity, that sink of sin, and that compendium of baseness, who now calls himself our Protector."<sup>100</sup> Their proposals included restoration of the Long Parliament; confirmation of the terms offered by the Newport treaty between Charles I and the Parliamentary commissioners, liberty of conscience; a substitute for tithes; and amnesty for all except those who "adhere to that oughly tyrant who calls himself Protector." To this was added an address signed by W. Howard, J. Sturgeson, J. Wildman and others deploring the state of the nation which made them "to whisper (and but to whisper only) amongst ourselves, saying one to another, why should we not return to our first husband? surely it will be better with us then than it is now," and promising to hazard their lives for the restoration of the monarchy. There was, besides, a letter from Howard describing the

<sup>97</sup> *Discourse*, 22-23; *First English Miscellany*, 1650, 1651 and notes.

<sup>98</sup> *Discourse*, p. 22; *First English Miscellany*, July 10, but C's letter of Aug. 1656 to King John (see *infra*) and *First English Miscellany*, July 7-14, say July 11.

<sup>99</sup> Thurloe, v, 67-70, 133-36.

<sup>100</sup> Quoted in Brown, *ut supra*, p. 122.

three parties hostile to Cromwell as "Christian Royalists or Fifth-Monarchy-men, Commonwealth's-men, and Levellers," and asking incidentally for a personal interview and £2,000.<sup>101</sup> Howard was a Baptist and a Leveller, possibly a Fifth Monarchist; but it may be doubted whether such a combination of elements, however much they disliked a Protector, would have been likely to have turned to monarchy, especially if one may judge by their activities after the Restoration actually took place. None the less there was danger from the elements for which Howard professed to speak; and the information which Lockhart sent, to the effect that Cromwell was prayed for in all French Protestant churches, was of little help in such a situation.<sup>102</sup> More to the point, perhaps, was the side-light unconsciously thrown on the Protector's character and methods in a letter from Thurloe to Henry Cromwell at this moment, assuring Henry of his father's affection for him and his desire to help him in his administration of Ireland, to which end he was sending him Sir Thomas Widdrington, William Barry and a Mr Hopkins. To this Thurloe added his advice to Henry to follow his father's example and pay no attention to reproach or opposition.<sup>103</sup>

That was true only to a limited extent as the dismissal of his opponents in the army and the imprisonment of his critics testified, though it is true that the Protector seldom if ever treated men in this fashion until they had first been given a chance to be heard.<sup>104</sup> Courtney, the first of the "courtiers" who were to be the mainstay of the Protector's government, was not an exception. His suppression and imprisonment, among other things, seemed to indicate that matters were now coming to another of those crises or turning-points so characteristic of the revolutionary government. Besides the order of July 10 for the continuation of the Army Committee,<sup>105</sup> writs began to go out to the sheriffs for the election of members for the new Parliament,<sup>106</sup> as government and opposition began to gird their loins for what was certain to be a test of the strength of the Protectoral system. Each side recognized that on the control of this body rested in some measure not only the future of the Protectoral system but possibly even its continuance, and each side, in consequence, strove to secure as many members as it could. But even the election of members was not to be a routine of business. During the week of July 14 the Council met three times, the Protector being present on Tuesday, only long enough to approve various orders,

<sup>101</sup> Macray, III, 145-46, no. 429, cp Gurnier, *Comm and Prot*, IV, 258-59, and especially Clarendon, *History*, xv, 103-130.

<sup>102</sup> Thurloe, v, 202.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 196-97.

<sup>104</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1656-7), p. 16.

<sup>105</sup> Copy of writ to Sir Owen Wynn in Nat'l Library of Wales, *Cal. Wynn Papers* (1926), no. 2110.



to the same effect, to the commissioners in Jamaica.<sup>117</sup> Of still more importance was the commission signed that day appointing Whitelocke, Fiennes and Strickland to treat with Bonde as the prelude to the treaty signed two days later.<sup>118</sup>

*Commission from the most Serene Lord Protector*

Oliver, Protector of the republic of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, That whereas in the treaty made at Upsal between us and the most Serene and Potent Princess Christina, &c. some points relating to the establishment of a mutual amity, and to the advantages of trade and navigation, were adjourned to a more convenient opportunity; and whereas the most Serene and Potent Prince and Lord Charles Gustavus, &c. hath sent to us as his ambassador the most noble Lord Christiern Bonde, &c. vested with full powers to transact those and other affairs, we being entirely satisfied of the probity, fidelity, care, and prudence of our well-beloved Nathaniel Fiennes, &c. Bulstrode Whitlocke, &c. and Walter Strickland, &c. have, by the advice of our council, made, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents do make, constitute, and appoint them our true and undoubted commissioners, plenipotentiaries, and deputies, giving and granting to them, or any two of them, full authority and power, and a general and special command, to treat, conclude, and determine with the said lord ambassador of the said most Serene King, of and concerning all the premises, under such regulations, heads, forms, promises, restrictions, and securities, which they shall think requisite for the due observation of the conventions. And whatsoever our said commissioners shall agree and conclude with the said lord ambassador, we promise bonâ fide (obliging ourselves and our successors by these presents) to observe, perform, and ratify in every point, in the best manner possible, as if we ourselves were present. In witness whereof we have signed these presents with our own hand, and caused our great seal of England to be affixed to them. Given at our palace of Westminster the 15th day of July, O S Anno 1656.

OLIVER P.<sup>119</sup>

As if these various matters of business and the preparations for the calling of a Parliament were not enough to exhaust the Protector's still somewhat limited energies, he was particularly engaged with foreign affairs. On Thursday the 17th, he had an audience "for some time" with Nieupoort; and on the following day another with Bordeaux. In the former he had said nothing of the discontent at the conduct of the States General in regard to Sweden and the "east sea,"

<sup>117</sup> Thurloe v. 262, noting "his highness racket for Jamaica."

<sup>118</sup> Columbia *Milton*, no. 170, from a Ms. in the P. R. O. and from the treaty printed in 1696, in Pufendorf, *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo gestis*. Trans. in George Chalmers, *Collection of Treaties* (1790), 1, 41-42.

which had troubled Nieupoort so much that he asked Thurloe about it. Thurloe

acknowledged, that the first concerning the differences about the navigation and commerce was proposed in the same manner; that he shewed himself willing and ready to do all good offices for an accommodation on both sides, but he [Thurloe] had not heard that the said ambassador [Bordeaux] did pro-

heard one word of it by the mouth of the Lord Protector tending to the same, although he was always present.

On his part, since Bordeaux had orders from the French court to "use all good endeavors" with the Protector's government, in his audience he had desired "that the differences about the navigation and commerce between this state and the United Netherlands might be decided," Nieupoort reported that Bordeaux had "fully proposed the same to the Lord Protector, and said, that as I had laboured diligently on the behalf of their . . . lordships to bring the treaty between France and England to a conclusion, that he now also found himself charged and obliged to use all good endeavours, that the maritime treaty might also be brought to a good conclusion . . . and all the misunderstandings prevented for the future" To this the Protector replied,

"I am glad to hear that you have done all that might tend to the good of the . . . now, that the differences were so great, but that he could submit them to new trials, yea to France itself, and that he doubted not but the business would be accommodated, but that the Lord Protector had said, that besides the abovementioned . . . the commerce and navigation, another business was . . . as] very considerable, namely, that of the fleet, which was sent by the lords States General to the east sea, and other proceedings, which had a great reflection upon the crown of Sweden"<sup>120</sup>

Some of the difficulties of the situation, Bordeaux suggested, might have been due to the use of an interpreter, but at least some of them may have come from the stopping of a ship from Zealand and two from Holland by the English on July 8, for intelligence from the Hague reported that Nieupoort spoke of it to the Protector who said he had not heard of it and would order them released.<sup>121</sup> The Dutch, on the other hand, were inclined to believe that Cromwell could not

<sup>120</sup> Nieupoort to [de Witt], July 25/Aug. 4, Thurloe, v, 247.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.* Nieupoort had requested audience to protest the forcing into service of Dutch ships toward the Downs (Nieupoort to Thurloe, July 14/24, *ibid.*, p. 211).



endure that the ships of the States General should "pass the sea so freely without being visited."<sup>123</sup> It is at least equally probable that the differences arose from some interference with Dutch ships by the squadron of Blake who reported, more or less vaguely, that he had taken certain prizes, including two Ostenders and a ship laden with iron,<sup>124</sup> but there seems no other ground for Giavarina's report that Cromwell had ordered Blake to detain a Dutch vessel in which he had discovered £400,000 in plate belonging to the Spaniards.<sup>125</sup> What remains of Blake's correspondence seems to give no hint of what would certainly have been an extremely important event, especially at this time, but there was enough in the strained relations of the rival sea-powers to account for many diplomatic conversations, nor is it probable that they were all recorded and certainly not in their entirety.

Nor were those conversations confined to Cromwell, Bordeaux and Nieupoort. On July 15 Mazarin gave Lockhart an audience and informed him—which Lockhart by that time almost certainly knew—that Lionne had gone to meet some of the Spanish ministers, protesting that "he had condescended to the propositions of peace [between France and Spain] . . . to stopp the clamor of the Pope and the French clergie. He knew the King of Spain's demands would be so high, as all honest Frenchmen would thinke it fitt and just to continue the warr." Those demands, Lockhart reported to Thurloe, were the restoration of all towns and forts taken since the beginning of the war in Italy, Flanders and Burgundy, of Catalonia and Lorraine, the restoration to the Prince de Condé of his rights in France; that France sacrifice Portugal to Spain and renounce friendship with Cromwell. Mazarin, Lockhart reported further, was very eager for Cromwell's assistance and would like three or four old regiments of foot for three months, a levy of 4,000 men to be raised within eight days and . . . . . When Mazarin admitted this . . . . . Valenciennes or for besieging Cambray or Douay, however, Lockhart protested, and Mazarin at length agreed to the siege of Dunkirk and Mardyke. Lockhart reported further that Bordeaux had orders to press a general levy without relation to any joint siege of these places and . . . . . recommended two to three thousand men, . . . . . hath great need of your countenancing him at this tyme, and if I be not mistaken, it is your interest at present to do all that can be done for his preservation," though Lockhart excused himself from accepting Mazarin's suggestion that he command the expedition.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Nieupoort's protest to Cromwell, July 31, *ibid.*, p. 258, cp. *ibid.*, pp. 243-46.

<sup>124</sup> Powell, *Blake*, pp. 370-71.

<sup>125</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 18/28, *Cal S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 245.

<sup>126</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, July 16/26, Thurloe, v, 217-18; to Cromwell, same date, *ibid.*, p. 216.

The day before this letter reached England, Giavarina reported that

The unfortunate issue of the siege of Valenciennes has changed the aspect of affairs and serves as a check on the designs of the French to proceed jointly with the Protector against Flanders and Dunkirk. . . . They have proclaimed their willingness here to attempt some diversion in favour of the French. This week they held a general muster of all the troops and I am told that a portion of the best trained and most seasoned was selected to be embarked next week and sent to the blockade of Dunkirk. But things cannot happen as they . . . other places are taken, and . . . to make so hazardous a venture and the English cannot achieve the task alone. Moreover it is unlikely that the Protector will weaken the troops which maintain his rule and send a part of them to Flanders where, without much difficulty, they might be bought by king Charles, for the attempt would certainly be made.<sup>124</sup>

Lockhart and Giavarina were both right in their estimate of the situation. Hard-pressed as the Spaniards were by the French war on land and the English attack by sea, Mazarin was no less in a difficult position. . . . had dissolved—and . . . But Condé meanwhile had also changed his allegiance. He was now in the service of Spain, though with the extraordinary provision that such conquests as he made should remain in his own hands. On July 16 he defeated Turenne at Valenciennes, which fell into his possession, and for the moment Mazarin's fortune seemed to have failed him. Cromwell's position, whatever the long, tortuous and hesitating negotiations which preceded his decisions, was now tolerably clear. He was at war with Spain; he had taken Jamaica; and he was eager to take Dunkirk. Its capture at this time was impossible for either the French or the English alone, and though Mazarin shrank from allowing it to fall into English hands, the French had only the choice between that . . . not the fall of Valenciennes, he had no alternative save aid from Cromwell, even at the price of Dunkirk, to which he was slowly and reluctantly endeavoring to reconcile himself. Dunkirk itself, though Cromwell could not realize it, was of little or no advantage to England; in many ways it was a liability, but he wanted it and was preparing to pay the price for it by lending an English force for its capture. The whole diplomatic situation was, in fact, like playing half a dozen games of chess at once—on the same board—and it is small wonder that Crom-

<sup>124</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 18/28, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 246

well and Mazan were equally reluctant to commit themselves to a move in this complicated and uncertain situation.

During the week of July 21 the Council held five meetings, of which three were apparently attended by the Protector.<sup>127</sup> Apart from the consideration of an unusual number of petitions and the issue or approval of many orders, chiefly connected with the sequestration and attempted recovery of estates,<sup>128</sup> the members were concerned with ordering the issue of the six months' assessment beginning June 24,<sup>129</sup> with the preparations for Brayne's expedition to Jamaica;<sup>130</sup> and with the disposition of the money received from Portugal.<sup>131</sup> In view of the extraordinary number of applications for augmentation of livings of the ministers, they stopped granting them for three or four weeks and appointed a committee to consider the whole problem.<sup>132</sup> In consideration of the complaints in regard to the cost of maintaining prisoners and the release of many on that account, among other such actions they authorized the sheriff for Surrey to deliver such prisoners as were there reprieved or discharged at the last assizes to Major-general Kelsey to dispose of according to his instructions, which were, presumably, to banish or transport them.<sup>133</sup> It seems apparent from this and like evidence that the activities of the Protectoral authorities, especially of the major-generals and the commissioners in the counties, had been almost too successful in ... without diminishing their num-  
of the growing discontent with the Protectoral system, especially with the major-generals.

In the midst of these measures, the active and well-informed Giavarina reported that Bordeaux had two secret interviews with the Protector on Monday the 21st, conferring for several hours through an interpreter and without the usual councillors or other officials present. It was therefore impossible, the astute Venetian wrote, to know definitely what they discussed, but he conjectured that the interview consisted chiefly of requests for assistance, for, as he goes on to say,

reviews of infantry and cavalry are held every day and it is supposed that they intend to send some of them across the water to help the Most Christian [King]. ... to block...  
evening and news arrived yesterday that the place was practically blockaded

<sup>127</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. xx, 31, 37-39, 41

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-39 *passim*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 36-37, 39.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37, Thurloe, v, 286.

<sup>132</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 39.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32 (dated July 22)

It is also said that 15 more ships are practically fully equipped and ready to sail with the first favourable wind to join the others, to tighten the blockade and attempt something there if possible. It is further stated that these last have taken on board some troops of horse, who are to land on the other side for some operation. This much is certain that new soldiers are being collected to fill up the companies from which those to cross the sea have been taken.<sup>126</sup>

Though this is somewhat earlier than the date usually given in the accounts of the English share in the attack upon Dunkirk, it would appear from other sources<sup>126</sup> that the Venetian envoy's information was in part at least borne out by other evidence, though in fact the English fleet maintained from time to time a force of frigates to prevent the Dunkirkers from coming out of their harbor to annoy English commerce.<sup>126</sup> Meanwhile the news of the Venetian victory over the Turks was being sent to England, and from Cambridge, Massachusetts, Daniel Gookin requested permission to return to England. He had carried out the Protector's orders, but he had been able to persuade only one person to follow him to Jamaica.<sup>127</sup> Meanwhile, too, the news of the Dutch success at Dunkirk had reached England. Sir John Sturckland to bring Bonde to an audience on Friday afternoon, July 25th.<sup>128</sup>

It was the farewell audience with the Protector, which took place on Friday and on the next day at Hampton Court, where the Swedish ambassador took breakfast with Cromwell and had a conference with him and Thurloe afterward. As usual, Bonde stressed the importance of the Dutch being loyal to the Protector, pointing out that the Dutch had made the most of it. He also stressed the need of haste in sending an ambassador to Sweden with full instructions. To all of this, as Bonde wrote,

The Protector answered hereupon with great protestations and began at once to blame the Dutch or rather that party among them who, as he said, 'observed neither religion, honor, love of fatherland nor any honesty, but did much harm to divine as well as to humane principles, greatly to their own disadvantage and that of Protestantism,' he declared that his affection and his heart had always been on your Majesty's side and that he saw with much regret how the Dutch rejoiced over the unkind reports of your Majesty's death, and that he on the contrary had almost had intentions of having services in London, when he found the report was false and invented, he declared

<sup>126</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 41.

<sup>127</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 41.

the country hindered them, but he nevertheless gave assurances that the Protestant cause and its security were the grounds upon which he acted and to which he would steadfastly adhere as long as he had anything to say; he was, and he pointed out that all honorable hearts were of the same opinion

bring them to the right, as not all in the Netherlands were of the same impetuous opinions, but there were many more who insisted on their old fundamentals and were not influenced by Spanish opinions. Concerning France, he had to acknowledge that if they should ally themselves with Spain, he

He also wished, in the greatest intimacy and under proper secrecy, to express his why France and England should not stand was Catholic it was not so bigoted as the house of Austria; and moreover in France there were many Protestants, for which reason he was to concern himself with the tractate, with which he hoped shortly to be finished, and indicated that the alliance between Spain and France could be prevented in th impart 'something remarkable' cated what he intended to do with the affair.

Reminding the Protector to be sure to send a letter to the United Netherlands; thanking him and making arrangements to write to him, Bonde reported further that,

Taking occasi the Protector also that the King, who definit nevertheless the most closely c land] on the Dutch, "should point out to them in writing the unreasonableness of the Spanish counsel on the same grounds"<sup>120</sup>

This was not all of this extraordinary visit and conversation. Bonde notes in his diary that in this week-end at Hampton Court they played at bowls for two hours and the Protector drank the health of the King—secretly, for it was 'contrary to his custom' Later he had a talk with the Protector and Thurloe for an hour and a half Gustavus du Vale, one of Bonde's embassy, was knighted and given a sword, "after which a stag hunt in the park";<sup>140</sup> so that, all in all, it seems to have been an agreeable occasion. It caused no little interest

<sup>120</sup> Carlhom, pp. 112-17.

<sup>140</sup> Bonde's Diary, 43rd Rept. Dep. Keeper Pub. Records, App. II, p. 52.

among the other foreign representatives who were naturally curious about the arrangements had been entered. The report of Giavarina was, as usual, full and as accurate as he could make it from what gossip got about in regard to this important conference. He wrote that Bonde was first received by the Protector in the great hall of Whitehall, then entertained at a sumptuous banquet at Hampton Court. There, as Giavarina went on to say,

most friendly manner. As a further mark of esteem his Highness dubbed the ambassador knight gave him a rich sword and ordered chains of gold and other material to be made for his Excellency and some of his suite. The treaties arranged between that crown and England are kept as secret as everything else at this Court. It is impossible for any one to find out about them. From appearances one would conclude that they have arranged a very close alliance, and being united in religion and interest they wish to stand together on all occasions and only do that which will please the other. With the utmost pains I have succeeded in learning on good authority that the alliance is of the greatest consequence to both kingdoms and to take the other's part and act as ambassador to the Swede to tighten the bonds of friendship.<sup>141</sup>

That, at least, was the impression each of the signatory parties sought to give, and if the treaty itself did not bear out the interpretation put on it by those who never saw it, this was not the fault of either the Swedish or the English authorities. It would not, in fact, bear such interpretation; but the secrecy surrounding it—and all of Cromwell's diplomacy—was like the quality which he displayed throughout his earlier career. As one of his early biographers said, "Privacy and Silence in his Managements were to him Assistance beyond all Arts and Sciences," and in no case more than in this Swedish treaty. Its very existence was a threat; its very mystery added to its influence. Bonde was not able to do much for assistance in the war, but it was not possible for him to give the King any real help, but he offered his intervention in Holland and Denmark and promised to write 'a stern letter' to both, which might do some good.<sup>142</sup> It was, in fact, all but inconceivable that either man could have been of much assistance to the other, beyond the enlistment of Scots in Swedish service, some pressure on their mutual enemies, and possibly some naval help

<sup>141</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 1/11, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), pp. 250-51. There is no other record of Bonde's being knighted, though there are two sources which mention the knighting of Duval.

<sup>142</sup> Carlborn, p. 118.

in the Baltic and North Sea—most of which had already been accomplished. All that Cromwell actually wrote was a letter of the usual commendatory sort given to ambassadors on their departure, of which the one for Bonde followed the customary form and had no importance beyond that:

*To the most Serene Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, etc.*

MOST SERENE KING,

As it is but just that we should highly value the friendship of the most illustrious<sup>143</sup> lord Christiern Bond,<sup>144</sup> by whose aid a strict alliance is most sacredly and solemnly ratified between us, should be most acceptable to us, and no less deeply fixed in our esteem. Him therefore, having now most worthily accomplished his embassy, we thought it became us to send back to your majesty, though not without the high applause which the rest of his singular virtues merit; to the end, that he, who was before conspicuous in

tion As for those things which yet remain to be transacted, we have determined in a short time to send an embassy to your majesty for the settling of those affairs. In the mean time, Almighty God preserve in safety so great a pillar of his church, and of Swedland's welfare.

Your majesty's good friend

From our palace at Westminster,  
July [30], 1656.

OLIVER P<sup>145</sup>

To this he added at about the same time another letter to King John of Portugal in regard to a somewhat curious piece of Portuguese finance.

*To the most Serene Prince, John, King of Portugal*

MOST SERENE KING,

Whereas there is a considerable sum of money owing from certain Portugal merchants of the Brasile company to several English merchants, upon the account of freightage and demorage, in the years sixteen hundred and forty nine and sixteen hundred and fifty, which money is detained by the said company by your majesty's command, the merchants be-

<sup>143</sup> Original in Swedish archives adds "et excellentissimus"

<sup>144</sup> Orig gives his full title "liber Baro de Lajhela, Dominus de Ymsicholm, Bord-sio, et Spring- Stadh, Vestrae Ma<sup>145</sup> Regnique Sueciae Senator, Commerciorum Collegij Conciliarus"

<sup>145</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 405, corrected from Latin in *Columbia Milton*, no 72. Cp. Masson, v, 270-71. Original dated July 30, 43rd Rept Dep Keeper Pub. Records, p 43, calendars a letter of July 30, 1656, probably this one

fore mentioned expected, that the said money should have been paid long since according to the articles of the last league, but now they are afraid of being debarred all hopes and means of recovering their debts; understanding

debts, by which means the merchants will receive no more than the bare

overcome by their . . . them these our letters to your majesty, cniemy requesting this at your hands, to take care that the aforesaid Brasile company may give speedy satisfaction to the merchants of this republic, and pay them not only the principal money which is

in most friendly manner we request from your majesty.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster,

OLIVER P.<sup>146</sup>

July —, 1656

The meetings of the Council were confined chiefly to matters of routine. It considered the complicated problem of the purchase of

Markham by a letter from the Protector to the Major-general of Lincolnshire;<sup>148</sup> ordered the payment of the considerable sum of £4,482/3/11½ to John Leverett due him from the Commonwealth, presumably on account of expenses connected with the seizure of Acadia,<sup>149</sup> with other like items of business. It agreed to an.

#### *Additional Instruction to the Council in Scotland*

Whereas great inconveniency hath growne by the not putting in execution the Ordinance of the 6<sup>th</sup> of Aug<sup>r</sup> . . . publique preachers in Scotland through the default of . . . ifyers in the said Ordinance named in refusing or neglecting the execution thereof,—Wee being unwilling that such Ministers as intend their Duty and live peaceably under the present Governm<sup>t</sup> should be hindred or kept out of their stipends for want of certificates from the said Provinciaall Certifyers when the same cannot be had,

You are hereby authorised and impowred by yo<sup>r</sup> Warr<sup>ts</sup> or Ord<sup>r</sup> to allow and order unto such Ministers or Publique Preachers in Scotland as you shalbe satisfied with, as qualified according to the inten<sup>on</sup> of p<sup>r</sup> Ordinance, their respective Stipendes and the Arreares thereof, together with the

<sup>146</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 404, *Columbia Milton*, no 71

<sup>147</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1656-7), pp 22, 43-50 *passim*, 581-82

<sup>148</sup> . . .

<sup>149</sup> . . . *Mars. Hist Soc. Coll.*, ser. 4,



Wise and all other advantages and Immunities belonging to the said  
said Stipends to pay the same<sup>150</sup>

Read and agreed 31 July 1656.

In addition, the Protector addressed a communication to the Justice who had sat on the trial of one Daniel Wyse, exciseman, for having killed a certain John Hugh in self-defence

### Order

Right trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We are informed by the inclosed petition of one Daniel Wyse, late one of the Collectors of the Duty of Excise in our County of Pembroke, who stands convicted and attainted of murder in that County about the death of one John Hugh, That his death was occasioned by a distress taken for the said duty at Wiston; where the said Wyse being in execution of that trust by himself, and his servants, They were forcibly resisted by a riotous multitude, whereof the said John Hugh being one, was in heat of blood wounded by the said Wyse, and thereof suddenly after died We presume these circumstances appeared to you upon the evidence at his trial which moved you to reprieve him from execution And inasmuch as this matter (as it stands represented unto Us) is of tender consideration, and may probably prove dangerous in the conse-

hereby recommend to your prudent care, commanding you to certify Us of your doings therein with your opinion upon the whole matter, and further to reprieve the said Wyse from execution, until our pleasure shall be further known Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster the first day of August 1656.<sup>151</sup>

The problem of keeping the Channel under control of the English fleet was, as always, pressing On July 31 Nieupoort addressed to the Protector a protest over the Dutch ships being forced into the Downs, in the form of an official request that such an incident as the seizure of the three vessels on July 8 be not permitted to occur again<sup>152</sup> Meanwhile English men-of-war were reported off Ostend and Dunkirk to keep the freebooters from coming out to harass English commerce<sup>153</sup>—which was probably the grounds of Giavarina's report of preparations for the siege of Dunkirk As to that contingency, Mazarin, who had at first refused to have any share in it, was re-

<sup>150</sup> *Acts of Parl. in Scotland*, vi, pt ii, 761, cp. *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p 45, cp instruction of Sept 9, 1657, *infra*.

<sup>151</sup> *S P Dom Interreg*, cxxix, no 99 II Summary in Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl 120. No signature, perhaps a draft. Enclosed in a petition from Wise.

<sup>152</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom*, 2-4

29/Aug 8, Macray, iii, 155, no. 473

ported by Lockhart to have agreed to undertake it in the following spring and that terms should be drawn up to that end, to take effect

week to week, Peter l'albot reported first that the Sexby business might come off at almost any moment;<sup>155</sup> then that "they may begin their business before the mock Parliament assembles",<sup>156</sup> then that all was ready,<sup>157</sup> then that Sexby would do nothing for six weeks,<sup>158</sup> and finally that

plot, and if they did, all the other parties (however opposed to each other) . . . wait for the Parliament . . .<sup>159</sup> On his part, the capable and vigilant Lockhart sent word to Thurloe that,

the Spaniards are very well satisfied with his [Sexby's] negotiation, and promise themselves great advantages from it. It is certain, that he hath assured them of a castle or town, that hath the command of a harbor, where they may have a safe descent for any forces they will send into England, and that place is not farr from London. He hath also assured them, that at the returne of your fleete their will be a notable mutinie amongst them, . . . If Ch. Stewart be allowed a safe retreat for them in any part in Flanders, he hath also given them hope, that upon their landing any forces in England, Ch. Stewart and his brother being upon their head, their will severall in the army declare for him; and that in Ireland a great part of the army . . . are ready to declare for him upon the first appearance of any having Ch. Stewart's commission, and the nobilitie and gentrie of Scotland will be ready to take up arms. . .<sup>160</sup>

That the government felt there was some substance to the informations of a plot is indicated by the measures it took at this moment to check the activities of the suspected plotters. Sir Henry Vane was ordered to appear before the Council on August 12<sup>161</sup> to defend his *Healing Question*, which he said later "asserts the Principles, Spirit, and Justice of the Cause we have professed and fought for in our late Warre [but] is now thought fit by those that are in power to have the name given to it of 'seditious' "<sup>162</sup> Various Fifth Monarchists, includ-

<sup>154</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, July 29/Aug. 8 and Aug. 2/12, Thurloe, v, 252, 265-67

<sup>155</sup> Macray, III, 141, no. 416

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148, no. 444

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55, no. 470

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160, no. 483

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162, no. 486

Thurloe, v, 319.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317

<sup>162</sup> *The Proceeds of the Protector*, p. 3

ing Lawson, Okey, Venner and Portman,<sup>163</sup> on whom Barkstead had been keeping a watchful eye,<sup>164</sup> were sent for by the Council to be interrogated in regard to their suspected connection with this or some other plot. According to Thurloe, they were supposed to be on the basis of Vane's *Healing Question*. Common-wealthsmen might establish a common programme, Rich and Harrison to help settle any differences between these groups.<sup>165</sup> Venner, who had got himself into trouble under suspicion of distributing *England's Remembrancer*—an able attack on Cromwell's government preparatory to the ensuing election, scattered about the London streets, apparently on the night of August 1<sup>166</sup>—was not apprehended by the government. Whether Lawson, Okey and Portman were examined by the Council does not appear, but it is certain that Vane, Rich, Bradshaw and Ludlow were summoned and all of them were present on August 1, except Vane, who came on the 21st. It appears that Bradshaw refused a commission from the Protector as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and, whether or not in connection with his examination on August 1, he was discharged from his post as chief justice of Chester and justice of three Welsh counties on that day.<sup>167</sup> At the same time Ludlow was ordered to give bond in the sum of £5,000 before the next Tuesday, but was permitted to remain in his lodgings with his relatives in Essex, which, as he said, did "answer the design of Cromwel, which was to keep me out of my own country, where he doubted I might obstruct the election of such persons as the Court had resolved by all methods to procure to be returned."<sup>168</sup> So he recorded his interview with Cromwell on August 1.

*Ludlow's hearing before Cromwell and the Council*

The Lord President Bradshaw, Sir Henry Vane, Col Rich and Ludlow having all been summoned before Cromwell in Council, all appeared except Vane. Bradshaw refused to take out a new commission as Chief Justice of Chester because he said he held the place by grant from Parliament. He declared himself ready to submit to trial. Col. Rich refused to give security not to act against the Government, and so was sent to Windsor Castle.

Cromwell charged Ludlow "with dispersing treasonable books in Ireland, and with endeavouring to render the officers of the army disaffected, by discoursing to them concerning new models of Government." Ludlow denied that the books he had distributed were treasonable or that he had lately debated the several forms of Government.

<sup>163</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. 581.

<sup>164</sup> Thurloe, v, 248.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 185-86, and cp. Brown, *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 108-9.

<sup>166</sup> Thurloe, v, 272; text, *ibid.*, pp. 268-71.

<sup>167</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 69, Ludlow, ii, 10.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Cromwell suggested "that he was not content of the manner that he was required by God of the magistrate, i.e. that he be a terror to those that do evil, and a praise to such as do well, and whether" his actions were good or bad he was ready to submit to a legal trial. That was the only way he knew of to secure the magistrate from being afraid of the people, or the people from the dread of the magistrate

CROMWELL. "You do well . . . to reflect on our fears, yet I would have you know that what I do proceeds not from any motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to foresee and prevent danger. that had I done as I should, I ought to have secured you immediately upon your coming into England, or at least when you desired to be freed from the engagement you had given after your arrival, and therefore I now require you to give assurance not to act against the Government."

LUDLOW: "desired to be excused in that particular reminding him of the reasons" he had formerly given for his refusal, adding that he was in Cromwell's power, and that he might as well make the best of it

Cromwell asked "What can you desire more than you have?" May not every man be as good as he will? What can you desire more than you have?"

LUDLOW "It were easy to tell what we would have."

CROMWELL. "What is that, I pray?"

LUDLOW. "That which we fought for that the nation might be governed by its own consent"

CROMWELL. "I am . . . as much for a government by consent as any man, but where shall we find that consent? Amongst the Prelatical, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, or Leveling Parties?"

LUDLOW "Amongst those of all sorts who had acted with fidelity and affection to the public"

Then Cromwell "fell into the commendation of his own government, boasting of the protection and quiet which the people enjoyed under it, saying, that he was resolved to keep the nation from being imbrued in blood" Ludlow "was of the opinion too much blood had been already shed, unless there were a better account of it"

CROMWELL. "You do well . . . to charge us with the guilt of blood, but we think there is a good return for what hath been shed; and we understand what clandestine correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniard and those of your party, who make use of your name, and affirm that you will own them and assist them"

LUDLOW "I know not . . . what you mean by my party, and can truly say, that if any men have entred into an engagement with Spain, they have had no advice from me so to do, and that if they will use my name I cannot help it"

Then in a softer way Cromwell told Ludlow that he had no desire to put any hardships upon him and that he had no aim in the proceeding but the public quiet and security Ludlow produced an Act of Parliament for restraining the Council table from imprisoning any of the free-born people of England.

CROMWELL But "did not the army and Council of State commit persons to prison?"

LUDLOW. "The Council of State did so, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them by the Parliament; and if the army had sometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of war, and then only in order to bring the persons secured to a legal trial, whereas it is now pretended that we live in a time of peace and are to be governed by the known laws of the land."

CROMWELL. "A Justice of Peace . . . may commit, and shall not I?"

LUDLOW. "He is . . . a legal officer and authorized by the law to do so, which you could not be, tho you were King; because if you do wrong therein, no remedy can be had against you. Therefore if I have offended against the law, I desire to be referred to a Justice of the Peace, that I may be proceeded with according to law; but if I have done nothing to deserve a restraint, that then I may have my liberty."

Whereupon Ludlow withdrew and, after some discussion, was allowed to return to his lodgings, in spite of his refusal to give security.<sup>169</sup>

Making all allowance for the favorable light in which Ludlow managed to view himself in his memoirs, two things are apparent from this and the other evidence of the time. The one is that these various arrests, interviews and negotiations were closely connected with the preparations for an uprising, the other is that the government feared not so . . . even though supported by Spain, as it did the activity of the opposition parties in the elections for Parliament which were about to take place. Ludlow was probably right in saying that the "Court" would use every effort to have men favorable to it returned, for that was the custom of the time. Among those efforts, these arrests and examinations of men known to be hostile to it played their part. There was every reason to believe that they would do all they could to assist in the choice of men opposed to the Protectorate; there was even some reason to think that an attempt at insurrection or even invasion might be made in connection with the elections. It was certain—as the event proved—that a new Parliament would act as a sounding-board for those elements in the country which were bitterly hostile to the Cromwellian régime, all that the government could hope for was to keep the opposition as small and ineffective as possible, and to guard itself meanwhile against conspiracy and insurrection.

That choices for the ensuing Parliament had already begun and that the influence of the government was already being exerted seems apparent from the fact that Richard Cromwell was reported as having been chosen by the University of Cambridge as its representative.<sup>170</sup> The Council meanwhile had reverted to its custom of two meetings a week, and even then found some difficulty in securing a proper attendance, probably on account of the members being en-

<sup>169</sup> Summarized from *ibid.*, pp. 10-13.

<sup>170</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 4-11.

gaged elsewhere on business connected with the elections. Fiennes, Desborough and Mulgrave, in fact, attended not a single meeting during August,<sup>171</sup> and Mulgrave—who had been absent since May 22—did not appear until September 16<sup>172</sup> and then apparently only on account of a Council order of August 28 recalling all members who were out of town.<sup>173</sup> On the other hand, the Protector was more active than usual. He attended the meeting on Tuesday, August 5;<sup>174</sup> referred to the Council the petition of Lincoln's Inn against the erection of new buildings in Lincoln's Inn Fields,<sup>175</sup> and besides appointing Bury as a member of the Irish Privy Council, ordered the Lord Deputy and Council to pay Bury and Steele out of the assessment revenue:

*Warrant*

OLIVER P.

Wm. Bury<sup>176</sup> of Grantham in the County of Lincoln Esq to be of our Privy Council in Ireland and to receive and enjoy the like salary, benefits and advantages as the rest of our said Council.<sup>177</sup>

Aug. 4.

*To the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland*

[Substance only]

Lord Chancellor Steele is to be advanced 1000*l* of his salary and Wm Berry [Bury], 500*l* as a member of Council, for which the Council of Ireland is to draw bills of exchange on the Army Committee out of the assessment revenue.<sup>178</sup>

August 5, 1656

<sup>171</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. xx

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.* (1655-6), p. xxx; (1656-7), p. xx

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xx

<sup>175</sup> *Black Book of Lincoln's Inn* (1586-1660), pp. 466-67, *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. 71. His reference gave power to the Council, which ordered the stay of building Aug. 14.

<sup>176</sup> "The appointment of William, afterwards Sir William Bury, described by Adair as 'a religious prudent gentleman,' against his Anabaptist detractors . . . was removed . . . from all hands."

He was removed to the Commissioners of Parliament in July 1659. He did not, however, leave Ireland, but was instrumental with Coote and Berchall in paving the way for Charles' restoration, and as with their permission a Council was held at Drogheda, pending the appointment of a Lord Lieutenant. He was knighted, but died soon afterwards, in 1661." [Note by Dunlop]

<sup>177</sup> Dunlop, II, 615.

Council's orders in . . .

On the next day he signed a commission for Christopher Cannell to be Governor of Antigua for Christopher Cannell, who was named governor by Ayscue on the reduction of the island, and was at this point in London conferring with the Council.<sup>179</sup>

*Draught of a Commission for Christopher Cannell to be Gov<sup>r</sup> of Antego*

OLIVER P.

Oliver Lord Protector of ye Common-wealth of England, Scotland, & Ireland, & ye dominions thereto belonging, To all to whom these presents shall come, Greetinge Know ye that we beinge full of wisdom, fullness, prudence, & ability of our owne power, have made, ordeined, constituted, & appointed, & by these presents doe make, ordeine, constitute, & appoint him our owne full Governor of our Island of Antigua in America, & of all other ye little Iles thereunto adjoyned, & fortresses, havens, roads & harbours there; duringe our pleasure: & to ye said & appointed doe by these presents grant, & comitt unto him ye said Islands, & premises, ye charge, custody, & government of ye aforesaid Islands, & premises, with full power & authority for us, & in our name, to rule, govern, & order all & singular ye persons, which now are or hereafter shall be abidinge on ye said Islands, & every or any of them accordinge to ye laws & customs of England, & such good, just, & reasonable customes & ordinances, as are or shall be there used & approved & all such as shall be found disobedient in ye premises to chastize, correct & punish accordinge to theire severall demerits, & to repress, & subdue, & to counter our forces there, or to possesse & invade our said Islands, or any of them, or in any wise to impeach our title & possession thereof, or to hurt or annoy him ye said Christopher Keynell, or any ye people there beinge, or others under our protection, & to y<sup>e</sup> purpose to receive into his command ye severall companys of hors & foot belonginge to ye said Island & them to trade, lead, exercise & discipline in warr-like manner, accordinge to his discretion, & from time to time to make constitute, & appoint under him fitt & convenient Officers & ministers of Justice both Civil & Military, for ye peace & safety & ye good and peaceable government of our said Islands, & people there: & we doe hereby streightly charge & command all manner of persons who now are, or shall hereafter be abidinge upon ye same Islands, to be obedient unto the said Christopher Keynell, as Collonell

And for ye better execution of our service in ye premises, & secureinge our interest in ye said Islands, we doe by these presents give, & grant further power & authority unto him ye said Christopher Keynell, to erect, rais, & make such fortifications in such convenient harbours & places there as he

<sup>179</sup> Commission dated Aug 2 1662 in R. O. M. A. 27 f. 72. C. T. 1. 1. 1. His name is Christopher Cannell, not Keynell. The Commission was probated in the Council May 6, 1656 (*Cal. S. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, pp. 439-40). Cp also *ibid.*, pp. 443-46; and Watts' *Hist. des Colonies Anglaises*, pp. 77-86.

shall Iudge necessary & for defence of the said Islands, to tax, & assess the said Islands, & to their severall degrees & estates.

And further we doe by these presents grant unto him ye said Christopher Keynell full poure & authority from time to time, & when, & as often as to him shall seem necessary & expedient to summon courts of Assembly in ye said Island, & to heare & determine all, & all manner of causes & businesses there happeninge & to happen, whither Civil or Military, & from time to time, in case of eminent danger to proceed against in a summary & expedient way for the security of the said Islands, & of reasonable persons

from time to time & when, & as often as to him shall seem necessary, to make, & ordeine such laws constitutions & ordinances not repugnant to ye Laws of England, as shall be thought meet for ye good government of ye said Islands, & inhabitants thereof.

And we doe hereby grant, & confirme unto ye said Christopher Keynell, in consideration of his attendants, care & diligence in service there, all & every

Collonel & Governour of ye said Islands & for ye better encouragement of all such persons as shall desire to plant themselves in our said Islands, we doe by

pher Keynell shall think fit And lastly we doe by these presents give & grant unto ye said Christopher Keynell full powre & authority to substitute under him, as necessity shall require, one fitt & discreet person to be his Deputy in

& for ye advanceing of trade, & commerce & as shall be found there most fit & beneficial for ye honour of us & these Nations, & ye good & well-fare of our people there And we hereby will & command him ye said Christopher Keynell diligently & carefully to intend thus our service & observe, & perform such further instructions & commands, as he shall from time to time receive from us, or from us with ye advice of our Counsell, in ye premises whereof we shall expect a due account. given under our signett at our pallace of Westminster, ye sixt day of August, in ye yeare of our Lord; one thousand six hundred, & fifty-six.<sup>180</sup>

Besides these documents the Protector seems to have sent out a letter to the major-generals on August 8, and on the next day another order to the Deputy and Council in Ireland.

<sup>180</sup> Printed in V. L. Oliver, *History of the Island of Antigua* (1894), I, p. xxvi, from *Egerton MSS* 2395, f. 68.



*To each of the Major-Generals*

[Substance only]

There are plots being contrived all over England and abroad against the present government. What indications have become evident to them of a spirit of rebellion? What danger, if any, must be expected as a result of the elections?<sup>181</sup>

August 8, 1656

*To the Lord Deputy and Council*

We understand by your letter of 8th September last that Col. Henry Markham, of whose constant fidelity and good service from the beginning, as well as of his knowledge of the state of the country, we are abundantly satisfied, has been sent to the Westmeath [for some acts by him done with other Commissioners in relation to the sequestration of the said Earl's estate, &c.]

obnoxious should presume to molest a public officer, barely for discharging his duty and being faithful in his trust, and hold ourselves obliged to secure and indemnify such against such proceedings, which, should they be permitted, would be an ill requital to those who have deserved well and a discouragement to others for the future, and therefore we have thought fit to recommend the same unto your especial care. . . .<sup>182</sup>

Whitehall, 9 Aug

As the Protector's letter to the major-generals indicated, the combination of the plots and the elections was causing the government some uneasiness. There had arisen the perennial question as to the Protector's authority. Major-general Haynes reported that one Robert Manning had objected on August 4 when the election indenture was read that it contained the words "his Highness' parliament," and he had warned the electors of Stowe to elect no friend of Cromwell's.<sup>183</sup> Warnings, or "commands" had been sent to the officers in the north, probably to the same effect as those sent the major-generals,<sup>184</sup> and Giavarina reported that "libels have appeared this week

<sup>181</sup> Replies to these letters were sent by Whalley, Aug. 11, by Desborough and Berry, Aug. 12, and by Haynes and Bridge, Aug. 15, and are printed in Thurloe, v, 299, 302-3, 312-13. They all have noticed the restless, rebellious spirit but none of them has noticed the plots.

<sup>182</sup> Haynes had trouble with one John Borlase, who claimed to have a verbal order from the Protector to return from custody to his family (*Ibid.*, pp. 289, 313).

<sup>184</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 402. Noted in letter of Capt. Ed. Salmon, then at Scarborough.

posted up in the most prominent places of this city. . . . In these they . . . those who would be suitable for parliament, . . . the present government."<sup>185</sup> Pamphlet literature attacking the Protectoral system made its appearance everywhere. In reply to White's *Obedience and Government* which had been printed twice in the preceding year and urged submission to Cromwell, Ball's *State Maxims* replied on August 5 George Rote, from his prison at St Edmundsbury, issued his *Righteousness of God to Man* a few words to Oliver Cromwell and to the officers and souldiers of the army . . . two days later; and the controversy raised by Vane's *Healing Question* went on with increasing violence. The government was not without its defenders, paid or unpaid, and the paper war went on vigorously as the elections were being held.<sup>186</sup>

It did not greatly affect the outcome. The authority of the administration was too great and too widespread to permit a defeat at the . . . utmost. Among . . . was returned as member from Edinburgh,<sup>187</sup> and by one means or another most of the Cromwellian officials, especially in Scotland and Ireland, were assured seats. Nor did the election seem to have any effect on the Protector's habits of life. In fact, on Thursday, according to Ludlow, though that seems early for the Protector to be at Hampton Court,

Cromwel diverting himself with hunting . . . asked my brother Thomas Ludlow, who was in the company, if he were not angry with him for committing me? And my brother answering, that it was not fit for him to judge concerning his actions, he thereupon assured him, that he wished me as well as any . . . marriage to . . . own security, and that he would have him to engage for me, to which he most readily consented.<sup>188</sup>

Apart from these matters, two questions arose at this moment in the field of foreign and colonial affairs. Bordeaux was advised from the French representative at the Hague that Nieupoort would receive instructions to conclude a maritime treaty with the Protector only if the latter consented that the United Provinces be permitted to trade with the Caribbee islands, that the act for increase of trade be annulled, that free ships should be considered as carrying free goods, and that Dutch captains might take under their protection any English ships which might desire it.<sup>189</sup> The second matter was

<sup>185</sup> *Cal S P Ven* (1655-6), p. 252.

<sup>186</sup> Cp Abbott, *Bibliog of O. C.*, 1656 *passim*; and Thomason.

<sup>187</sup> Thurloe, v, 295, cp *ibid*, p. 366.

<sup>188</sup> Ludlow, II, 14-15.

<sup>189</sup> Courtin to Bordeaux, Hague, Aug. 8/18, Thurloe, v, 288. At the same time Nieupoort sent a report on the progress of a treaty between England and Sweden with



day of humiliation with the Protector, who was reported as being at Hampton Court on Saturday.<sup>192</sup> At the Thursday meeting—which the Protector attended<sup>193</sup>—little was done beyond issuing a few orders. The Protector's attention was also directed to the publication of *England's Remembrancer*, more probably in connection with the elections and the plots. The election prospects were apparently not favorable. On August 12 the Protector wrote to Haynes in regard to the matter

[Substance only]

Directions to be communicated to the commissioners for the holding of the elections on August 20.<sup>196</sup>

Haynes replied to Thurlow that "The election is as bad as it could well have bin made, my lord deputie and colonell Wood excepted";<sup>197</sup> Desborough, writing on August 12, from Launceston, said that many boroughs had already held elections but gave no news of them, save a list of those returned.<sup>198</sup> He had already been ordered by the Protector to free the Quakers imprisoned at Launceston if they would promise not to preach any more; but they refused to agree to this and remained in custody until Colonel Bennett, in whose hands Desborough left the matter, after trying to get the prisoners to pay the gaolers' fees, finally released them on September 15.<sup>199</sup>

There seems, indeed, reason to believe that the government was doing what it could to conciliate the elements opposed to it. The reports from the major-generals were not, on the whole, encouraging. Haynes, writing from Bury St. Edmunds, expressed regret that the administration had taken no more active steps to encourage the choice of "honest men," who would do their best but would be "compelled to take up with the Presbyterian to keep out the malignant."<sup>500</sup>

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 582

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid*, pp 71, 582

196 U. S. v. Hardwicke, 4 U. S. 228 There is a letter from John Hardwicke,

mentioning their appointment by the Protector  
widow, Anne Hellmarrow, and Robert Jepson (*Hist Mss Comm Repts* 10, App IV,  
p. 221 (*Boycott's Mss*))

<sup>197</sup> *Thurloe*, v, 328

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 302.

From every direction there came reports of dissatisfaction with the existing government and expressions of fear from the major-generals that some combination of the opposition groups, though it would probably not secure a majority, would at least return many members prepared to attack the Protector and his followers.<sup>201</sup> It has been suggested that the government refrained from too open influence on the electorate, especially when exercised by the major-generals, but that was not the way of the seventeenth century, and the result was favorable to the government, as might have been expected. Not only were all the major-generals, except Fleetwood, returned, but all the members of the Council but two—Mulgrave and Lisle—and a body of officials, relatives, and even servants of the Protector, which, with the delegations from Scotland and Ireland, and those naturally supporters of the Protectoral system, assured the administration a comfortable majority of the new assembly.<sup>202</sup> What was perhaps still more notable was that the more eminent and able opponents of Cromwellianism, like Vane, Bradshaw and Ludlow, found no place.

The foreign envoys naturally took much interest in the elections, though they did not on that account neglect their more immediate concerns. On August 14, while Thurloe was assuring Nieupoort that there was no new treaty with Sweden and renewing Cromwell's promise not to conclude one to the prejudice of the Netherlands,<sup>203</sup> Bonde was having another "notable discourse" with the Protector; and Schlezer was writing that, on account of the opposition to the Protectorate which was likely to be expressed in the new assembly, Cromwell might be induced to seize the supreme or royal authority and the legislative power, with the aid of the army and the militia, so that the confused factions might be held together and kept in order.<sup>204</sup>

Despite an opinion sometimes expressed that the government took few or no overt steps to influence the election, it is apparent that, apart from the spirit and customs of the times, it was not to be expected that an administration in a situation such as that of the Protector at this moment would not, directly or indirectly, endeavor to secure a majority favorable to itself. Still less was it to be expected that the armed forces and their commanders should not play some part in such an important event. On this situation, as usual, the Venetian envoy, Giavarina, contributed his observations

when the Protector sent for the chief men of the parish of Westminster and told them the persons whom he wished to have nominated, they told him that they would exercise their privilege by selecting the persons who were

<sup>201</sup> Cp. Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, iv, 277ff.

<sup>202</sup> See *Returns of Members of Parliament*.

<sup>203</sup> Nieupoort to Remond, Aug. 14, 1659, *ibid.*, 200.

<sup>204</sup> Schlezer to Remond, Aug. 14, 1659, *ibid.*, 200.

considered best fitted by capacity and experience and they had no intention of binding themselves by promises as God Almighty had left them their free-will. This goes to show that the feeling for the Protector is not entirely good. Next week the elections take place. . . But the presence of the troops, who are ordered to guard the sessions, will prevent any disorder and check any results from the evil intentions of those who wish to fire the mine which they are secretly preparing against this state.<sup>205</sup>

The elections were not the only concern of the administration. On the 17th, the able and accomplished Lockhart wrote Thurloe that Mazarin had told him he intended to instruct Bordeaux to thank Cromwell for his willingness to help France, that he needed no men for the moment, but desired to make a secret treaty.<sup>206</sup> Lockhart reported that the Flemish coast, but Giavarina believed the fact—that it was there to blockade Dunkirk and Ostend to prevent privateering against English merchantmen.<sup>207</sup> None of this was reflected in the records of the Council meetings of this week of August 18, though the Protector attended both of them. They had to do only with routine matters, among which was an order to Embree to have stables built in Whitehall for the use of the Protector's new life-guard.<sup>208</sup> The elections were held on Wednesday the 20th, without any untoward incidents save those which were common to such events and which had already been provided for by the presence of the troops.<sup>209</sup>

On the day following, however, there was an incident which might have had important repercussions. Sir Henry Vane, the younger, who had published his *Healing Question* as a reply to the Protector's proclamation for a day of fasting and humiliation in the preceding March, had been summoned before the Protector and Council on the charge of having published "a seditious book . . . tending to the disturbance of the present government and the peace of the Commonwealth." Vane had, in fact, sent the manuscript of the pamphlet to Cromwell by means of Fleetwood, and it had been returned to him without comment, which he naturally took as approval of its contents. It was not precisely an attack on the government but rather a statement of Vane's views of what he called "the good old cause,"—that of civil and religious liberty secured by the supremacy of Parliament. That cause, he argued, was in danger from the fact that the "compacted body" of the revolutionary party was "falling asunder into many dissenting parts" and a government had risen "rather accomodated to the private and selfish interest of a particular part"

<sup>205</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 15/25, *Cal S P Ven* (1655-6), p. 254

<sup>206</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Aug. 17/27, Thurloe, v, 317-19

<sup>207</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 15/25, *Cal S P Ven* (1655-6), p. 255

<sup>208</sup> *Cal S P Ven* (1655-6), pp. 255-56

<sup>209</sup>

—Sept. 1, *Merc Pol.*, Aug. 21-28).

—that is to say the army—and his remedy was a new constitution framed by “a general council or convention of faithful, honest and discerning men.” There was nothing in all this which could well be construed as sedition, much less treason. It was, in fact, almost precisely what was done within the next few months by the new Parliament; but Vane’s pamphlet was so widely read and popular that it brought him again under suspicion and he had been summoned on July 29 to appear before the Council on August 12. He was very indignant. He did not appear until August 21 and then only to protest that as it was

as was the law and liberty of England that I am bound to do as  
 his pleasure, . . . I have the same priviledge . . . as  
 the same priviledge . . . as  
 lately sent unto mee, wherein I finde noe cause for my appearance, but mere  
 will and pleasure, yet in vindication of the innocent and peaceable deport-  
 ment I live in, according to the lawes, I have not refused . . .<sup>210</sup>

Despite—or perhaps on account of—his protest, he was ordered to give security to the sum of £5,000, by the following Tuesday, August 26, “to do nothing to the prejudice of the present government, and the peace of the Commonwealth.” This he refused to do, as it would involve the admission of his intention to . . . which he denied. His violent protest against . . . served to delay somewhat the action of the Protector and Council, and it was a fortnight before a warrant was issued . . . Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, where . . . been confined.<sup>211</sup> No Star Chamber proceeding under that monarch had been more arbitrary than the action taken in regard to Vane, and he was quick to point out that he . . . ing with me how exactly those t . . . as in many other things . . . tread in the steps of the late King.”<sup>212</sup>

There was little besides the case of Vane and the elections in this week to absorb the attention of the Council and the Protector—though there was doubtless enough to give them some bad moments. On the day that Vane appeared, the problem of the town of Colchester, which had earlier troubled the government, was settled by an order to the mayor then in office to hold his place until September 22, the date set for the election of new officials under the charter

<sup>210</sup> Vane to . . .

<sup>211</sup> Cp J . . .

<sup>212</sup> *Proceeds of the Protector, passim*, Thurloc, v, 349, Ludlow, *Memoirs*, II, 15-16; and Willcock, *ut supra*.

communication to the Lord coachmen, whose by-laws the Council had promised to reform;<sup>213</sup> some difficulties in regard to the "Protestant strangers" of Hatfield Chase;<sup>214</sup> and the reprieve of some men convicted of coining<sup>215</sup> took up such time and energy as were not devoted to Vane and the elections. Meanwhile the Protector himself wrote to the States General a long and important letter, hoping to keep the United Netherlands in line against Spain.

*To the most High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces*

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS, OUR DEAREST FRIENDS AND CONFEDERATES,

We make no doubt but that all men will bear us this testimony, that no considerations, in contracting foreign alliances, ever swayed us beyond those of defending the truth of religion, or that we accounted any thing more sacred than to unite the minds of all the friends and protectors of the protestants, and of all others who at least were not their enemies. Whence it comes to pass, that we are touched with so much the

so jealous of each other, and so ill disposed to mutual affection, more especially, that your lordships and the King of Sweden than whom the orthodox faith has not more magnanimous and courageous defenders, nor our republic confederates more strictly conjoined in interests, should seem to remit of your confidence in each other; or rather, that there should appear some too apparent signs of tottering friendship and growing discord between ye. What the causes are, and what progress this alienation of your affection has made, we protest ourselves to be altogether ignorant. However, we cannot but conceive an extraordinary trouble of mind for these beginnings of the least dissension arisen among brethren, which infallibly must greatly endanger the protestant interests. Which if they should gather strength (which God forbid)

cannot be unknown to your prudence, and most industrious experience of affairs. As for the Spaniards, it has already so enlivened their confidence, and raised their courage, that they made no scruple by their ambassador residing

of advantage to solicit your lordships, to forsake your ancient and most faithful friends, the English, French, and Swedes, and enter into a strict confederacy with your old enemy, and once your domineering tyrant, now seemingly atoned; but, what is most to be feared, only at present treacher-

<sup>213</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1656-7), p. 79.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76, cp *ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.



ously fawning to advance his own designs. Certainly he who after being an inveterate enemy lays hold of so slight an occasion of a sudden to become your counsellor, what is it that he would not take upon him? Where would his insolency stop, if once he could but see with his eyes, what now he only

new troubles to be raised by their countrymen embracing the popish ceremonies; scarcely recovered from that war, which for the sake of religion was kindled and blown up by the Spaniards, who supplied their enemies both with commanders and money. that the councils of the Spaniards are still contriving to continue the slaughter and destruction of the Piedmontois, which was cruelly put in execution the last year: that the protestants under the jurisdiction of the emperor are most grievously harassed, having much ado

hours, headed by the Spaniards; and lastly, that we ourselves are busied in a war proclaimed against the king of Spain. In this posture of affairs, if any of your lordships and the king of Sweden, how much more the union of all the reformed churches over all Europe, exposed to the cruelty and fury of unsanctified enemies? These cares not slightly seize us; and we hope your sentiments to be the same, and that out of your continued zeal for the common cause of the protestants, and to the end of the same faith, the same hope. We hope your lordships will accommodate your counsels to those considerations, which are to be preferred before all others, and that you will leave nothing neglected, that may conduce to the establishing tranquillity and union between your lordships and the king of Sweden. Wherein if we can any way be useful, as far as our authority, and the favour you bear us will sway with your lordships, we freely offer ourselves to be no less serviceable to your embassy, to the end we may declare our sentiments at large concerning these matters. We hope moreover, that God will bend your minds to moderate counsels, and so restrain your animosities, that no provocation may be given, either by the one or the other, to fester your differences to extremity: but that on the other side both parties will remove whatever may give offence or occasion of jealousy to the other. Which if you shall vouchsafe to do, you will disappoint your enemies, prove the consolation of your friends, and in the best manner provide for the welfare of your republic. And thus we beseech you to be fully convinced of, that we shall use our utmost care to make appear, upon all occasions, our extraordinary affection and goodwill to the states of the United Provinces. And so we most earnestly implore the Almighty God to perpetuate his blessings of peace, wealth, and liberty, upon your republic; but above

all things to preserve it always flourishing in the love of the christian faith, and the true worship of his name.

Your good friend,

From our palace at Westminster,  
Aug. 21, 1656.

OLIVER P.<sup>217</sup>

To reinforce this high- . . . the United Netherlands, he also addressed . . . the same vein:

*To the most Serene Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, etc.*

MOST SERENE KING, OUR DEAREST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE

Being assured of your majesty's concurrence both in thoughts and counsels for the defence of the protestant faith against the enemies of it, if ever, now at this time most dangerously vexatious, though we cannot but rejoice

of your victories, . . . joy; we mean the bad news intermixed . . . the ancient friendship between your majesty and the States of the United Provinces looks with a

avert, will be fatal to the interests of the protestants. . . . in respect . . . out of

to persuade your majesty to the same. The protestants have enemies every where enow and to spare, inflamed with inexorable revenge, they never were known to have conspired more perniciously to our destruction, witness the valleys of Piedmont, still reeking with the blood and slaughter of the miserable; witness Austria, lately turmoiled with the emperor's edicts and proscriptions; witness Switzerland. But to what purpose is it, in many words to call back the bitter lamentations and remembrance of so many calamities? Who so ignorant, as not to know, that the counsels of the Spaniards, and the Roman pontiff, for these two years have filled all these places with conflagrations, slaughter, and vexation of the orthodox? If to these mischiefs there should happen an access of dissensions . . . protestant brethren more especially between two potent states, upon whose strength, . . . orthitude, so far as human strength may be relied upon, the support and hopes of

<sup>217</sup> Sy-  
no. 75  
Delirum).

all the reformed churches depend, of necessity the protestant religion must be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of destruction. On the other side, if the whole protestant name would but observe perpetual peace among themselves with that same brotherly union as becomes their profession, there would be no occasion to fear, what all the artifices or puissance of our enemies could do to hurt us, which our fraternal concord and harmony alone would easily repel and frustrate. And therefore we most earnestly request and beseech your majesty, to harbour in your mind propitious thoughts of peace, and inclinations ready bent to repair the breaches of your pristine friendship with the United Provinces, if in any part it may have accidentally suffered the decays of mistakes or misconstruction. If there be any thing wherein our labour, our fidelity, and diligence may be useful toward this composure, we offer and devote all to your service. And may the God of Heaven favour and prosper your noble and pious resolutions, which together with all felicity, and a perpetual course of victory, we cordially wish to your majesty.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster,  
Aug [21], 1656

OLIVER P.<sup>218</sup>

Those letters were of the more importance in that the one to the States General was apparently to be carried by a special messenger, one Louis Rosin, "in his Highness' immediate service,"<sup>219</sup> whose delay Nieupoort requested until he could confer with Thurloe,<sup>220</sup> and in that the Protector had drawn up a paper for presentation to Nieupoort, demanding that punishment be inflicted on Dutch captains who were carrying munitions to the Spaniards and refused to have their vessels searched, fighting off the English who attempted it.<sup>221</sup> To this the States General replied that they would put the matter before their admiralty officials, ordering Nieupoort to advise Cromwell that each side should get information as to whether its captains had transgressed the treaty, and punish them accordingly.<sup>222</sup> On Friday, August 22, Cromwell seems to have had a long conference with Bonde, who went to take his leave, and kept Giavarina, who had been summoned for six o'clock, waiting for two hours.<sup>223</sup> The day before, Bonde had sent Cromwell the seven black horses which had been used by the Swedish embassy;<sup>224</sup> and on Saturday he received from the Protector Cromwell's portrait 'in a gold case as large as a

<sup>218</sup> S. P. Dom. (1656-7), p. 583), see also *ibid.*, p. 421, and Thurloe, v, 413.

<sup>220</sup> Nieupoort to Thurloe, Aug. 23, *ibid.*, pp. 343-44.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 358-61, probably the one a draft of which was read in Council Aug. 19 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 77).

<sup>222</sup> Thurloe, v, 378.

<sup>223</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 257.

<sup>224</sup>

52, *Cal. S. P.*

*Ven.* (1655-6), p. 260.

five-shilling piece,' surrounded by sixteen diamonds, four noble horses; and a hundred fine pieces of white cloth; the whole valued at some £4,000.<sup>225</sup> To the Swedish king the Protector sent at the same time ten splendid horses.<sup>226</sup> It appears, too, that about this time Cromwell wrote his son Richard,<sup>227</sup> possibly in connection with the fact that Richard had been chosen to Parliament both as knight of the shire for Southampton and as University member for Cambridge, which latter seat he took.<sup>228</sup>

The last week of August, the Council held its usual two meetings and voted to meet a third time on Friday, the 29th,<sup>229</sup> but on that day it was entertained by the Lord Mayor of London.<sup>230</sup> The Protector attended the Tuesday meeting,<sup>231</sup> at which Vane appeared with a paper containing his reasons for disapproving of the government.<sup>232</sup> Though that was the last day allowed him to speak, and though he apparently made no offer to give up his office, five days later was a warrant issued for his arrest. At the meeting held on Thursday, August 28, the Council ordered the Attorney General to draw up a proclamation in the Protector's name commanding all who had been in arms against the state to depart twenty miles from London and Westminster by September 20, and not to return for six months.<sup>233</sup> This was apparently a measure of precaution in view of the fact that on the 28th all members of the Council were ordered to leave "on account of the many weighty matters requiring despatch, by reason of the approaching Parliament."<sup>234</sup> Meanwhile, two days earlier, on Tuesday, August 26, various important matters had been taken up by the Protector. Sir William Vavasour was granted permission to levy 200 volunteers by beat of drum for Swedish service.<sup>235</sup> On that same afternoon Cromwell sent a letter to the Governor of Jamaica and instructed him to send directions to Ireland how best to avoid their interception by the enemy.<sup>236</sup> Additional instructions were sent to the Council in Ireland to secure the heads of the clans and such others as might be dangerous in connection with Spanish designs to raise rebel-

<sup>225</sup> Whitelocke, p. 650.

<sup>226</sup> *Cal S. P. Ven* (1655-6), p. 260.

<sup>227</sup> R. Cromwell to Thurloe, Aug. 23 (Thurloe, v, 341) indicates that "the postscript required speedy answer."

<sup>228</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 432, *Merc Pol*, Aug. 21-28.

<sup>229</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1656-7), pp. xv, 90.

<sup>230</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Aug. 25-Sept. 1.

<sup>231</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. xx.

<sup>232</sup> Ludlow, II, 16.

<sup>233</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. 91.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>236</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Aug. 26, Thurloe, v, 350.

lion there,<sup>307</sup> and Henry Cromwell was advised to the same effect on the same day. It appears, therefore, that the Spanish venture had repercussions nearer home than the Jamaica expedition, Blake's voyage, or even the difficulties in the Channel, seemed to indicate

*To the Lord Deputy and Council*

OLIVER P

Whereas we have daily intelligence that the old malignant party by confederacy with Spain are forming a design to invade this Common-

what concerns that nation, from whom they receive very great encouragement, amongst some other things which we have judged fit to be done at this time for preventing these designs and preserving the peace of the Commonwealth, we have thought it necessary that some chief persons of the Irish be secured,

shall judge to be dangerous and likely to be made use of in the aforesaid designs, and likewise that you consider how such persons may for the future be disposed of, either by sending them beyond the sea or otherwise, with regard had to any conditions or articles as have formerly been granted to them, whereby Ireland may be secured in some measure from those dangers and attempts, which it is continually subjected to from these men and their correspondencies<sup>308</sup>

Aug. 26

*To Lord Harry Cromwell*

SON HARRY,

We are informed, from several hands, that the old enemy are forming designs to invade Ireland, as well as other parts of the Commonwealth, and that he and Spain have very great correspondence with some chief men in that nation, for raising a sudden rebellion there.

of this kind, and to that end, that you contract the Garrisons in Ireland, as much as may be; and get a considerable marching army into the field, in two or three bodies, to be laid in the most proper and advantageous places for service, as occasion shall require. Taking also, in all other things, the best care you can to break and prevent the designs and combinations of the enemy;—and a very particular regard is to be had to the North, where, without question, busy and discontented persons are working towards new disturbances. I do not doubt but you will communicate these things to Colonel

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 348–49. There is also a reference of the Protector's ordering arrears of £300 to be paid to Edm. Buryman, shipmaster, besides the one-fifth allowed to discoverers (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656–7), p. 157, dated Aug. 30).

<sup>308</sup> *Dunlop*, II, 618–19.

Cowper, to the end he may be the more watchful and diligent in looking to his charge I rest, your loving father,

26th August, 1656

OLIVER P.<sup>220</sup>

The Mediterranean situation still caused a certain uneasiness. Though Blake and Montagu had taken some prizes and done a certain amount of damage, they had suffered much from storms and

for a blockade<sup>240</sup> To that the Protector now agreed; and took other steps to straighten out the situation with regard to Portugal. On August 27 letters patent were issued by him to constitute Maynard as consul to Portugal<sup>241</sup> On the next day he wrote Blake and Montagu to approve their decision as to the disposition of the fleet; and to this at the same time, or perhaps earlier, for there seems no way to fix the date, he added two letters to King John of Portugal and one to his chief minister, Francisco de Faro and Noronha, Count of Odemira:

*To Generals Blake and Montagu, at Sea*

GENTLEMEN,

We have received your letters of the 19th of June brought to us by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here the 11th of July.

By those letters, and by what Captain Lloyd related by word of mouth, which is not contradicted by any other intelligence received by other hands, we find that the Spaniard keeps his ports, and doth not yet prepare any considerable fleet to come to Sea, and that, in the condition you and they were then in, they were not to be attempted in their harbours. And as for any design upon Gibraltar, we see by General Montague's letter to the Secretary, that nothing therein was feasible without a good body of landmen So that, upon the whole, there remains nothing to be done in those seas for the present which should require the whole Fleet now with you to remain there, besides that the great ships cannot, without great danger, be kept out, the winter-time, upon that coast

any other intelligence received by other hands, we find that the Spaniard keeps his ports, and doth not yet prepare any considerable fleet to come to Sea, and that, in the condition you and they were then in, they were not to be attempted in their harbours. And as for any design upon Gibraltar, we see by General Montague's letter to the Secretary, that nothing therein was feasible without a good body of landmen So that, upon the whole, there remains nothing to be done in those seas for the present which should require the whole Fleet now with you to remain there, besides that the great ships cannot, without great danger, be kept out, the winter-time, upon that coast

Upon these grounds we are of opinion, with you, that a good squadron of frigates will, in this season, be sufficient to answer any opportunity of service which may present itself And therefore we have resolved that about the number of twenty ships, such as you shall judge most proper and fit for that

you should be both from the head of the fleet which remains behind, the manage-

<sup>220</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, CCXIII, from *Sloane MSS*, 4157, f. 209, [Now f. 88 Draft in *Thurloe*, v, 348.

<sup>241</sup> *Thurloe*, v, 374-75.

ment whereof being of so great consequence to the Commonwealth,—we would have General Blake to stay with the fleet, and General Montague to return with the squadron which comes home

For the service which these ships should be applied to, we need say nothing therein, but refer you to the former Instructions That which we believe the enemy will most intend will be the carrying-on his Trade of the West Indies, which if he can effectually do, he will not much care for what else is done upon him. And our intelligence is, that at this time he is fitting out some ships of war, and others, to send from Cadiz into those parts, the certainty whereof we suppose you may know. And therefore that which is most to be endeavoured is the spoiling him in that trade, by intercepting his fleets either going to or coming from those parts, and as much as may be to destroy his correspondencies thither It will be of great use also to prevent the coming of any materials for shipping, and other contraband goods into Cadiz or any of his ports which you can have an eye to; and, as much as may be, prejudice his trade and correspondence with Flanders

Besides these things, and what other damage you may have opportunity to do to the enemy, we, in our keeping the said fleet in those Seas, had an eye to the preservation of the trade of this Commonwealth in the Straits and to Portugal which we suppose could not be driven on without a very good countenance and strength, in respect the enemy would otherwise be able with a few ships to obstruct this trade wholly, and to take all that passed either to or from the one place or the other But our intention is not to reckon up every particular wherein this fleet may be useful, but only to let you know our

desire that the Lord be present with; and to guide him to that which may be for the good of this Commonwealth, and according to His own will.

These have been our thoughts, and the considerations we have had upon this affair If anything else doth occur to you different from what is here expressed, either as to the number of ships to remain in those seas, or the way and manner of weakening the enemy and managing the war against him, we

mean time we are not willing to tie you up positively to the number of twenty ships to remain on that coast, but give you a latitude to keep a lesser or greater number there, for answering the ends aforesaid, and as you shall find the occasion to require, which possibly may be very much varied since the last we had from you For

things which the fleet will admiralty have direction to write at large to you, unto whose Letters we refer you; and desire you and the whole fleet to rest assured that nothing shall be omitted to be done, here, for your supply and encouragement upon all occasions.

Your loving friend,

Whitehall

28 August, 1656.

OLIVER P.<sup>242</sup>

<sup>242</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, CCXIV, from Thurloe v, 363. Draft corrected by Thurloe, endorsed "Sent to Plymouth. To be sent to the Generals by Captain Hatsell." [Mrs. Lomas' note.]

*To the most Serene Prince, John, King of Portugal*

MOST SERENE KING,

We have received the unwelcome news of a wicked and inhuman attempt to have murdered our agent Philip Meadows, residing with your majesty, and by us sent upon the blessed errand of peace; the heinousness of which was such that his preservation is only to be attributed to the divine will and the protection of Heaven. And we are given to understand, by your letters dated the twenty sixth of May last, and delivered to us by Thomas Maynard, that your majesty, justly incensed at the horridness of the fact, has commanded inquiry to be made after the criminals, to the end they may be brought to condign punishment: but we do not hear that any of the ruffians are yet apprehended, or that your commands have wrought any effect in this particular. Wherefore we thought it our duty openly to declare, how deeply we resent this barbarous outrage in part attempted, and in part committed: and therefore we make it our request to your majesty, that due punishment may be inflicted upon the authors, associates, and encouragers of this abominable fact. And to the end that this may be the more speedily accomplished, we farther demand, that persons of honesty and sincerity, wellwishers to the peace of both nations, may be entrusted with the examination of this business, that so a due scrutiny may be made into the bottom of this malicious contrivance, to the end both authors and assistants may be the more severely punished. Unless this be done, neither your majesty's justice, nor the honour of this republic can be vindicated, neither can there be any stable assurance of peace between both nations. We wish all things fortunate and prosperous. From our palace at London, August —, 1656.

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*To the most Serene Prince, John, King of Portugal*

MOST SERENE PRINCE,

Upon the eleventh of July last, old style, we received by your majesty's letters, now confirmed by your majesty: and by our letters from Philip Meadows, our agent at Lisbon, dated the same time, we understand that our ratification also of the same peace and articles was by him according to our orders sent him, delivered to your majesty and thus the instruments of the forementioned ratification being mutually interchanged on both sides in the beginning of this month, we are fully satisfied that the peace between both nations believing it will prove to the common benefit of both nations, and to the no slight detriment of our common enemies, who as they found out a means to disturb the former league, so they left nothing neglected to have hindered the renewing of this. Nor do we think that they will omit any occasion of creating new jealousies between us.



Which we however have constantly determined, as much as in us lies, to remove at a remote distance from our thoughts, rather we so earnestly desire, day than . . . day than . . . any artifices endeavour to molest the friendship by this peace established between ourselves and both our people. And we readily persuade ourselves, that your majesty's thoughts and intentions are the same. And whereas it has pleased your majesty, by your letters dated the twenty fourth of June, and some days after the delivery by our agent of the interchanged instrument of confirmed peace, to mention certain clauses of the league, of which you desired some

to enter into a particular treaty in order to those proposals made by your majesty, or whatever else may conduce, in the judgment of both parties, to the further establishment and more strongly fastening of the league, where-

However, the league being now confirmed, and duly sealed with the seals of both nations, to alter any part of it would be the same thing as to annul the whole; which we are certainly assured your majesty by no means desires to do. We heartily wish all things lucky, all things prosperous to your majesty. From our palace at Westminster, Aug — 1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER P.<sup>44</sup>

*To the most illustrious Lord, the Conde d'Odemira*

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,

Your singular goodwill towards us and this republic has laid no mean obligation upon us, nor slightly tied us to acknowledgment. We readily perceived it by your letters of the twenty fifth of June last, as also by those which we received from our agent Philip Meadows, sent into Portugal to conclude the peace in agitation, wherein he informed us of your extraordinary zeal and diligence to promote the pacification, of which we most joyfully received the last ratification, and we persuade ourselves, that your lordship will have no cause to repent either of your pains and diligence in procuring this peace, or of your goodwill to the English, or your fidelity to the Portuguese, considering the great hopes to both nations, and not a little inconvenient to our enemies. The only accident that fell out unfortunate and mournful in this negotiation, was that unhallowed villainy nefariously attempted upon the person of our agent, Philip Meadows: the concealed authors of which intended piece of inhumanity ought no less diligently to be prosecuted, than the authors of any other crime so horrid, nor of your care and sedulity to see, that there be no remissness of prosecution, as being a person bearing due veneration to the

<sup>44</sup> Symmons, *Milton* iv, 411-12, *Columbia Milton*, no. 76.

laws of God, and sanctity among men, and no less zealous to maintain the peace between both nations, which never can subsist if such inhuman barbarities as these escape unpunished and unrevenged. But your abhorrence and detestation of the fact is so well known, that there is no need of insisting any more at present upon this subject. Therefore, having thus declared our goodwill and affection to your lordship, of which we shall be always ready to give apparent demonstrations, there nothing remains, but to implore the blessings of Divine Favour and Protection upon you, and all yours. From our palace at Westminster, Aug —, 1656.

Your lordship's most affectionate,

OLIVER P.<sup>245</sup>

Finally, after long delay, Giavarina was granted the audience which he had sought so long. His chief errand was to present to the Protector the letter from his government announcing the Venetian victory over the Turks, which, as he reported, was well received.

"His Highness fully appreciated the communication and asked me to convey his heartiest congratulations to your Excellencies and his assurances of regard for the Republic. He added that now the strength of the Turks was so attenuated it would be advisable for all the Christian powers to join forces with your Serenity to secure victories in every quarter, which would be certain with the Ottoman so weak." To this Giavarina suggested that it would be a "glorious and pious action . . . to join the Venetian fleet with a squadron of his ships, which are lying idly at anchor" but to this concrete suggestion the Protector demurred. "He replied that he had nothing more at heart. He needed no incitement, in view of the dangerous state of Christendom, the need for help and the miraculous resistance offered by your Serenity, but as things are now constituted he must regretfully allow his good will to serve instead of the deeds that are desirable in an affair of such moment. If his present ~~engagement~~ <sup>way the m</sup> deeds He added many other courteous words showing a most friendly disposition, but they will always be void of effect for reasons known to the public wisdom"<sup>246</sup>

The <sup>247</sup>ing the <sup>247</sup>the Turks on June 21, 1655,<sup>247</sup> had been returned to its English owners, stressing the desire of the Republic to gratify the Protector, but urging that orders should be given to English ships not to fly any other flag than that representing "religion and Christendom." To this the Protector again replied in like friendly, if empty, terms of friendship.

<sup>245</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 413-14, *Columbia Milton*, no. 78

<sup>246</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug 29/Sept 8, *Cal. S P Ven* (1655-6), pp. 257-58.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70

He expressed his appreciation of the generosity of the Republic. He as-

Possibly the Turks finding ships in the ports of their dominion waiting for cargo had forced them to enter their service. If it happened otherwise the captains would certainly deserve punishment, and he was ready to punish the master of the *Gran Principe* if it could be made clear in what manner he had entered the service of the Turks and consequently against Christendom. He repeated that this was very far from his intention and spoke at large of his esteem and regard for the Republic.<sup>248</sup>

Matters were now in train for the next great test of the Protectoral system. The members of the new Parliament had been chosen; the indentures were coming up to Westminster; the Protector and Council were busy making preparations for the new assembly; foreign affairs for the moment had been put in shape to present to the Parliament, and the Protector, no doubt, had considered what he would say to that body when it assembled. All was not, indeed, serene. It was the government a considerable Protectoral system had been chosen, and though it still remained in the hands of the Protector and the Council to determine which of them should be allowed to sit, there was naturally a certain apprehension as to the complexion of the House. Pamphleteering activities, especially those of Vane, had not been without their effect, and there was every indication that a number of the newly elected members were determined to bring their grievances before the assembly and so before the nation, as from various directions there came intimations that the electors were prepared to make their influence felt against the Protectoral system. It was, in fact, another turning-point in that system as those in power realized. It was, then, the government and people looked upon which depended, in some degree, the fate of the government; for while it was inconceivable that the Parliament, however hostile, could possibly overthrow the Protectoral system, it could, at least, make things extremely difficult for those in authority

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

## CHAPTER V

### THE EVE OF THE PARLIAMENT

SEPTEMBER 1-17, 1656

The interval between the elections and the assembling of Parliament had been peculiarly fertile in the field of foreign politics and letters to continental rulers. These diplomatic exchanges went hand in hand with preparations for the meeting of the new Parliament, of which reports began to come in from the commanders. Monk reported to Thurloe that of the "Scotchmen" whom he believed would be all right for my Lord Protector.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand Kelsey reported as to his district of Kent and Surrey that there were no Catholics, no Papists, no Jesuits, no Jesuitians and no Jesuites, besides showing objection to the major-generals. He recommended, therefore, demanding an Engagement from all those elected not to meddle with the Protector's consent.<sup>2</sup> It seems evident that the report that "Stables are preparing in Scotland Yard for the horse of the Lifeguard in order to the better security of his Highnesse person, which (through the malice of disaffected persons) is too much in danger,"<sup>3</sup> was another precaution taken in anticipation of possible disturbances in connection with the meeting of the Parliament.

This was emphasized by other measures of like nature. During the first week of September, on the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, Protector and Council were reported as keeping a solemn day of thanksgiving,<sup>4</sup> giving special consideration to the payment of the militia and ordering nine regiments recruited to 1,200 men each.<sup>5</sup> He also signed a circular letter to the major-generals ordering them to put into execution the laws regarding Popish recusants.<sup>6</sup> On Thursday the 4th, he approved nine certificates from the trustees for the

<sup>1</sup> Monk to Thurloe, Aug. 27, 1656.

<sup>2</sup> Kelsey to Cromwell, *Cal.*, Aug. 27, 1656, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 71. Cp. above, orders to Embree.

<sup>4</sup> Whitlocke, p. 650, *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 28-Sept. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), pp. 94-95.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. in Hist. Miss. Comm. Repts., Various Coll.*, i, 132 (*Wills MSS.*)

maintenance of ministers, uniting or severing various parishes,<sup>7</sup> and—perhaps in connection with Kelsey's letter—he issued a commission, in blank, for a quartermaster in a troop of horse, "raised and to be raised" in the county of Kent, of no great importance beyond the terms of the appointment, and the time and place of its issue:

*Commission for Quartermaster in a Troop of Horse*

OLIVER P

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging  
To Greeting We do hereby constitute you Quartermaster of that troop of Horse (whereof Captain) raised and to be raised under our command for the service of the Commonwealth in the County of Kent consisting of One Hundred [men]<sup>8</sup> You are therefore to make your present repair unto the same Troop and, taking charge thereof as Quartermaster, to exercise the inferior officers and soldiers of the said troop in arms and to use your best care and endeavours to keep them in good order and discipline, commanding them to obey you as their Quartermaster And you are likewise to observe and follow such order and directions as you shall from time to time receive from ourself or the Superior Officers of the said Troop and Army. Given at Whitehall the [first<sup>9</sup>] day of Septemb 1656<sup>9</sup>

To this minor document he added on September 4 a pass for a certain Henry or Anthony Walsh, who, as Thurloe noted, had "formerly given in a note of the names of such persons as are now in London, and send and receive intelligence to and from Flanders, Rome, France, and other parts, and the manner how the said persons do receive and distribute all their news, and other pranks in England, . . ."<sup>10</sup> Walsh was, in fact, a part of Thurloe's far-flung spy system, and he now had his reward.

*Pass*

By his Highness the Lord Protector *etc.*

The bearer Mr Henry *alias* Anthony Walshe being about to transport himself to Ireland about his occasions there, these are therefore to require you, to permit and suffer him with his necessities freely to pass thither, and there to travel and live in any part of that country with his horse, and man, and necessities, freely . . . time to time, without any . . . in his body or goods, we being sufficiently satisfied of his honesty and good affection towards the present government

Whitehall, the 4th of Sept, 1656.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cal S P Dom (1656-7), pp. 96-97.

<sup>8</sup> Facs in Maggs Bros. Catalogue no. 210 (1905), p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Thurloe, v, 380-81.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381.

The preparations for the meeting of Parliament with respect to the arrangements for the troops. For this purpose the Protector used the regiment of Pride, which, after service in Scotland, had been brought back to Kent in the preceding autumn and whose commander had already testified his fitness for such work. Colonel Pride had been knighted in January, 1656, had made enough money as a contractor for victualling the navy to buy Nonsuch House; had become high sheriff of Surrey and in March, 1656, had been appointed one of the commissioners for the peace of London.<sup>12</sup> It was therefore the colonel and men who eight years earlier had purged Parliament of its Presbyterian members should now be called upon to "protect" this new assembly. In any event the Council advised the Protector to issue a warrant to the Treasury Commissioners to pay the Treasurers at War £1,074/7/8 for a month's pay for Sir Thomas Pride's regiment "to equal them with the rest of the foot regiments in and about London."<sup>13</sup> This was reinforced on September 6 by the appearance of the Protector's proclamation commanding "all persons who have been in arms, or assisted in the wars against the State to depart out of the cities of London and Westminster, and late lines of communication on or before Sept. 12."<sup>14</sup> From these various scattered pieces of information, orders, proclamations and warrants, it is possible to reconstruct the picture of the Protector and his advisers girding themselves to meet any possible threat at the meeting of the Parliament, at the same time making every effort to secure "safe" men as members of that assembly. Then, as always, they relied upon the armed forces at their command, and nothing gives a better indication of the Protectoral system, its dependence on the army, and the attitude of the rest of the country to it, than these elaborate arrangements to meet what it realized was one of the most dangerous events in its career. They knew well enough that the meeting of Parliament was more dangerous still in view of the opposition to the Protectoral system and especially to the major-generals, which had been accumulating during the preceding months. Nothing was omitted to rouse the feelings of the army, and on this same 6th of September the Protector addressed the officers at Whitehall, explaining the situation to them in a speech which, even in the abbreviated note which remains of it, summed up the danger in which he and they stood.

<sup>12</sup> Firth-Davies, pp. 359ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 101. Approved by H. H. Order to Blackwell and Deane Sept. 10 (*5th Rept. Dep. Keeper Pub. Rec.*, App. 2, p. 257).

<sup>14</sup> Crawford, I, 371, no. 3074, Italian trans. in *Atti della Soc. Ligur di Storia Patria*, xvi, 374-76. Warrant P. R. O., I, 77, 930.

*Speech to the Officers at Whitehall, Sept. 6*

[substance only]

His Highness hinted to us the cause of our now meeting, which was, that Charles Stuart had 8,000 men in Flanders ready to ship, and had writ to his  
 " . . . to . . . with . . . of . . ."  
 him, and that many here would join with him, as also how the Fifth-Monarchy men and others did endeavour to roll us into blood; . . .<sup>15</sup>

The meeting he addressed was apparently composed of "a field officer . . . out of every regiment to advise about military affairs, which occasions a flying report that the regimentes are to bee recruited to their former number,"<sup>16</sup> a report which seemed to have a certain confirmation in the orders sent to the nine regiments a few days earlier. There was some nervousness about the men being then enlisted nominally for Swedish service, Barkstead pointing out the danger and citing the case of 1647-8, when troops were raised ostensibly for Venice and Spain<sup>17</sup>—and, had he chosen, which he did not, he might have gone farther back to the raising of soldiers by Parliament under guise of service in Ireland in 1641-2. His warning came too late, for three or four thousand had already been enlisted; though in view of the forces concentrated about London there seemed little danger from such small unorganized, undisciplined and presumably unarmed bodies as these volunteers. None the less the major-generals' letters revealed a certain uneasiness despite the absence of serious troubles during the election.<sup>18</sup> It does not appear that the Protector was particularly disturbed, nor, so long as he controlled the army, had he much reason to be afraid of what was said of him. None the less, though he is reported to have said that "if his government could stand one shot, it was not worthy of presents  
 " . . .  
 its predecessor, had been at some pains to suppress any reflections upon it, whether by word of mouth or by the printed page.

Perhaps the best summary of the situation as it appeared to a contemporary and disinterested observer came from the pen of the shrewd Venetian, Giavarina

"Everyone at court," he wrote at the beginning of September, "is eagerly awaiting the opening of parliament to see what this very remarkable assembly

<sup>15</sup> Stainer, no. 33, from Ralph Knight's report to Monk, Sep. 6, pr. in *Clarke Papers*, III, 71-72.

<sup>16</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 71.

<sup>17</sup> Barkstead to Thurloe, Sept. 1, Thurloe, v, 372.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 384-409.

<sup>19</sup> Thomas Burton, *Diary*, (ed. Rutt, L., 1828), I, clxiv.

will do. Some say it will be entirely devoted to the Protector, others fortell the contrary and the opinion is growing that the members will change their intentions when they are assembled together, putting aside their private

of the autocrat. As his Highness wishes the assembly to be composed entirely of his partisans and supporters he tries to captivate some who are less inclined to him by blandishment and flattery, entertaining them at sumptuous banquets and heaping infinite courtesies on them, to win them for his side.

But in spite of all his efforts to control this assembly and render it com-

something unexpected may suddenly crop up, since he cannot look into the

major generals, . . .

announced that they great designs against this state. But really they are for the protection of his own person, which he considers in no small peril with the coming session of parliament,

of his cause. But unless there is some dissension among the troops, who form the support of the Protector, he has nothing to fear. . . ."<sup>20</sup>

To this Giavarina added that a plot had been discovered in Ireland and many a comparisor . . . government in the preceding weeks that Gavarina was not wide of the mark. In fact on the day he wrote—September 5—the Council suspended the granting of passes for a fortnight, as he wrote in his next letter.<sup>21</sup> It was true enough that Charles II had summoned Englishmen serving abroad to his standard and had enlisted a few hundred under Middleton, Ormonde and the Duke of Gloucester, but he had not a fraction of the forces of which Cromwell had made so much in his speech to the officers. By Christmas, indeed, he seems to have had some 2,000, and with the 6,000 promised him by Spain—if they ever arrived—he might, indeed, have reached Cromwell's figures;<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 5/15, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1655-6), p. 261.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 100.

<sup>22</sup> Cp. Firth, *Last Years*, I, 25-26.





Two days after he had written this letter the States General replied to his letter. The Dutch had been very anxious to conclude a treaty with the Protector, but they had been unable to do so. In regard to tolls and other matters, the Dutch had been very liberal, but the Protector had been very strict. In regard to the treaty upon both parties, it is not probable that the agreement now signed was due to his influence or perhaps entirely in accord with his desires. Denmark's effort to persuade the States General to join her against Sweden had come too late,<sup>29</sup> or had been ineffective even had it come in time. In any event the Dutch had persuaded the Swedes to grant them the privileges in Danzig, which Cromwell had urged on Bonde and Charles X Gustavus, and it may be that the Protector's intervention may have had some weight in that respect at least. It is

ing on war in a distant land across the Baltic, made him disinclined to add the Dutch to the number of his enemies, especially in view of their naval strength and the more than dubious attitude of Denmark, which, joined with the Dutch, might conceivably seriously threaten his lines of communication.

The French were less fortunate in their dealings with the Protector at this moment, and their envoy, Bordeaux, was much disturbed at the coldness of his reception. As he wrote, he finally was received,

after having waited sixteen days for the audience which he gave me this evening [Sept. 12/22]. My reception at Whitehall does not in the least change the opinion which I had that this extraordinary remissness arises from some discontent. Contrary to custom, I was kept in a room for a time before being admitted to the audience. No minister of the Council received me nor ac-

Protector take as interpreter the Master of Ceremonies, who is suspected of

good will and assuring him that although his Majesty would not take advantage of it for the present campaign, he considers himself not less obliged to give him [Cromwell], on all occasions, indications of his consideration and his affection. I then requested of him the continuation of his good will which was shown during our defeat, and asked him to grant the levy of infantry which his Majesty will need for the next campaign, repeating to him that the strength of our troops alone was capable of making Spain give up the thought of supporting the enterprises which the king of Scotland could form with regard to England, the union of the forces of the Emperor with those of Spain in the defence of the treaty of Munster and to the prejudice of them both

<sup>27</sup> Intelligence, Hague, Sept. 13/23, Thurloe, v, 413.

<sup>28</sup> Intelligence, Hague, Sept. 13/23, Thurloe, v, 413.

<sup>29</sup> Intelligence, Hague, Sept. 13/23, Thurloe, v, 413.



in government and of great damage to the State and very unpleasant for the ambassadors.<sup>22</sup>

In view of all this, it is apparent that the Protector needed at least some good news, and, as it happened, some was then in the making, though it did not reach England in time for the meeting of the Parliament. On September 9, while Blake and Montagu were on their way to Lisbon, as Montagu advised Thurloe, Captain Stayner, with three ships, met with a part of the Plate fleet, some seven vessels besides a Portuguese ship which had been taken as prize en route. One galleon was burned, the other taken, with one of the merchantmen; one was sunk; another chased ashore; and only two escaped. "The Lord," as Montagu wrote as soon as he heard of it, "hath beene pleased to afford an occasion of writinge to you sooner then I thought off, . . . in bringinge this about for us in soe seasonable a tyme (as I doubt not you will experiment [experience?] in England)."<sup>23</sup> It would have been even more fortunate had the event occurred earlier, but as it was, it was a peculiarly happy circumstance for the Protector. Edmund Waller, who had been implicated in a plot against the old Long Parliament to seize the City for the King a dozen years before, and had his life spared, it was said, by Cromwell's intervention, presently repaid that clemency with no very gifted verse:

Others may use the ocean as their road,  
Only the English make it their abode,  
Whose ready sails with ev'ry wind can fly,  
And make a cov'nant with th' inconstant sky,

With these returns victorious Montagu  
With laurels in his hand, and half Peru  
Let the brave generals divide that bough,  
Our great Protector hath such wreaths enough

Let the rich ore forthwith be melted down,  
And the state fix'd by making him a crown.  
With ermine clad, and purple, let him hold  
A royal sceptre, made of Spanish gold.<sup>24</sup>

This exploit of Stayner's—which raised him to the rank of rear-admiral—was a promising beginning of the effort to intercept the Spanish fleet. According to his own report, it was far from being the "half Peru" which Waller estimated. Its chief prize was some seven or eight hundred bars of silver, or, as Stayner guessed, some sixteen

<sup>22</sup> Nieupoort to de Witt, Sept. 12/22, De Witt, *Brieven*, III, 278-79.

<sup>23</sup> Montagu to Thurloe, Sept. 10/22, Thurloe, I, 133.

<sup>24</sup> Waller, *Works*, II, 32.

tons,<sup>35</sup> and though that amount probably fell short of the expenses of Blake's expedition it was the first encouraging result of that venture. It was accompanied by reports from the Admiralty commissioners that provision for the southern fleet had been arranged for, but that seasonal storms would endanger the ships before Dunkirk.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, Monk wrote Thurloe that he had followed the Protector's orders to prepare for a rising, but that he needed the regiment just called away—presumably Brayne's—and requested that the Protector send new councillors immediately, there being no one left but himself and Samuel Desborough.<sup>37</sup>

All the precautions which the Protector and his Council took as evidenced by their orders, and by Giavarina's information, were due largely to the unrivalled spy service controlled by Thurloe, and to the treachery of some men professedly on the other side. In Wildman, Thurloe had access to the plans of the Levellers; and in the summer of 1656, as nearly as can be determined, he had secured the services of Sir Richard Willis, sometime royal governor of Newark and more recently implicated in the plot of 1655.<sup>38</sup> With such information at his command, and with that from many lesser men, the Protector could feel reasonably safe from any general rising, and, as Giavarina and the Council orders testified, he was as well guarded as was possible for any man in his position to be. Yet it was evident that the government was anxious. Apparently in preparation for the coming Parliament, the Council met seven times in the second week of September, with the Protector present at several meetings.<sup>39</sup> The most important business—which reveals their state of mind—seems to have been with the armed forces. On September 8 the Protector issued a commission to Colonel John James as governor of Worcester.<sup>40</sup> With the Protector present and with his approval, the Council ordered Colonel John Mill's foot regiment of 1,200 men to be made up to ten companies,<sup>41</sup> Kelsey and the governor of Windsor Castle to complete the regiment's complement of 1,200 men, besides officers, 112 privates, 100 musketeers, 100 pikemen, 100 halberdiers, the muster-master, and paid by the Army Committee.<sup>42</sup> On September 9 it was ordered

<sup>35</sup> Stayner to Blake and Montagu, Sept. 14/24, Powell, *Blake*, pp. 450-52.

<sup>36</sup> Thurloe, v, 397.

<sup>37</sup> Monk to Thurloe, Sept. 14/24, Powell, *Monk*, p. 100. Samuel Desborough's brother who was a member of the Council of State, and was also a member of the Seal of Scotland.

<sup>38</sup> Cp. Firth, *Last Years*, I, 28ff.

<sup>39</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. xx.

<sup>40</sup> *Cal.* in James, *Cal. of Western Mss. in Library of Trinity Coll., Camb.*, II, 168, no. 686.

<sup>41</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 105. Mill replaced Ingoldsby as colonel, the regiment was stationed in London (Firth-Davies, p. 382).

<sup>42</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 105.

in addition that his Highness be advised to grant commissions for raising and enlisting militia to the number of some 8,000 men, and issue a warrant for building a fort at Dungeness.<sup>44</sup> Of the numerous commissions which were doubtless issued in connection with this very considerable increase in the armed forces, two have survived, which are characteristic of the rank, circumstances and duties of their recipients:

*Commission to Samuel Budley*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Common Wealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to Samuel Budley Greeting. We doe hereby constitute and appointe you Ensigne of that Company of Foote

such  
Our Towne of Dartmouth raised and to be raised under Our Command for the service of the Common Wealth You are therefore to make yor present repaire unto the same Company and takeing Charge thereof as Ensigne duely to exercise the inferior Officers and Souldiers of the said Company in Armes and to use yor best Care and endeavor to keepe them in good Order and discipline Commanding them to obey you as theire Ensigne And you are likewise to observe and follow such Orders and direccions as you shall from time to time receive from Our Selve or the Superior Officers of the Army or of the said Company according to the discipline of Warr

Given at White Hall  
the 13th day of Septemb<sup>r</sup> 1656

OLIVER P.<sup>44</sup>

*Commission to Lt. Col. Browne*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Common Wealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging, To Lieu<sup>t</sup> Collonell John Browne Greeting, We doe hereby constitute and appoint you Lieu<sup>t</sup> Collonell of that Regim<sup>t</sup> of Foote whereof Collonell S<sup>r</sup> George Fleetwood is Collonell raised and to be raised under Our Command for the service of the Common Wealth and also Captaine of a Company of Foote in the same Regim<sup>t</sup>. You

and Regiment in Armes and to use yor best care and endeavor to keepe them in good Order and discipline Commanding them respectivly to obey you as theire Captaine and Lieu<sup>t</sup> Collonell And you are likewise to observe and

the Isle of Wight, 1,000 foot each  
Hertford, North-  
and the Isle of Fly  
Somerset, Devonshire  
and Essex.

<sup>44</sup> *Rawl. Mss.* A289, f 17, original on parchment with seal of arms

Given att White Hall  
the 13th day of September 1656.

OLIVER P.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to these measures, some thirty Royalists, who were suspected of being ready to seize some garrison for Charles, were arrested, among them Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Robert Shirley, Lord Lufton, John Ashburnham, and Colonels John Russell, Charles Goring, Brough and Mayern,<sup>46</sup> with others, all or nearly all, apparently, of the old royal army. Every effort was made, in fact, to meet any possible disturbance or invasion. Colonel Packer wrote to recommend Colonel Coxé, sometime in command of a foot regiment in the New Model but retired, as a fit person for colonel of the new regiment to be raised in Buckinghamshire, saying there were enough arms and men for the proposed regiment already secured.<sup>47</sup> Some anonymous informer desired to tell what he knew against Charles II's correspondent, William Howard, sometime a member of Cromwell's life-guard and a leading Leveller, but insisted he must see Cromwell personally to give his information.<sup>48</sup> Ireland, as Giavarina had written to his government, was still regarded as a danger-point, for the Protector objected to the chief officers, especially Colonel Cooper and Sir John Reynolds, leaving their posts to come to England, when a rising seemed imminent.<sup>49</sup> Besides these remnants of information regarding this critical period of the Council's activity, there are a few minor matters with which the Protector was concerned on the eve of the meeting of Parliament. William Steele, about to leave to take up his new post as Lord Chancellor in Ireland, intended to wait on the Protector on Thursday, the 11th, to surrender his old commission and take up his new one.<sup>50</sup> On the 8th he granted a place as teller of the Exchequer to George Downing,<sup>51</sup> and letters patent granting a fortnightly fair at Seaton, Yorkshire, to Sir Thomas Osborne,<sup>52</sup> and on the 12th he issued a new charter for Salisbury.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, D924, f. 213, original, on parchment, with seal of arms.

<sup>47</sup> Ch Baines to Abr Smith, Sept. 12, Thurloe, v, 407, *Merc Pol*, Sept. 11-18. Some of the others were Sir Robt. Welsh, Sir Luke Fitzgerald, Chris Musgrave, Jos. Naylor.

<sup>48</sup> Packer to Cromwell, Sept. 12, Thurloe, v, 409. Coxé was influential in Herts.

<sup>49</sup> Letter Sept. 9 *ibid.* n. 100. Howard later testified against Algernon Sidney and

398.

<sup>50</sup> Steele to Thurloe, Sept. 11, *ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>51</sup> *Add. Merc. Pol.* (Stanton) and *Parl. Hist.* (Stanton) v, 260, and in *Ayo. Cp.*

182.

<sup>52</sup> *Parl. Hist.* (Stanton) v, 260, and in *Ayo. Cp.* *hæcologia*, xxxviii (1860), 82. (*Leeds Mss.*).

<sup>53</sup> Printed in *Lancaster Miscellany*, xi, 163ff.

All these matters yielded in importance to the impending meeting of Parliament. It was small wonder that, in view of this event, Bordeaux had found difficulty in securing an audience with the Protector; and it is still less wonder that such stress had been laid upon the Royalist plot and the plan for Spanish aid in an invasion. It is impossible to determine at this distance—it might well have been impossible to discover even at that time—how real that danger was and how much it had been used by the administration for the Protectoral system; for foreign invasion, land, Ireland or the Continent, had been the most effective means of rallying the nation to its side, and there is some reason to think that the reports now spread abroad were, at least, much exaggerated.<sup>54</sup> In any event no steps were omitted to meet such a situation if it should arise. Parliament was called to meet on Wednesday, September 17; and in preparation for that event the Council met once on Monday and twice on Tuesday,<sup>55</sup> though the Protector was absent from all three meetings, and was probably busy preparing his address to the members. On Tuesday the Council requested him to grant a commis-

that, he took occasion to knight the Lord Mayor of London, Alderman John Dethick, and George Fleetwood on Monday.<sup>57</sup> On Tuesday he ordered the Irish Council to consider the case of Henry, Viscount Moore, whom he had already befriended.<sup>58</sup> Seats were provided in Westminster Abbey for his Highness and the Council to hear the sermon there. A raised dais, set off by rails from the body of the room, was built in the Painted Chamber for the Protector, and benches provided for the members of the Parliament.<sup>59</sup> They were now all, or nearly all, in London, and it is not improbable that Cromwell had been in communication with some of them as a prelude to their meeting.

It was an interesting body which had been chosen for this important meeting, and not the least interesting fact about it—apart from the presence of the hand-picked members from Scotland and Ireland—was the fact that no attempt had been made to change the represent-

<sup>54</sup> In spite of the activities of Sexby and promises from Spain, there was no money to be had, there was a quarrel between Charles and Cromwell, and though Cromwell assembled a few troops, there was no money to pay them. The court indicates that it was not only bankrupt but in despair.

<sup>55</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. xx, 111.

<sup>56</sup> Thurloe, v, 424.

<sup>57</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, xxi, 221. Cp. *supra*, commission to Lt.-Col. Browne.

<sup>58</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Sept. 15-22, cp. R. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts* (L., 1909), II, 223-24.

<sup>59</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 110.



ative system in England and Wales as established by the *Instrument of Government*. The county, city, borough, and even the university electorates had been undisturbed, so that, on the face of things, the parliamentary arrangements gave no evidence of any changes in the old order. But behind this there had been made to secure a profound alteration in the representative system. Care had been made to secure members who would be favorable to the Protector. The influence of the Council, of the Protectoral officials, of the major-generals, the commissioners, and of the army in general, as well as of well-affected local dignitaries, had been exerted to that end.<sup>60</sup> The representatives of Scotland and Ireland were almost openly selected by the English officers and officials there and provided a substantial block of votes which could be relied on to support the government. None the less there was much question as to many of the men now chosen, and it would appear that, among the other activities of the authorities in the days preceding, they had taken pains to go over the list of the new members with a view to excluding those who might make trouble for the administration on the floor of the House. It would appear that when the indentures came in, they were sent to the Council to be inspected, and that body returned the indentures to the Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery with instructions that, in accordance with the provisions of the *Instrument of Government* and the practice of the election of 1654, "he should deliver tickets to all such persons, and such only, as, being returned to serve in Parliament, should be certified unto him, from the Council, as persons by them approved."<sup>61</sup> It would appear that virtually all of the 460 members authorized by the *Instrument* had been chosen, and it is interesting to note that of those only eight had been members of the Barebones Parliament, while some 230 had sat in the Parliament of 1654, and some 181 had not sat in either of the previous Cromwellian Parliaments. Thus, though Kelsey's suggestion that some form of Engagement be entered into by the new members pledging support to the government was not adopted, no one was to be permitted to sit who was not acceptable to Protector and Council. It is no less interesting to note that whereas at his first meeting with Parliament he had stood on the floor with them, at his second he stood on a dais, and now on a dais separated from the members by a railing.

All preparations having been made for this great event, the Protector set out from Whitehall, "escorted by all his guards, horse and

<sup>60</sup> It is suggested that Cromwell's selection of members was influenced by the fact that he had been a member of the Barebones Parliament. See *Journal of the Proceedings of the Council of State*, p. 646.

<sup>61</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 425 (Sept. 19).

foot, by all the gentlemen and others of his court and by his Council also."<sup>62</sup> As usual the whole proceeding had a strong military flavor. The procession was led by some three hundred officers, and soldiers lined the streets. The Protector rode in his coach with Lambert, and the imposing spectacle made a profound impression on the crowds which came to see it, and on no one more than on the Genoese envoy who described it at great length and much minuteness to his government.<sup>63</sup> Meanwhile the newly-elected members assembled in the Abbey, where, about ten o'clock, Cromwell's favorite chaplain and

Christchurch and Vice-Chancellor, after published as *God's Work in founding Zion and the People's Duty thereupon*.<sup>64</sup> However much he and his hearers might have resented the comparison, with the parts reversed it bore a certain resemblance to earlier efforts of Anglican divines to demonstrate that kingship was of divine origin, and that God having spoken, it was the people's duty to obey His chosen representative. This over, the Protector and his following, with the newly-elected members, made their way to the Painted Chamber. It has been said of Cromwell as a dictator, but certainly to the men of his generation, even to many who had followed him in war and peace, he revealed all the evidences of being what was then called not a "dictator" but a "tyrant," and most of all, perhaps, to those more or less dispassionate observers, the foreign representatives at his court, and that impression was heightened by the military display on this as on other occasions.

This done, with the elected members, he went to some outsiders—some for two hours; to others, three. It is perhaps no wonder that they were long. It was long. He was about two-thirds through, and went on speaking for nearly an hour more. It was verbose, dogmatic, repetitious, even at times dull. It recounted the reasons for war with Spain, which had been set forth already in the *Declaration* on that subject, and which were, in brief, that Spain was a Roman Catholic country which denied Englishmen the right of trade and religion in her territories, was dominated by the Papacy, and was now aiding Charles II. He enlarged on the plots against his government, that of 1655 and the more recent developments, not omitting notice of Sexby's activities and the fact that

<sup>62</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 19/29, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 256.

<sup>63</sup> Bernardi's despatch, Sept. 19/29, *Atti della Soc. Ligure*, xvi, 377.

<sup>64</sup> Firth, *Last Years*, i, 3.

the Presbyterians. He congratulated himself and his hearers on the church organization which had been set up, and spoke of freedom of conscience—to Independents and Presbyterians. He not merely defended but commended highly the establishment of major-generals, not forgetting to hint that they cost the government nothing, the expense being borne by those they were set to watch. He invited an investigation of Protectoral finances, comparing them with those of the old monarchy in figures which must have seemed surprising to those most in touch with them—and which, in fact, he himself contradicted in a later speech.<sup>66</sup> And throughout, especially as he neared the end of his discourse, he indulged, as usual, in religious exhortation, and—again as usual—drew his peroration from Scriptural sources, in this case from the 85th Psalm:

*Speech at the opening of Parliament, Wednesday, Sept. 17, 1656*

GENTLEMEN,

When I came hither, I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me to say something to myself, because (this being a very extraordinary assembly) very many things to say to you, but truly now, seeing you in such a condition as you are, I think I must turn off in this, as I have done, and certainly not being able to say more to them nor to the things that I have to say to speak Things, the dispensations of God that are upon us do require it. And that subject upon which we shall make our discourse is somewhat of very great interest and concernment both to the glory of God and with reference to His interest in the world. I have to say to you, that the interest And that will be to you, which is the concernment of the living people within these three nations, with all the dependencies thereupon. I told you I should speak to things, things that concern these interests, the glory of God and His peculiar interest in the world, which is more extensive, I say, more extensive than the people of all these three nations, with the appurtenances or the countries and places belonging unto them.

The first thing therefore that I shall speak to, is that that is the first lesson of Nature, which is Being and Preservation,—as to that of Being, I do think I do not ill style it the first consideration that Nature teacheth the sons of Adam,—and then I hope we shall enter into a field large enough when we come to consider that [of] Well-being, and if that first be not well laid, I think the rest will hardly follow. Now in order to this, to the Being and Subsistence of these nations with all the dependencies, the conservation of that is either with a respect to be had to them that seek to undo it, and so make it not to be, and then with a very natural consideration to what will make it to be, will keep its being and subsistence

<sup>66</sup> April 21, 1657, see *infra*.

That which plainly seeks the destruction of the Being of this nation, is out of the ordinary order of all the common actions of the world. I think that hath made them so. I think they are all the wicked men of the world, whether abroad or at home, that are the enemies to the very Being of this nation, and that they are more eminently so, as not mutually patronized and professed.

prosperity of these nations, against the very Being of them. But we shall not, I think, take up much time in contemplating who these enemies are, what they are in the general notion, but to labour to specificate our enemies, to know who they be and are, that seek the very destruction and Being of these nations.

And truly I would not have laid this foundation but to this end, that I might very particularly communicate with you, for which end you are called hither at this time, that I might particularly communicate with you of the many dangers that this nation stands in, in respect of enemies both abroad and at home; and also to advise with you how to obviate these dangers, which, say I, (and I shall leave it to you whether you will join with me or no,) strike at the very Being and interest of these nations, nations in the general, especially at the interest of the people of God in these nations. And therefore that I may be particular, I shall shortly represent to you the estate of your affairs in that respect in respect of the enemies you are engaged with, and how you came to be engaged with those enemies, and how they

Will be your enemy. He is a natural enemy, he is naturally so. He is naturally so, throughout, as I said before, throughout all your enemies, through that enmity that is in him against all that is of God that is in you, or that which may be in you, contrary to that that his blindness and darkness, led on by superstition and the implicitness of his faith in submitting to the See of Rome, acts him unto. With this King and State, we put you into this hostility.

We are ready to excuse most of our actions,—aye and to justify them as well as to excuse them,—upon the grounds of necessity. The grounds of necessity being above all considerations of justification, of instituted Law. And if this or any other State would go about,—as I know they never will,—to make laws against what may happen, against Providence, I think it is obvious to any man that they will make Laws against all events, events and issues of things being from God alone, to whom all issues belong.

This State is your enemy, and is your enemy, as I told you, naturally, by that antipathy that is in him providentially, and that in divers respects. You could not, you could not have an honest nor an honourable peace with him. It was sought by the Long Parliament, it was not attained, it could not be attained with honour and honesty. I say, it could not be attained with honour and honesty. And truly when I say that he is naturally throughout an enemy, an enmity is put into him by God. *I will put an enmity between thy*

*seed and her seed,*<sup>68</sup> which goes but for little among statesmen, but it is more considerable [than] all things. And he that considers not the providential and accidental enmity, I think he is not well acquainted with Scripture and the things of God. And he is not only so upon that account but he is providentially so, God having in his wisdom disposed it to be so when we made a breach with him, when . . . you when.

No sooner did this r . . . rthly the Re . . .

by all unworthy, unnatural means, to destroy that person, and to seek the ruin and destruction of these kingdoms. And for me to instance in particular upon that account were to trouble you at a very unseasonable time. There is a Declaration extant, which very fully hath in it the original of the Spaniard's venting him upon this nation, and a series of it, from those very grounds, to this present day. But it was so, partly upon that general account which all have agreed, the French, all the Protestants in Germany, have agreed that his design was the empire of the whole Christian world, if not more. And upon that ground he looks at this nation as his greatest obstacle. And what his attempts were to that end, I refer you to that Declaration and to the observations of men who read history. It would not be ill to remember the several assassinations designed upon that lady, that great Queen, the attempts upon Ireland, their invading it, the designs of the same nature upon this nation,—public designs, private designs, all manner of designs to accomplish this great and general end . . . K . . . peace, but whether this nation, or a . . . tians, suffered not more by that peace, than ever by his hostility, I refer it to your consideration.

So that a State that you can neither have peace with, nor reason from, is that State with whom you have enmity at this time and against whom you are engaged. And give me leave to say thus unto you, because it is truth and most men know it, that the Long Parliament did endeavour but could not obtain satisfaction all the time they sat. For their messenger was murdered, and when they asked satisfaction for the blood of your poor people unjustly shed in the West Indies, and for the wrongs done elsewhere, when they asked liberty of conscience for your people that traded thither, satisfaction would not be given but denied . . . your messenger that . . . ages that were done in the West Indies. No satisfaction at all, nor any reason given why there should not be liberty given to your people that traded thither, whose trade was very considerable there and drew many of your people thither. And . . . whether in you or no, let God judge be . . . ot, but all of us know that the people that [went] thither, to manage the trade there, were imprisoned there. We desired such a liberty as they might keep Bibles in their pockets, to exercise their liberty of religion to themselves and not to be under restraint. But there is not liberty of conscience to be had, neither satisfaction for injuries, nor for blood, but when these things were desired, the Ambassa-

<sup>68</sup> Gen. III. 15

dor told us it was to ask his master's two eyes. To ask both his eyes to ask these things of him!

Now if thus be so, why truly then there is some little foundation laid to

we have not to do with any Popish State except France, and that it is true that they do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope, but think themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations with whom they are  
And

grounds In the time when Philip the Second was married to Queen Mary, and since that time, through that power and instigation, twenty thousand Protestants were massacred in Ireland

thought it our duty to get that  
And this hath been the spirit of Englishmen; and if so, certain it is and ought to be the spirits of men that have higher spirits.  
powerful State, though

all other Christian States, you are at peace And [thus in spite of] all those engagements that were upon you before the government were undertaken, which was war with France, Denmark, and upon the matter war with Spain I could instance how it was said, we will have a war in the Indies, though we fight them not at home I say we are at peace with all other nations, and have only a war with Spain I shall say somewhat to you, that will let you see our clearness to that, by-and-by

Having thus engaged with Spain, it is that party that brings all your enemies before you, it doth For it is so now that Spain hath espoused that interest that you have all along hitherto been conflicting with, Charles Stuart's interest. And I would but meet that [gentleman] upon a fair discourse that is willing that that person should come back again, but I dare not believe any in this room is I say it doth not detract at all from your cause, nor yet from your ability to make resistance, that God by his providence hath so disposed that the King of Spain hath espoused that person I say no person but would be wonderfully well satisfied that it is not for the [advantage] of that person, and choosing out, (as was said to-day,) a captain to lead us back again into Egypt, if there be such a place,—I mean metaphorically and allegorically so,—that is to say, returning to all those things that we think we have been fighting against and destroying of all that good, (we have had some hints to-day,) we have attained unto. I am sure my speech will signify very little if such grounds go not for good And I must say this to you, that there is not a man in England that is apt to comply with Papists and Cava-

liers, but to them it is the greatest parable and absurdest discourse. And therefore we could wish they were all where Charles Stuart is, all that declare that they are of that spirit. I do with all my heart, and I would help them to a boat to carry them over that sea of that mind. Yea, and if you shall think it a duty to drive them over by arms, I will help in that also. You are engaged with this enemy; and this last said hath a little vehemency in it, but it is worth your consideration

des . . . honest interest. Yea, all the interests of the Protestants in Germany, Denmark, Helvetia, the Cantons, and all the interests in Christendom [are] the same as yours. If you succeed, if you succeed well and act well, and be convinced what is God's interest and but prosecute it, you will find that you act for a very great many that's God's own. Therefore I say that as your danger

in his Epistle to the Thessalonians, and also expressed throughout the Revelations, which are sure plain things, except you will deny the truth of the Scriptures, you must needs see that that State is so described in Scripture to be Papal and anti-Christian,—I say with this enemy and upon this account you have the quarrel with the Spaniard. And truly he hath an interest in your bowels, he hath so. The Papists in England they have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolised. There is not a man amongst us can hold up a face against it. They never regarded France, they never regarded any other Popish State. Where any [such] interest was, Spain was their patron. It was so in England, Ireland, and Scotland, no man can doubt of it. Therefore I must needs say, this interest at home is a great piece of your danger. It is, and it is evidently so, and will be more so, upon that account that I told you. He hath espoused Charles Stuart, with whom he is fully at agreement; for whom he hath raised seven or eight thousand men, that are now quartered at Bruges, to whom . . . [the] campaign is ended, . . . have added four or five thousand, and the Duke of [Neuburg],<sup>61</sup> who is a . . . d good assistance according to his power, and . . . In this condition you are with that State, and in this condition through unavoidable necessity, because your enemy was naturally so, and is become so providentially

so there is a . . . shake not hands in England. They will not tell you so, nor in being cozened by unworthy . . . [admit] . . . it doth serve to let you see, and for that end I tell it you, to let you see your danger and the rise of it. It is not only thus, that we stand in this condition

<sup>61</sup> "characteral" in Burton [characterized?]

<sup>62</sup> Blank in MS. here. Editor of Burton's *Diary* inserts 'Newburgh' from letter in Thurloe, v, 427.

towards Spain, towards all that interest (that would make void and frustrate all that are doing for you) it is not only a management of the Parliament, but Papists and Cavaliers.

You be sensible of it, many persons that pretend other things, yea, who (though perhaps they do not all suit in their hearts with the said interest,) yet all men know, and must know, that discontented spirits end somewhere. They must expect back and support somewhere; [and truly those discontentments are another piece of your danger.] They must end at the interest of the Cavalier at the long run. That must be their support. I could have reckoned this upon other [grounds], but I shall give you an account of things as they appear to be, for that I desire to clear them to you not discoursively but to let you see matter of fact and to let you see how the state of your affairs stands.

It is true, there was not long since an endeavour to make an insurrection in England. It was so for some time before it brake out. It was so before the last Parliament sat. It was so from the time not only of the undertaking of

enterprising and designing against you, and it is no strange nor new thing to tell you, because it is true and certain, that the Papists, the Priests and the Cavalier party. They and the Cavalier

discontented spirits of the nation, who are not all so apt to see where dangers lie, nor to what the management of affairs tends. [It is these to whom] they do foment all things that tend to disservice, to propagate discontentments upon the minds of men. And if we would in tance in particulars those that have manifested this, we could tell you that Priests and Jesuits have insinuated themselves into the society of men, pretending the same things that they have pretended, and whose ends have been that, out of doubt, which I told you. We had that insurrection.

They would not cut throats beyond human consideration before they had been able to effect their design. You know that very well. It is no fable, for persons were arraigned for it before the Parliament and tried, and upon proof condemned for their designs and endeavours to cut the throat of myself and three or four more, that they singled out as being a little more than ordinary industrious

trial. Before the Parliament sat, all the time the Parliament sat, they were about it. We did hint these things to them by several persons, that acquainted them therewith. But what fate we lay under I know not. It was conceived, it seems, we had things that rather intended to persuade agreement and consent, and monies out of the people's purses, or I know not what, but nothing and plainly.

the middle of January. By the twelfth of March after, they were in arms. But these were a company of mean fellows, alas, not a lord, nor a gentleman, nor a man of fortune, nor this nor that, amongst them, but it was a poor



her . . . rash fellows, that were at the undertaking

Give me leave to tell you, we know it, we are able to prove it, and I refer you to that Declaration which is for provision against Cavaliers, as I did you to the other that sets down the ground of our war with Spain, whether these things were so or no. If men will not believe, we are satisfied we do our duty. If we let you know . . . us, but to see how

sciences in their compliance with those sort of people, which truly I must needs say some men had compliance with, that I thought never would for all . . . se men rise in March; and that it was a

Earl of Rochester, to the North And that it was general, we had not by suspicion and imagination, but we know individuals. We are able to make appear, that persons that carried themselves the most demurely and fairly of any men in England were engaged in this business And he that gave our instructions lost his life for it in [Cologne] country, I think I may say . . . of it, because he is dead, but he did discover from

gence of these things<sup>69</sup> Therefore how men of wicked spirits may traduce us in that matter, or, notwithstanding all that hath been done, may still hold their compliances, I leave it. I think England cannot be safe, unless malignants be carried far away [We did [our duty] upon [such an] account as we are ready to give to all the world, and that done to them was truly honest, aye, to them all, and upon undeniable grounds of justice and equity, knowing that they were in the eye and judgement of all the counties of England and all honest men in separating themselves for such a work all the land over] There was never any design, but we could hear of it out of the Tower He that watched over that, would give us an account that within a fortnight, or such a [time], there would be some stirrings, for there was a great concourse of people came to them, and that they had very great elevations of spirit. It was not only there, but in all the counties of England we have had informations that they were upon designs all over, besides some particular places which came to our particular assurance and knowledge we had as from persons we had from the several counties in England And if this be so, then as long as commotions can be held on foot, you are in danger by your war with Spain, with whom all the Papal interest is joined This Pope<sup>70</sup> is a person . . . and his designs are known all over to be nothing else but endeavours to unite all the Popish interests in all the Christian world, against this nation above any . . . and if you . . . that we have had, [can we] be ready to shake hands with them and the Cavaliers? What doth this differ from the [Arch]bishop of Canterbury to reconcile matters of religion, if this temper be upon us to unite with men in civil

<sup>69</sup> Manning

<sup>70</sup> Alexander VII

many here besides yourselves,—I tell you there are a company of men that are ready to spend their blood for you, and I am persuaded the same things of you

stand. And if God give not vious, we shall sink and the house will fall about our ears upon such sordid attempts as these are. Truly there are a great many people in this nation that would not reckon up every pitiful thing,—that may be like a mouse nibbling at the heel,—but of considerable dangers. I will tell you plainly, for it is not time for compliments nor rhetorical speeches, I have none truly but to tell you how we find things

There is a generation of men in this nation that cry up nothing but righteousness, and justice, and liberty; and these are diversified in several sects and sorts of men. And though they may be contemptible, in respect they are many and so not like to make a solid vow to do you mischief, yet they are apt to agree *in aliquo tertio*; they are known, yea well enough, to shake hands together, I should be loth to say with Cavaliers, but with all the scum and dirt of this nation, to put you to trouble. And therefore when I shall come to speak to the remedies, I shall tell you what are the most apt and proper remedies in all these respects. I tell you of the very time when there was an insurrection at Salisbury,—I doubt whether it be believed whether ever there was any rising in North Wales, Shrewsbury, Rufford-Abbey, where there was about five hundred horses, Marston-Moor, Northumberland, &c. when all these insurrections were,—at that very time there was a party which was very proper and apt to come between the Papists and Cavaliers. And that Levelling party hath some access lately that goes under a finer name or notion. I think they would be called Commonwealth's men, who perhaps have reason little enough. And it is strange that men of fortune and great estates should

tion against all the things that had been transacted, and called them I know [not] by what, tyranny, oppression, things against the liberty of the subject, and cried out for justice, and righteousness, and liberty. And what was all this business for, but to join with the Cavaliers to carry on that design? And these are things, not words; that Declaration we got, and the penner of it we got, and we have got intelligence also how the business was laid and conducted. I do And a plausible Petition was penned, that must come to me forsooth to consider of these things and to give redress and remedies and this was so. Now indeed

<sup>71</sup> So in text. Perhaps some reference to the Major-Generals' sentence imperfect.

<sup>72</sup> "party" in Burton.



any, they may have an inspection into these things. We think it our duty to tell you of these things and we can make them good. Here is your danger, that is it, and here is a poor nation that hath wallowed in its blood, though thanks be to God we have had peace these four or five years. Yet here is the condition we stand in, and I think I should be false to you if I should not give you this true representation of it.

I am to tell you, by the way, a word to justify a thing that I hear is much spoken of. When we knew all these designs before mentioned, when we found that the Cavaliers would not be quiet,—no quiet there is, no peace to the wicked, saith the Scriptures, the 57th of Isaiah, they are like the troubled sea that cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt, they cannot rest, they

they can no more cease from their actions, than they can cease to be, nor so easily either,—truly when this insurrection was, and we saw it in all the roots and grounds of it, we did find out a little poor invention, which I hear has been much regretted. [That was, we were resolved that those men, that put the honest and peaceable minded people that would not comply with such things as these are to such expense, should bear the charge of it] I say there was a little thing invented, which was the erecting of your Major-Generals, to have a little inspection upon the people, thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied in divers interests by the Popish party,—the Lord Taaffe and others, the most consisting of natural Irish rebels and all those men you have fought against in Ireland, and expelled from thence as having had a hand in that bloody massacre of those that were under his power, who should have joined in this excellent business of insurrection. And [to the end that this nation,] upon such a rising as that was, [might be settled, we invented] respect Truly, if ever I could as soon venture my life with it, as anything I ever undertook. We did find out,—I mean, myself and the Council,—that it was necessary to put that people who had occasioned all this trouble, if there were need to have greater there be any man that hath a face looking averse to this, I dare pronounce him to be a man against the interest of England.

when we saw what gallantry of a few engaged in this service, that laid down his life for it,) and by letters intercepted which shew it as well as the charge, one with another, for the raising of the forces that were so necessary to defend us against those designs. And truly, I am plain and shall use an homely expression, If this were to be done again, I would do it! How the Major-Generals have behaved themselves in that work! I hope they are men of integrity and fidelity and men that have freely (if it be thought so,) [which in my conscience is so,] and it was well stated against all the humours

and fancies of men And truly England doth yet receive one day more of lengthening out its tranquillity by that occasion [and action; they do say] that it doth manifest a year, for it is near so much time as that they have been exercised in that service] Well, your danger is, as you have seen, and truly I am sorry it is so great. I wish it might cause no despondency, as truly I think it will not, because we are Englishmen; that is one good account And if God give a nation propriety of valour and courage, it is honour and mercy and much more, because you all, I hope, are Christian men, [Christian men] that know Jesus Christ, and know that cause that hath been mentioned to you this day.

two considerations, they are somewhat general The one is, considering all things that may be done and ought to be done in order to security; that is one. And truly the other is a common head The other is, doing all things that

the danger that is most material and significant, for which you are principally called hither to advise of the remedies I do put them into this method, not but [that] I think they are scarcely distinct I do believe truly upon a serious and deliberate consideration, that a true reformation, (as it may and will, through God's acceptance and the endeavours of his poor servants, be,) that that will be pleasing in his sight, and which will be not only that which shall avert the present danger, but be a worthy return for all the blessings and mercies which you have received So in my conscience, if I were put to shew it this hour, where the security of the nations will lie, forces, arms, watch-

ough, and just, it will be your best security

First, for that of security. We shall speak a little distinctly to that. You see where your war is. It is with the Spaniard You have peace with all nations, or the most of them, Swede, Dane, Dutch. At present I say, it is well it is at present so, and so with the Portugal, France, the Mediterranean Sea, both those States both Christian and profane; the Mahometans, you have a

war? No As you shall find your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said, so let you and me join in the prosecution of that war, as we are satisfied, and as the cause will appear to our consciences in the sight of the Lord But if you can come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously, or do not do it at all Truly I shall speak a very great word, one may ask a very great question *Unde*, whence shall it come? Our nation is overwhelmed in debts. But I think it my duty to deal teacheth us, if we engage in a bus-

his e-  
grou

he keeping of us  
we may join to-

gether to prosecute it vigorously In the second place, I would advise you that you would deal effectually, seeing *the* of interests. If you believe that there is *some*, why then, in the name of God, that excites you the more to do it! Give me leave to tell you, that I do not believe that in any war, that ever was in former times, nor any engagements that you have had with others, this nation had more obligations upon them to look to itself, to forbear expense of time, precious time [We have no time now] needlessly to mind things that are not essential, to be quibbling about words and comparatively about things of no

induce you to keep *the* interest as is so spre

cation of the nation, if they are active as you have seen, and it hath been

soever shall lead us, for fear of eradicating of distempers, to suffer all the honest interests of this nation to be eradicated? Therefore speak but generally of any of their distempers of all sorts, and where a member cannot be cured the rule is plain, *ense rescindendum est immedicabile vulnus* And I think it is such an advantage as that nothing could ever be more properly used, since this or any nation was.

As to those lesser distempers of people that pretend religion, [though that might seem to come under my first head] yet from the whole consideration of religion, which [it] would fall under, as one of the heads of reformation, I had rather put it under this head And I shall the less speak to it, because you have been so well spoken to this day already. I will tell you the truth, that that which hath been our practice since the last Parliament, hath been to let all this nation see that whatever pretensions be to religion, if quiet, peaceable, [they may enjoy] conscience and liberty to themselves, [so long as they do] not make religion a pretence for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is

withal, though never so specious, though never so quiet And truly I am against all liberty of conscience repugnant to this, [I am] If men will profess,—be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, and of the Presbyterian judgment,—in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them, while they do plainly hold forth to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences For, as it was said to-day, undoubtedly this is the peculiar interest all this while contended for [That] men that believe in Jesus Christ, (that is the form that gives the being to true religion, faith in Christ, and walking in a profession answerable to that faith,) men that believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ and free justification by the blood

of Christ, and live upon the grace of God, that those men, that are certain they are so, are members of Jesus Christ and are to him as the apple of his eye. Whoever hath this faith, let his form be what it will, [if] he [be] walking peaceably without the prejudicing of others under another form, it is a debt

Independent, for example, will despise him under Baptism, and will revile him. If he should provoke him, I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other hand, the Anabaptists' [persuasion] shall be censuring the godly Ministers of the nation, that profess under that of Independency or those that profess under Presbytery, shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them, as I would not be willing to see the

reproach to them. But God will have his own way, and I will not be the means which truly I must prof

and rebukes on one hand and on the other, some envying me for Presbytery, others as an in-letter to all the sects and heresies in the nation. I have borne my reproach, but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in preventing any one religion to impose upon another. And truly [I] must needs

ceived [evidences] from very many counties. I have had petitions, and acknowledgements, and professions from whole counties, as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other counties, acknowledgements that they do but desire they may have liberty and protection in the worshipping of God according to their own judgements, for the purifying of their congregations and the labouring to attain more purity of faith and repentance, that in their outward profession they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those, I have them to shew, and I confess I look at that as the blesseddest thing, which hath been since the adventuring upon this government, that these times produce. And I hope I gave them fair and honest answers. And if it shall be found to be the care of the Civil Magistrate to keep thus all the professing Christians, and not to suffer all things said or done to provoke others, I think he that would have more liberty than this, is not worthy of any. This therefore I think verily, if it may be thus under consideration for reformation, if it please God to give you and me hearts to keep this even, in giving countenance to Ministers, countenancing a just maintenance to them, whether they be of the one or the other persuasion, they were very treacherous if they should have power to settle maintenance to them another way. But whoever they be that shall contend to destroy them, that doth as really cut their throats, as it is a drift to take them away before a way of reparation or other maintenance be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings would be discountenanced. I have heard it from as gracious a Minister as any is in England, I have had it professed, that it would be a far greater satisfaction to them to have it another way, if the State will provide it. Therefore I think for the keeping of the Church and people of God, and for the liberty, I think,

the upholding this I think you will find a blessing in it, if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and balance, which is so honest and so necessary.

Truly there might be some other things offered to you in the point of reformation, *videlicet* a reformation of manners. But I had forgot one thing that I must remember! It is their work, you know, in some measure, yet give me leave to say, and I appeal unto your consciences, whether or no there hath

say it hath been with this difference, that neither Mr Parson nor Doctor in the University have satisfied those that have made their Approbations. Though, I can say so, they [the "Triers"] have a great esteem of learning and look at grace as most useful when it falls unto men with, rather than without it, and wish with all their hearts the flourishing of all those institutions of

the youth in the Universities, who instead of studying books, study their own

very conscience, that God will bless and favour, and hath blessed it to the gaining of very many souls. It was never so upon the thriving hand since England was, as it is this day. Therefore I say in these things, that tend to the

you  
manners, and

and wickedness in all places. [In my conscience it was a shame to be a Christian within these fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years in this nation, either in Caesar's house or elsewhere, it was a shame, it was a reproach to a man,

bility and gentry of this nation. We would keep up the nobility and gentry, and the way to keep them up is, not to suffer them to be patronizers nor countenancers of debauchery or disorders, and you will hereby be as labourers in the work. And a man may tell as plainly as can be, what becomes of us by our indifferency or lukewarmness, under I know not what weak pretensions, if it lives in us. Therefore I say, if it be in the general, it is a thing I am confident, that the liberty and prosperity of this nation depends upon reformation, to make it a shame to see men to be bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the nation, and by thus be more repairers of breaches than anything in the world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits, which are the men. The mind is the



not, I would very  
He hath only some  
activity to do some more mischief.

There are some things which respect the estates of men, and there is one general grievance in the nation. It is, the Law. Not that the laws are grievous, but there are laws that are a grievance, and the great grievance is, the execution of the Law. Judges in this land, as have been had, or that the nation has had for these many years. Truly I could be particular as to the executive part, to administration, but that would trouble you. But the truth of it is, there are wicked abominable laws that will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for sixpence, threepence, I know not what; to hang for a trifle and pardon murder, is in the ministration of the Law, through the ill framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders quitted; and to see men lose their lives for petty matters! This is a thing that God will reckon for, and I wish it may not lie upon this nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy, and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people, and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it.

I have little more to say to you, being very weary, and I know you are so. Truly I did begin with that that I thought was to carry on this war, if you will carry it on, that we may join together in that vigorously. And I did promise an answer, that the State is hugely in want of the State is wasted. We shall not be an enemy to your inspection, but desire it, that you would inspect the Treasury, and how monies have been expended, and we are not afraid to look the nation in the face upon this account. And therefore we will say negatively first, no man can say we have [mis-employed the treasure of this nation and embezzled it to particular and private uses.

It may be we have not (as the world terms it) been so fortunate in all our successes. Truly, if we have that mind, that God may not determine us in these things, I think we shall quarrel at that which God will answer, and we hope we are able, it may be weakly, I do not doubt, but to give an answer to God, and to give an answer to every man's conscience in the sight of God of the reason of things. But we shall tell you, that it hath been a piece of that archfire that hath been in this your time, where there are flames good store, fire enough, and it will be your wisdom and skill, and God's blessing upon you, to quench them both here and elsewhere. I say it again, the endeavours [that] have been by those that have been appointed, by those that have been Major-Generals, I can repeat [of] them with comfort that it hath been effectual for the preservation of your peace. It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of vice and settling religion, than anything done these fifty years. I will abide it, notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men, but I say that hath been a [justifiable] design. I confess I speak that to you with a little vehemency, but you had not had peace two months together [without it]. I profess I believe it as much as ever I did anything in the world, and how many mentalities have been to the rescue of for representation by a constitution of things in the world. If you would make laws against the things that

God may dispose, to meet with everything that may happen, yea, make a law in the face of God, and you tell God you will meet with all his dispensations, and you will stay things whether he will or no. But if you make laws of good government, that men may know how to obey and do, for government, you may make laws that have frailty and weakness, ave, and good laws [that may be] observed. P

fore certainly it is a pitiful, beastly notion, to think that though it be for ordinary government to live by law and rule, yet I think him yet to be

clamoured at and blotted at,—when matters of necessity come, inviolably, then extraordinary remedies may not be applied. Who can be so pitiful a

the necessity, who doth indeed send a necessity but to prevent the end For as

every act at that time hath the more sin. This perhaps is rather to be disputed than otherwise, but I must say, I do not know one action, no, not one, but it hath been in order to the peace and safety of the nation. And the keep-

Cornwall, and elsewhere, and the cause of their imprisonment was, they were all found acting things that tended to the disturbance of the peace of the nation. Now these principles made us say to them, pray live quietly in your own counties, you shall not be urged with bonds or engagements, or to subscribe to the government. Yet they would not so much as say, we will promise to live peaceably. If others be imprisoned, it is because they have done such things, and if other particulars strike, we know what to say, as having endeavoured to walk as those that would not only give an account to God, another Magistrate, but as to give an account to men.

I confess I have digressed much to let you know that you would not be discouraged. If you judge it truly necessary, that you cannot avoid it, I would

cool. We examined it, it was brought unto that. In that short meeting that was within half a year after the government came to our hands, I believe there was rather more, than less. They had 120,000<sup>l</sup> a month, they had the King's, Queen's, Prince's, and all the great lords' estates, and the Dean and Chapters'. As soon as ever we

Dean and Chapters' As soon as ever we came to the government, we abated 30,000*l.* the first half year, and 60,000*l.* after We had no benefit of those estates at all considerable, I do not think the fiftieth part of what they had, and give me leave to tell you, you are not so much in debt as we found you. We know it hath been maliciously dispersed,

<sup>74</sup> Written in margin 'blanks for 2 lynes' (Stainer's note)

as if we had set the nation into 2,500,000*l.* debt, but I tell you, you are not so much in debt by some thousands, I think I may say, by some hundreds of thousands. This is true that I tell you. We have honestly, it may be not so wisely as some others would have done, but with honest and plain hearts laboured and endeavoured the disposal of treasure to public uses, and laboured to pull off the common charge, as you see, 60,000*l.* a month. And if

did think it my duty to give you this account, though it be wearisomeness to yourselves and me

Now if I had the tongue of an Angel, if I were so certainly inspired as the holy men of God have been, I could rejoice for your sakes and for these nations' sakes, and for the sake of God, and of this cause that we have been engaged in, that I could move affections in you to that, which if you do it will save this nation. If not, you plunge it, (in all human appearance,) and all interests, yea, and all the Protestants in the world, to irrecoverable ruin. Therefore I pray, aye, and beseech you in the name of Christ, shew yourselves to be men, quit yourselves like men. . . . you do shew yourselves to be men, Christiana . . . you quit yourselves. I do not think that, to that work you have in hand, a neutral spirit will do it. It is a Laodicean spirit, and we know what God said of that Church, it was lukewarm, and therefore he would spew it out of his mouth.

the wrong way. They are, in their private consciences, every day making shipwreck, and it is no wonder, if these can shake hands with men of reprobate interests, such, give me leave to think, are the Popish interests, because the Apostle brands them so, having seared consciences, though I do not judge every man, but the ringleaders are such, the Scriptures foretold they should be such. It is not such a spirit will carry the work on. It is men in a Christian State, that have works with faith, that know how to lay hold on Christ, for remission, till a man be brought to glory in . . . men's spirits will act them to such ends as

as are partakers of this, and own your standings wherein the Providence of God hath set and called you to this work, will carry it on. If men through . . . you cannot take them by the hand to carry them, because . . . man be scrupling the plain truth before him, it is in vain to meddle with him. He hath placed another [image of the] business in his own mind, and to say, "Oh! if we could but exercise wisdom to gain civil liberty, religion would follow," that's as common as can be in the world. Certainly there are such men, who are not maliciously blind, [may be, it is that blindness] which God for some cause exercises. It cannot be expected that they should do anything these men, [without] they must demonstrate that they are in bonds. Could we have carried it hitherto, if we had disputed these things? I must profess, I reckon that difficulty more than all the wrestling with flesh and blood. Doubting, hesitating men, they are not fit for your work. You must not expect that men of hesitating spirits, under the bondage of scruples, will be able to carry on this work, much less such as are merely carnal, natural, and such as having an outward profession of Godliness, which

the Apostle speaks of often, and are the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose

that the Devil and wicked men can make? Give me leave to tell you, those

his Son in the blood of his servants. It is such a spirit as will carry on this work.

Therefore I beseech you, do not dispute of unnecessary and unprofitable things, that may divert you from carrying on of so glorious a work as this is. I think every objection that ariseth, is not to be answered, nor have I time for it. I say, look up to God! Have peace amongst yourselves! Know assuredly, that, if I have interest, I am by the voice of the people the Supreme Magistrate, and, it may be, know somewhat that may satisfy my conscience if I stood in doubt. But it is an union, really it is an union, between you and me, and both of us united in faith and love to Christ, and I have a peculiar interest that is personal to myself, that is not subservient to the public, and it were no extravagance to say, that I have a personal interest in the success of this union.

dally with him and to be bold with him in these things; and I never was, and I hope I never shall be, bold with him, though I can be bold with men, if Christ be pleased to assist. I say, if there be love between us,—that the nation may say, these are to be together, and I have a personal interest in the success of this union.

courage whatsoever is of godliness,—yea, the nation will bless you. And really, really, that and nothing else will work off these disaffections from the minds of men, which are as great, if not greater than all the oppositions you can meet with. I do know what I say. Wilt thou be bold with him in these things, heart before God, and as I say, I have a little faith. I have a little lived by faith, and therein I may be bold. If I should not speak the affections and secrets of my heart, I know he would not bear it at my hands. Therefore in the fear and name of God, go on with love and integrity against whatsoever arises contrary to these ends, which you have known and been told of, and the blessing of God go with you. The blessing of God will go with you.

I have but this one thing to say more. I know it is troublesome, but I did read a Psalm yesterday, which truly may not unbecome me both to tell you of, and you to observe. It is the eightv-fifth Psalm, that is very instructive and significant, and though I do but a little touch upon it, I desire your perusal at [your] pleasure. It begins, "Lord, thou hast been favourable to thy land, thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of thy people, thou hast taken away all unrighteousness of thine anger. Turn us, O God of our salvation, and cause thine anger towards us to cease. Wilt thou be angry with us for ever? Wilt thou draw out thine anger to all

generations? Wilt thou not revive us again, that thy people may rejoice in thee?" Then he calls upon God as the God of his salvation, and then saith he, "I will hear what the Lord will speak. for he will speak [peace] unto his people and to his saints but let them not turn again to folly. Surely his salvation is nigh them that fear him, Oh, that glory may dwell in our land Mercy and truth are met together righteousness and peace have kissed each other Truth shall vanquish the earth and righteousness shall be the way to heaven."

its increase Righteousness shall go before him, and shall set us in the way of his steps" Truly I wish that this Psalm, as it is written in the book, might be better written in our hearts, that we may say as David, thou hast done thus, and thou hast done that; thou hast pardoned our sins, thou hast taken away our iniquities Whither can we go to a better God, for he hath done it? It is to him any nation may come in their extremity for the taking away of his wrath How did he do it? By pardoning their sins and taking away their iniquities If we can but cry unto him, he will turn and take away our sins Then let us listen to him, and then consult and meet in Parliament, and ask him counsel, and hear what he saith, "for he will speak peace unto his people." If you be the people of God, and be for the people of God, he will speak peace, and we will not again return to folly, [as to] which [there] is a great deal of grudging in the nation, that we cannot have our horse-races, cock-fightings, and the like. I do not think these are unlawful, but to make them recreations, that they will not endure to be abridged of them, [is folly] Till God hath brought us to this spirit, he will not bear with us Aye, but he bears with them in France, they are so and so Have they the gospel as we have? They have seen the sun but a little, we have great lights If God give you a spirit of reformation, you will preserve this nation from turning again to these fooleries. And what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. Then "mercy and truth shall meet together." Here is a great deal of truth among professors, but very little mercy They are ready to cut the throats of one another; but when we are brought unto the right way, we shall be merciful as well as orthodox, and we know who it is that saith, that if a man could "speak with the tongue of men and angels," and yet want that, "he is but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this, and if you give your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's Psalm. That is a rare Psalm for a Christian, and if he set his heart open and

destroy them. And as it is in this Psalm of Luther's, "we will not fear though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the middle of the sea," and so forth, "God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved" Then he repeats, two or three times, "The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge"

I have done. All that I have to say, is to pray God, that he will bless you with his presence, and that he that hath your hearts and mine would shew

his presence in the midst of us I desire you will go together and choose your Speaker.<sup>74</sup>

That, in so far as it can be recovered, was the Protector's speech. It was not printed, and it would seem from various indications that the report as we have it was not all he said. Like all of Cromwell's utterances, it made a profound impression on Thomas Carlyle. It was, according to him, "perhaps the most artless transparent piece of Public Speaking this Editor has ever studied. Rude, massive, genuine, like a block of unbeaten gold. A speech . . . fit . . . for Valhalla, and the Sanhedrim of the Gods."<sup>75</sup> It may have been. It did not so impress those who heard it or heard of it at the time. It was to be expected that the Royalists would not like it, but their comments were unusually vitriolic, even for them. One letter to Hyde described it as "insolent beyond all show of prudence."<sup>76</sup> Another reported that he said that "Necessity was the greate standinge law of the world to which all other municipall lawes ought to give place, . . . that it was in compliance with the necessity of the times that he had done whatsoever was done contrary to law, and . . . that he could never have carried on the worke soe farre, if he had stucke at little punctilioes."<sup>77</sup> These were no doubt exaggerated statements; but the reports of the foreign ambassadors, who either heard the speech or had good information in regard to it, seem to indicate that they were not profoundly impressed with it, and in some measure echo the Royalist reports. Giavarina noted especially the appeal for support of the war with Spain. "He insisted upon this for he knew that he had arrived at this rupture contrary to the laws of England, viz without the consent of Parliament, necessary in such cases, and he was afraid the members might take exception to this and bring forward overtures for peace at the instigation of the people, who are tired of the war." He stressed also the preservation of internal peace, his desire for liberty of conscience, except for Catholics. Finally, "knowing that the members greatly resented the exile of Sir [Henry] Vane and the imprisonment of other old parliamentarians considered suspect, he expressed the intention to tell them another time of the motives which had led him to take this step."<sup>78</sup> Bordeaux reported merely that Cromwell described the situation of England, the causes of the break

<sup>74</sup> In Bl. . . .  
curing a verbally accurate version of Cromwell's utterances is revealed by the fact that two such careful workers as Rutt and Stainer, copying the same source, have such a number of slight variations in their respective versions.

<sup>75</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, II, 554.

<sup>76</sup> " . . . " *English Letter Vane*, 107.

<sup>77</sup> " . . . " *id.*, pp. 9-107.

<sup>78</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 19/29, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 266.

with Spain, "the ancient enemy of England and of religion"; and the preparations of Charles II, including 5,000 men promised by Spain and 4,000 from the Duke of Neuburg. He touched on the question of religion, regretting the divisions, but not making his own sentiments clear nor seeking to distinguish between Independents and Presbyterians. Thence he passed to the Royalists and their disaffection toward the government, declaring that he had been compelled to arrest some and exclude others from the Parliament; and he ended with an appeal to the members to concur with him in the establishment of the public peace; adorning his harangue "with many passages from Holy Writ."<sup>80</sup> To the diplomats as to many others, it seemed to reduce itself to "Necessity, the tyrant's plea." That the attendance in the Painted Chamber was not confined to the newly-elected members seems to be indicated, among other things, by the fact that, when the Protector had finished, a Quaker, one Samuel Fisher, attempted to speak but he was interrupted with cries of "A Quaker, a Quaker; keep him down, he shall not speak", and he was accordingly silenced, probably by being ejected.<sup>81</sup> All in all, Carlyle to the contrary notwithstanding, the speech left something to be desired, if one may trust such contemporary accounts of it as we have. Whether or not it is of any significance, there seems to have been no reference to it when the members took up the business of the session; but one thing impressed them all, members and envoys alike. It was the display of force which accompanied the whole proceeding, especially the next event in the programme for the day. In any event England now had a Parliament, such as it was, and it remained to see what could be made of it by such members as were left, and what effect it might have upon the administration by Protector and Council.

<sup>80</sup> *Proceedings of the Council*, 1653, p. 154.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER VI

### PARLIAMENT AND THE SUCCESSION

SEPTEMBER 17—NOVEMBER 20, 1656

The meeting of the 1656 Parliament was, naturally, the most important event of the time and, in fact, one of the most important events of the Protectoral period. That importance was not confined to the mere fact of its assembling, nor to the speech with which its members were greeted, but to the next event on the programme of this eventful 17th of September, 1656. The speech over, the Protector and his escort apparently made their way back to Whitehall, the members to the House, where there occurred another of those incidents which had become common under his direction of affairs. As the Venetian envoy reported, "the members went to their usual room. As the Protector did not intend many of the members to enter that assembly, as [were] not entirely well affected, he ordered that no one should be admitted who did not present at the door a certain ticket, devised for the purpose. Accordingly it was observed that 120 members were refused, and these are excluded from the congress, and their constituencies will undoubtedly remonstrate. As those refused might at another meeting follow the others and enter surreptitiously, it has been ordered that at the next Parliament meets, the members shall be bound to receive and deliver a ticket at the first day, to prevent deceit and fraud."<sup>1</sup> The members were, in fact, met at the door of the House by Colonels Mills, Biscoe and Lagoe, with a guard of soldiers, who admitted only those who had the cards or tickets which the Council had ordered the Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery to prepare, after the indentures had been scrutinized and approved.<sup>2</sup>

More than a hundred members were thus prevented from taking their seats. Most men, including Cromwell, put the number at 120—and he laid the blame for their exclusion, as well as the onus of calling the Parliament against his judgment, on the "officers."<sup>3</sup> The reasons for the exclusion are, in general, sufficiently obvious, but it is difficult to determine why certain individuals were not admitted. Of the 101 names which can now be identified, sixty

<sup>1</sup> Firth, *Last Years*, I, 127, cp. Thurloe, v, 427.



men had sat in 1654; thirty-eight seem not to have sat before in any Cromwellian parliament; and three—Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Colonel Thomas Saunders and Colonel Joachim Matthews—had sat in both of the Protector's previous parliaments. Neither prominence nor obscurity proved a bar to exclusion. It is easy to see why men like Scot, Haselrig and known Republicans were kept out; it is difficult to understand why a whole group of insignificant men were not permitted to sit, for, as was noted, many of them, whatever their sentiments, would not have dared to set themselves in opposition to the Protector. The reason doubtless is that what they would not dare to do as individuals, they might well accomplish by their votes as a body.

What was of even more interest was the fact that no less than seventy of the men excluded were county representatives and four were from London and Middlesex. Four of the members from the West Riding of Yorkshire and just over half of the members from the . . . change in sentiment toward the Protector throughout the country, and especially in those areas once strong supporters of the revolutionary cause.<sup>4</sup> It was said in defence of the exclusion that "they have refused none who were men of integrity, and within the qualification of the *Instrument of Government*"<sup>5</sup>—that is to say, in the words of the *Instrument*, "persons of known integrity, fearing God and of good conversation"; but it was also pointed out that these somewhat vague words had been interpreted merely to define for exclusion those who for one reason or another were not in sympathy with the Protector.<sup>6</sup> If that interpretation were accepted so far as the terms of the *Instrument* went, this new . . . technically legal. The Commons *Journal* merely recorded that "the Council, in pursuance of their duty, . . . have examined the . . . returns, . . .

What was of no less interest than the exclusions was the character of the House as finally constituted. Of the three hundred members left after the purge and the consequent secession more than a third had a military title of some sort, which, in view of the late wars, was to be expected. Of more importance was the fact that all the major-generals were chosen, bringing the total of general officers to sixteen. The most remarkable fact was that, as in all of Cromwell's activities hitherto, the most conspicuous group was that of the colonels. Of

<sup>4</sup> Firth, *Last Years*, I, 17-18.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 112, cp. C's speech Feb. 27, *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> Firth, *ut supra*, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> *C. J.*, VII, 426.

these more than forty can be identified, besides some fourteen others who, for one reason or another, bore that title. Five colonels were excluded; but that loss was more than made up by the presence of some twelve lieutenant-colonels and eight majors, with other lesser officers. As finally made up, between a third and a half of the membership of the House was drawn from the army. Nor was the official element lacking. More than eighty members held some sort of a post under the government. Thirteen of the Council found seats, with the chief legal lights, Whitelocke and Widdrington, Lisle, Glyn and Thorpe, and at least two of the Protectoral household officials, Maidstone and Waterhouse. Other supporters of the Protector were not wanting—men like the great merchants, Martin Noel and Christopher Packe; and even the commissioner of the customs, Edmund Harvey, who had lately been arrested for irregularities, was chosen but not allowed to sit. Of the Protector's relatives, his son Richard and Richard's father-in-law Norton; Cromwell's son-in-law, Claypole, Master of Horse; his brother-in-law, Desborough; his son-in-law, Fleetwood; with half a score of others more distantly connected with the Protectoral house found seats. And it is notable, finally, that fifteen of the members who had signed the death-warrant of Charles I were chosen. All the old names were there—Thurloe, Pickering, Strickland and Sydenham; Fleetwood, Desborough and Lambert, Prideaux, the Attorney General; Barkstead, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and Colonel—now Sir Thomas—Pride. It was essentially a Cromwellian Parliament in so far as it could be made so; and there was every reason to believe that Protector and Council had admitted only men whom they thought could be relied on to be favorable to the Protectoral system and to the army on which it depended, and from which so large a proportion of the House was drawn.

Yet despite the care taken to choose members of this Parliament who were favorable to the Protector, despite the exclusion of so many men of those chosen, it was evident from the first that even among the members finally admitted, and still more in the country at large, there were many who deeply resented the effort of the Protector and his advisers to repress all opposition to or even any criticism of their policies. It was only too apparent that this was not to be a Parliament in the older sense, but, like his previous assemblies, a register-  
 if it was possible to make it so. He could count on a safe majority of votes, thanks chiefly to the officers and officials in Parliament, but neither he nor any other power could suppress public opinion which, in whatever emasculated form, found expression among the members who, in the end, proved no less intractable than those in his previous adventures in parliamentary government. In the light of his experiences with such bodies, however constituted, it is difficult to escape the conclusion

that his Protectoral system was extremely unpopular; and it seems certain that had the English people been allowed to express their opinion in a really "free" election, that system would not have outlasted the first meeting of a freely elected House, without the use of force. This was the fundamental weakness of the whole system. Whatever else dictators can endure, they cannot afford anything which resembles a free parliament or a free expression of public opinion. It was on this ground, as Cromwell himself declared, he had opposed this meeting, and if one accepts the premise that such a government as his was not only necessary but beneficial, time was to prove him right. It has been a common opinion that he desired to govern by parliamentary means, and, given a Parliament completely subservient to his will, that probably is true, but experience proved that such a body could not be secured, and, viewing his treatment of every Parliament with which he had to deal, it is difficult to believe that he favored parliamentary government in the usual sense of the word.

In view of this, it was not to be supposed that such an exhibition of arbitrary power as the exclusion could go unchallenged even in a body so carefully selected. The first day of its session was spent in organization. On the motion of Commissioner Lisle, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, Sir Thomas Widdrington, was chosen Speaker, "a competent man, entirely devoted to his Highness," as he was described,<sup>8</sup> and so far all seemed serene. But on the second day, Sir George Booth, a treasurer-at-war, military commissioner and member of Parliament for Cheshire, and Presbyterian in his sympathies, presented to the Speaker a letter signed by seventy-nine of the excluded members, reciting that they had been duly elected but, having been refused admission by the soldiers, took this occasion to bring the matter to the attention of the House.<sup>9</sup> There began at once, therefore, a violent debate, it being "strongely urged that it was a breach of privillidge of Parliament."<sup>10</sup> The House applied to the Council to discover why these men were not admitted and Fiennes, speaking for the Council, adduced articles XVII and XXI of the *Instrument* as its authority. The fact that he was technically correct as to Article XXI, which authorized the scrutiny of the returns by the Council, did not atone for the fact that these men were excluded nominally on the ground of Article XVII as not being persons of "known integrity, fearing God and of good conversation." That, certainly, was not the ground for either inclusion or exclusion, as every one knew, and debate ran high accordingly.

A speech by Thurloe seems to have led the House to a proposal

<sup>8</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 19/29, *Cal S P Ven.* (1655-6), p. 266

<sup>9</sup> *C J*, vii, 424

<sup>10</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 74

that the excluded members appeal to the Council, and a motion to adjourn—which was, in effect, a motion to oppose this proposal—was lost by 115 to 80, indicating both the strength of the government and the determination of the opposition. It was evident that the administration was resolved to push the matter through, and that they had the votes. In consequence some forty men seceded from the House<sup>11</sup> and some forty others refrained from voting on the resolution, which was carried by 125 to 29;<sup>12</sup> and the House was thus reduced by exclusion and secession by some 160 members.<sup>13</sup> For the most part the excluded members made no effort to be reinstated. A few did and were successful, but many retired into the country. Protector and Council triumphed but at the expense of resentment not only in Parliament itself but in the country at large, especially since it was the third time that the Protector, with or without the Council, had determined

under Charles I. It was even said bitterly that Charles had only excepted against five men, where the Protector had excluded twenty times that number.<sup>14</sup> The two remaining newsbooks, the *Public Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Politicus*, edited by Marchamont Nedham, were under the direction of Thurloe's office. With Parliament similarly controlled by the Protector's government, there was no outlet for the free expression of opinion in the British Isles, save those more or less subterranean and now illegal pamphlets, printed for the most part abroad, smuggled from hand to hand, and suppressed wherever they could be found by the government agents, spies and informers who were active in every direction.

In spite of the dramatic circumstances of the assembling and the purging of the Parliament, apart from the debate and divisions on the exclusion of the members, there was not much of interest in its first proceedings. Two fast days were voted, one for the House on September 24, the other for the country at large on October 29. Various minor questions as to procedure and preachers were settled; a bill for the renouncing and disannulling of the title of Charles Stuart to the throne, with another securing the safety of the Protector together with the "quieting the possession of the government" were introduced.<sup>15</sup> That was necessary for, as Bordeaux advised Brienne,

<sup>11</sup> Thurloe, v, 453, says "Many are withdrawn from the House because they could not have their will in this vote." Firth (*Last Years*, i, 15) estimates 41.

<sup>12</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 426.

<sup>13</sup> This probably explains Bordeaux's estimate of 160, counting exclusion and secession (Thurloe, v, 427).

<sup>14</sup> *Narrative of the late Parliament*, quot. in Firth, *Last Years*, i, 21-22n. Cp. also *Appeal from the court to the Country*, Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, no. 803.

<sup>15</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 423-25.

"Force alone can maintain the acts of this Parliament. The people are more angry at the exclusion of their representatives than at any other damage they believe their liberties have received"<sup>16</sup>

The proceedings were enlivened by the reading of the indentures for the excluded members by the deputy to the Clerk of the Commonwealth for the Chancery, with his reason for the exclusion that there was no certificate of approbation for them. The Clerk himself being summoned, explained "that he received an Order, from his Highness' Council, that he should deliver Tickets to all such persons, and such only, as, being returned to serve in Parliament, should be certified unto him, from the Council, as Persons by them approved; And that he did receive several Orders of Approbation for several Persons; and so he made out the Tickets" The order, he explained, was signed by Jessop, clerk of the Council.<sup>17</sup> This, at least, seemed to take off the onus of the exclusion from the Protector personally and, whatever responsibility he had in the matter, relieved him from any direct attack in the ensuing debate, justifying in that degree his defense that this was the work of the "officers," not his own personal interference, though there seemed no doubt that he had his share in the exclusion.

In any event, he went about his business as usual; and these days of bitter debate were marked on his part only by the signature of two documents, far removed from the matter of the exclusion, but of considerable importance to the problem of the empire, and, incidentally, not unconnected with his relations to the French crown. The transfer of the charge of Nova Scotia from Captain John Leverett to Colonel Thomas Temple as both governor and proprietor of Nova Scotia was an important event not only to "honest Tom Temple" but to the territories in question. Temple's proprietorship, shared at first with Crowne and la Tour, was extended presently by the purchase of la Tour's share by the other two; and with the recognition of English control by the treaty with France in this same year of 1656, the province became in name as well as fact a part of the British Empire, at first nominally connected with Massachusetts, whose people under the lead of Sedgwick and Leverett had been largely instrumental in taking it from the French.

#### *Commission to Colonel Thomas Temple*

OLIVER P.

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereto belonging. To all to whom these presents shall Come, Greeting Know ye that wee reposing especial

<sup>16</sup> Bordeaux to Brienne, Sept. 25/Oct. 5, quoted in Firth, *Last Years*, I, 23.

<sup>17</sup> *C. J.*, VII, 425

trust and Confidence in the wisdom prudence loyalty and ability of our trusty and well beloved Colonel Thomas Temple of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion have by and with the advice and consent of our Council granted and committed and by these presents do for us and our successors grant and commit unto him the said Thomas Temple the care, charge, custody and government of all and singular the countries, lands, islands, forts and territories in America herein after mentioned, bounded and limited, that is to say the countries and territories called Lacadve otherwise Acadia and part of the country called Nova Scotia from Mereliquish on the East to the Port and Cape of La Stere leading along the coast to Cape Sable from thence to a port now called La Tour heretofore Le meray & from thence following the coast and island to the Cloven Cape and thence to the Cape and River of

all along the Coast to Pentacost and the River of St George to muscontus Situate upon the confines of New England on the west and extending from the sea coast up in the land all along in the limits and bounds aforesaid one hundred leagues and thirty leagues into the sea all along the coasts aforesaid And of all and singular the territories, lands, islands, seas, rivers, lakes, forts and fortresses whatsoever within the boundaries and limits aforesaid, And the jurisdiction of our Admiralty and all other jurisdictions, rights, franchises and liberties whatsoever within the bounds and limits aforesaid And to the end he the said Thomas Temple may be the better encouraged authorized and enabled to undertake and manage the trust here by in him reposed in such manner that the Gospel and true Religion of Christ may be propagated amongst the heathen and savage people there, the honor of us and good of this Commonwealth advanced, trade promoted, and the natives and inhabitants in those parts reduced and brought under our government and protection and kept in their due obedience to us and this Commonwealth We have made ordained constituted assigned and appointed and by these presents do make ordain constitute assign and appoint him the said Thomas Temple to be our Lieutenant of and in the aforesaid countries lands islands forts territories and limits aforesaid, and do give and grant unto him full power and authority in our name and as our lieutenant to rule govern and order all and singular the inhabitants there as well the natural born people of this Commonwealth as the natives and savages and all others that shall hap-

unite and needful: And all such as shall be found disobedient in the premisses to chastise correct and punish according to their faults and demerits and the laws, orders, articles and ordinances aforesaid And also with force and strong hand to fight with, kill, slay, suppress, subdue, and annoy all such as in hostile manner shall attempt or go about to encounter the said Thomas Temple; or his company or our forces there, or to possess and invade the country, forts, territories and seas aforesaid or any of them, or in any wise

being, or that hereafter shall be settled or placed in the said forts, countries and territories, or any others that shall go or transport themselves thither or

any part thereof under our protection, straightly charging and commanding all manner of persons which now are, or hereafter shall be abiding in the said countries, islands or territories, or any of them; that they be obedient, aiding and assisting, to the said Thomas Temple in all things as to our Lieutenant And further We do by these presents give and grant unto him the said Thomas Temple full power and authority [over] all persons as do or shal inhabit there, or shall be, to train, trade and exercise in arms according to time [to] time and at all times when and as often as need shall require or by him shall be thought fit for the preservation of the public peace there and safeguard of the countries, forts, territories and seas aforesaid. And also to make, constitute and appoint under him fit and convenient officers and ministers of justice as well military as civil, for the peace, safety and good government of our said countries, territories and people there. And for the better execution of our service, and command in the premisses, and securing our interest in the said countries, islands, forts, seas and territories We do by these presents give and grant further power and authority unto him the said Thomas Temple to erect, build, raise and make such cities, towns, villages, castles, citadels, forts and fortifications there as he shall judge necessary and convenient And from

be proclaimed being s

according to the law martial and not discipline according to the laws of this Commonwealth And moreover We do by these presents give and grant unto him the said Thomas Temple full power and authority over every person and persons of what degree, nor any of them do in any wise presume to trade or intermeddle with ye natives or savages within the countries, lands, islands, territories, seas and precincts aforesaid by way of trade or commerce in merchandise or otherwise without the special licence and consent of the said Thomas Temple first had and obtained; And we further will and do by these presents expressly forbid the said Thomas Temple that he do not in any wise give licence to any person or persons so to trade as aforesaid who are not or shall not be in amity with us and this Commonwealth And moreover if any person or persons shall trade or go about to trade within any the bays, rivers, lakes, seas or coasts of the said countries or territories without the licence and consent of the said Thomas Temple as aforesaid, then we do hereby give full power and authority unto him the said Thomas Temple and any the officers and soldiers as he shall employ under him the ships, barks, boats and other vessels, goods and merchandises of any person or persons there being and so trading or going about to trade with the natives and savages aforesaid or any of them contrary to this our Command, the said persons having first due notice of the same our Command, to seize and take as forfeit and confiscate and the same to detain and keep and convert to the benefit of the forts, fortifications, soldiery and other public uses there without any account to be rendered to us or our successors and without any trouble or question for the same by way of action or otherwise in New England or elsewhere And further we will and by these presents grant for us and our successors that in case of any opposition or resistance in the premisses

by any person or persons in hostile or other manner then and so often as it shall so happen it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Thomas Temple and the officers and soldiers, mariners and seamen as shall be employed under him to fight with, kill and slay the persons so opposing or resisting and to seize, take, sink or burn their ships, barks, boats or vessels so trading or going about to trade with the natives and savages aforesaid within the countries, seas and territories aforesaid or any of them without such licence and consent as aforesaid And we do by these presents for us and our successors give and grant unto the said Thomas Temple full power and authority in case of sickness, absence or other emergent cause from time to time to make and ordain by writing under his hand and seal any fit and discreet person his Deputy Lieutenant or Governor under him And we hereby also authorize and empower the said Thomas Temple to do and execute all and every such things as shall be necessary to be done and executed by him or by his assigns, parts and the inhabitants and people thereof in peace and quietness, and for advancing of trade and commerce there & as shall be found most fit and necessary and beneficial for the honor of us and these nations and the good and welfare of our people

Given under our signet at our Palace of Westminster the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty-six<sup>18</sup>

*To Captain John Leveret Governor in Chief of our Forts of St John, Port Royal, and Pentagoet in Acadia commonly called Nova Scotia in America, or to his Lieutenant, and other the Officers there or any of them*

OLIVER P

Our will and pleasure is, That you deliver or cause to be delivered unto our trustie and welbeloved, Colonel Thomas Temple, immediately upon his arrivall in Acadia commonly called Nova Scotia, in the parts of the same called the Forts of St John, Port Royal, and Pentagoet, all the goods, vassells, Ammunition, and other things whatsoever to them, or either of them belonging, Wee having committed unto him the said Colonel Temple the charge and government of the said Forts and premisses. And hereof you are not [to] faile Given at Whitehall the eighteenth day of Septe[mber] 1656<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Entered in the Book of Records of Suffolk County in Boston, July 6, 1657, pr in

and title to Acadia Sept 20, 1656. The title to Acadia was made Sept 12, 1657 and confirmed Feb 15, 1657-8 Suffolk Deed 1656-57, p 453

<sup>19</sup> Pr in Report of the Public Archives - U. S. Comm. Rept 16 Ann for the year 1923 (C. II, p. 51 (Hodgkin vera" of an order one in the Canadian archives, but the copy is longer.





issuing two passes; to ordering the equipment for the new regiment of foot, and warrants for various sums and for very different purposes—for Bonde's 'travel and the expenses of his journey to the democracy' for firing and stationery, diet for prisoners, and for 'riding journeys'—the usual minutiae of administration, little related to the greater issues of politics, not all of which were not reported to the Council who then directed English affairs. It did not, indeed, escape the great issue of exclusion entirely, for as a result of the three days' debate on the exclusion, on Saturday, the 20th, the House had ordered that the Council report to it on Monday the reasons why the various members had been excluded.

The Council had, besides, one great responsibility. Information had come into Thurloe's hands that an attempt was to be made on the Protector's life as a result of Sexby's last visit to England, when that indefatigable plotter had secured some agents for that purpose. Those agents, it appeared in time, were a certain Miles Sindercombe, sometime a quartermaster in Reynolds' regiment, later a private in Thomlinson's horse, and more recently involved in the plot of 1654 to seize Monk and raise rebellion in Scotland. He enlisted another old soldier, John Cecil, and a mysterious Royalist who went under the name of Boyes. The plan was to hire a house adjacent to the east door of Westminster Abbey, shoot the Protector as he left the Abbey, and in the ensuing confusion to escape by the back doors, of which there were several.<sup>21</sup> The preparations were made, a blunderbuss and pistols provided, Cecil was to stand on the wall, Sindercombe and Boyes in the yard. But "finding so many people standing on both sides the way, before the Protector came by, and as he passed, they durst not do any thing for fear of being discovered before they shot."<sup>22</sup> The plot thus not merely failed, it was not even fully revealed until another plot some months later, carried on by Sindercombe and his associates, was uncovered and the conspirators seized and tried. Though he had no definite information at the moment, the Protector was well within the facts when he noted in his speech a few minutes later to the newly-elected members that there had been, and were, designs against his person. The Royalist-Leveller combination believed that once he was out of the way the country would rise and that the Cromwellian officers would quarrel among themselves and be incapable of effective resistance—which, in fact, proved to be the

<sup>21</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1656-7), pp. 112-14, 589-90.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 776-77. The best secondary source is the testimony at the trial of the plotters, *Nat. Bior.*, "Sindercombe".

<sup>23</sup> Thurloe, v, 777, *State Trials*, v, 842, *Merc. Pol.*, Feb. 5-12, 1657-8.

case within two years, though not by the methods which they now adopted. There was, in effect, scarcely a moment from this time to his death that he was not in danger of assassination, and that became a definite factor in the politics of the ensuing months.

As a result of the information coming into Thurloe's office, Giavarina wrote,

various gentlemen believed to be partisans of the king of Scotland, have been arrested, as they feared to leave them at large in their country houses because exile from this city would not suffice to dissipate their evil intentions against the state. In London all those found without employment whether English or foreigners are taken by force and enrolled as soldiers to strengthen the guards. As the city had a quantity of arms stored in certain magazines in case of sudden emergency, the Protector has ordered them to be taken away to the Tower of London, where they will be kept by a company of soldiers, instead of the usual four. In addition to the regulation about passports the master of the posts has been directed not to give horses to any one who has not a ticket of the secretary of state. But in spite of all there are some who risk their lives secretly every day, as if they were found they would doubtless suffer exemplary punishment.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from the business of the excluded members, the first fortnight of the meeting of the new Parliament seems to have been spent in the ordinary routine which characterizes most of the activities of such a body. The Protector, on the other hand, though his business was in a sense routine, had to consider greater problems. Of these the chief were those connected with foreign and imperial affairs. The States General instructed Nieupoort to ask if Cromwell desired to be included in a treaty with Denmark.<sup>25</sup> Bradshaw advised Thurloe that he was still having trouble with the English merchants in Hamburg and begged for the Protector's support against his old antagonist, Townley.<sup>26</sup> From the Bay of Wiers, where they had found shelter and provisions, Blake and Montagu wrote that they wished to stay where they were, in spite of the Protector's orders of August 28, in the hope of intercepting the Spanish fleet, since it was reported that Spain was preparing 18 galleons and 12 men-of-war to be ready by January and they might catch a Spanish fleet going out.<sup>27</sup> In consequence the Protector altered his earlier instructions, left the decision to the admirals; prepared additional ships to send to them; and advised them only to remember that it was their business to fight the Spaniard.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 19/29, *Cal S P Ven* (1655-6), p. 267.

<sup>25</sup> Thurloe, v, 419.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 416-17.

Later in the week Montagu wrote of Stayner's engagement with a part of the Spanish fleet, and sent information he had received from the young Marquis of Baydes in regard to the richness of Hispaniola; the fortification of Cartagena; the weakness of Cartagena; the resentment of the natives against the Spaniards; and the fact that the Mexican fleet was in Havana and was expected to arrive in Europe in November or December—which, at least, did credit to the observation and intelligence of a boy of not more than sixteen.<sup>29</sup> That information, with the report of Stayner's success, was hurried off to England where it arrived on October 1, to the great satisfaction of the English authorities.

In the meantime Protector, Council and Parliament went on with their respective duties. The week-end of September 20 seems to have

Monday, presumably in preparation for its report to Parliament on the exclusion of the members. The Protector attended the meetings on Tuesday and Thursday to consider the matter of pay for the militia in various districts; the increase of pay for Colonel John Meyres, governor of Berwick; and the imprisonment of Cornet Wentworth Day, who had taken advantage of being in the custody of one Humphrey Holden to circulate a seditious paper, for which he was now committed to Windsor Castle.<sup>31</sup> A prominent Fifth Monarchist, sometime in Harrison's regiment, Day had been arrested in the preceding January, and was a persistent opponent of the Protectorate to the end of Cromwell's life.<sup>32</sup> Except for Wednesday, which was a special fast-day spent in church,<sup>33</sup> the House continued to meet and prepared various bills in committee "for Publique good to the People." Among them was one for the abolition of the court of wards and liveries, one for preservation of orphans and the preservation of their estates, for probate of wills, settlement of marriages, and the registration of births, deaths and marriages. On Friday the 26th the bill for the security of the Protector's person and the continuance of the nation in peace and safety was read for the second time, and on the same day the bill for renouncing the title of Charles II to the throne was read the third time and passed unanimously, and a committee was

<sup>29</sup> Blake & Montagu to Cromwell, Sept. 19, *ibid.*, p. 432, Montagu to Thurloe, Sept. 20, *ibid.*, pp. 432-25.

<sup>31</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1656-7, p. 16.

<sup>32</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1656-7, p. 16; Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, no. 925.

<sup>33</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1656-7, p. 16; Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, no. 925. 1655, for the impressment of horses to help put down the Salisbury rising, and had not, apparently, been compensated (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1656-7, pp. 149-50).

appointed to consider the presentation of these measures to the Protector for his assent.<sup>34</sup>

The industrious Giavarina reported, truly enough, that up to this the exclusion of the Catholics from the Council was the action on the ground of the *Instrument*. On the other hand he noted that one member had declared that "the liberty of Parliament, to which all authority pertains, would no longer be of any account, and it will no longer be able to enjoy those privileges which rightly belong to it since it has dissipated its own powers and thrown away those rights which legitimately belong to it."<sup>35</sup> It was on this same 29th of September that some accommodation seems to have been arrived at, since it was noted that "in order to save Appearances, it was resolv'd . . . That all Persons who had been return'd to serve in this Parliament, and had been, or might be, approved by the Council, should give their Attendance within seven days."<sup>36</sup> Moreover the question of kingship was again being raised, according to Giavarina, who wrote shrewdly,

They are now considering the possibility of restoring the King, and if they have no hope of this they might prefer the re-establishment of their natural prince

one day.<sup>37</sup>

In the midst of these affairs, the Protector took occasion to write letters to Louis XIV and Mazarin in regard to one of those unfortunately too common incidents in commercial life at that time, in this case the seizure of an English ship by privateers under a certain Giles de la Roche, and in regard to a dispute over payment for hides sold in France but not paid for.

*To the most Serene Prince, Lewis, King of France*

MOST SERENE KING, OUR MOST DEAR FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE

Certain merchants of London, Richard Baker and his partners, have made their complaint in a petition to us, that a certain hired ship of theirs, called the *Endeavour*, William Jop master, laden at Teneriff with three hundred and thirteen pipes of rich Canary, and bound from thence for London, in her voyage between Palma and that island upon the twenty

<sup>34</sup> C J, vii, 426-29

<sup>35</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept 26/Oct 6, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), pp. 268-69.

<sup>36</sup> *Parl Hist*, xxi, 37-38

<sup>37</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept 26/Oct. 6, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 269.

first of November, in 1655, five, was taken by four French vessels, and manned like privateers, under the command of Giles de la Roche their admiral, and carried with all her freight, and the greatest part of the seamen to the East Indies, whither he pretended to be bound, (fourteen excepted, who were put ashore upon the coast of Guiney) which the said Giles affirmed he did with

neither any commission to take the English vessels, neither had he taken any, as he might have done before, well knowing there was a firm peace at that time between the French and our republic but in regard he had designed to revictual in Portugal, from whence he was driven by contrary winds, he was constrained to supply his necessities with what he found in that vessel, and believed the owners of his ships would satisfy the merchants for their loss Now the loss of our merchants amounts to more than sixteen thousand English pounds, as will easily be made appear by witnesses upon oath. But if it shall be lawful, upon such trivial excuses as these, for pirates to violate

root ynerore we not only request your majesty, but believe it mainly to concern the safety of the kingdom, that the persons concerned upon so slight a pretence to the honour of their sovereign, should suffer the punishment due to such perfidiousness and daring insolence, and

wrongfully sustained So may the Almighty long preserve your majesty, and support the interest of France against the common enemy of us both

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster,  
[Sept 25, 1656]

OLIVER, P.<sup>as</sup>

*To the most Serene Prince, Lewis, King of France*

MOST SERENE KING, OUR DEAREST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE

Against our will it is, that we so often trouble your majesty with the wrongs done by your subjects after a peace so lately renewed But as we are fully persuaded, that your majesty being committed, so neither can we be wanting to the complaints of our people That the ship *Anthony* of Dieppe was legally taken before the league, manifestly appears by the sentence of the judges of our admiralty court Part of the goods taken on board of the said ship, were sold by the said Robert Brown, with the sale, as they themselves testify The same merchant, after the peace was confirmed, carried to Dieppe about two hundred of the same hides, and there having sold them to a currier, thought to have received his money, but found it stopped and attached in the hands of his factor; and a suit being com-

\* Symmons, *Milton* iv, 405-7, *Columbia Milton*, no 73 Dated thus as of the same day as letter to Mazzari

menced against him, he could obtain no favour in that court. wherefore, we thought it proper to request your majesty, that the whole matter may be referred to your council, that so the said money may be discharged from a most unjust action. For if acts done and adjudged before the peace shall after

care To whom God Almighty in the mean time vouchsafe his most holy protection.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our palace at Whitehall,  
Sept [25<sup>th</sup>] 1656

OLIVER, P.<sup>es</sup>

*To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin*

MOST EMINENT LORD,

HAVING an occasion to send letters to the king, we thought it likewise an offered opportunity to write to your eminency For we could not think it proper to conceal the subject of our writing from the sole and only person, whose singular prudence governs the most important interests  
find that league by yourself, as it were a crime to doubt, most sacredly concluded, almost the very same day contemned and violated by one Giles a Frenchman, a petty admiral of four  
cerned, as your eminency will readily  
demands themselves of our merchants Nor is it unknown to your excellency, how much it concerns not only inferiour magistrates, but even royal majesty itself, that those first violators of solemn alliances should be punished with unusual severity But they, perhaps, by this time being arrived in the East Indies, whither they pretended to be bound, enjoy in undisturbed possession the goods of our people as lawful prize won from an enemy, which they robbed and pillaged from the owners, contrary to all law, and the pledged faith of our late sacred league. However, this is that which we request from your eminency, that whatever goods were taken from our merchants by the admiral of those ships, as necessary for his voyage, may be restored by the owners of the same vessels, which was no more than what the rovers themselves should understand, it lies within your  
you bear in the kingdom

Your eminency's most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster,  
Sept. 25, 1656.

OLIVER P.<sup>es</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Symmons, *Milton* iv, 418, Columbia *Milton*, no 81 In *Gent. Mag.*, ix (1739), 24, from *Craftsman* Jan. 6, 1739

<sup>30</sup> Symmons, *Milton* iv, 407 Latin  
himself added three others in his Appendix and Mrs Lomas two more in her Supplement. This is not among them.

The news from abroad did little to soothe the feelings of the English government. The Venetian ambassador in Spain reported that Genoa had been hard hit by the seizure of the Spanish booty, probably because a part of it was owed to the Genoese.<sup>41</sup> Cromwell's name warning all kings and states not to meddle with the fleet coming from the West Indies since Blake would capture it all.<sup>42</sup> The English agent in Holland reported that he had made no progress in obtaining a reply to the Protector's last letter to the States General, and as evidence of their contempt copies of it had been circulated among the people.<sup>43</sup> From Compiègne, Lockhart sent an account of his audience of September 28, saying that the treaty with Condé had fallen through because of that prince's high demands, which, it may be noted, might have been expected from a commander who had demanded from Cromwell the personal possession of any conquests that he made. On the other hand, Lockhart reported that Lionne had returned from Spain without having made any treaty, and that Mazarin hoped this would convince the Protector that he kept his word. The Cardinal also expressed the hope that Cromwell would try to reconcile Sweden and Poland and thus prevent a league between Austria, Russia, Poland and the Pope.<sup>44</sup> With regard to Muskerry, who had sought refuge in France after his surrender to the English four years before in Ireland, and who was influential among the Irish in France, Mazarin agreed to relieve the Protector's concern over the Irish by seizing Muskerry rather than giving him a pass to return. As to Dunkirk, the Protector's demands were allowed save that the Cardinal still wished 2,000 English troops to be paid during the siege by the French and afterwards by the Protector. Such was Lockhart's report, save for his plea for more money, since he was going to Paris "out of all equipage," with neither money nor credit.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile the area of foreign affairs was extended by the arrival in London of a new envoy, this time from Courland, one Rudolf von Strauch. He came, according to Giavarina, incognito, though with a train fit for an ambassador, and his mission was as mysterious as his person. It was not, however, difficult to penetrate either his incognito

<sup>41</sup> D. Zane to Doge, Madrid, Sept. 24/Oct. 4, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 268.

<sup>42</sup> Cromwell to the States General, Oct. 10, 1655, *ibid.* p. 270. "had no motives or intentions to undertake anything outside this island other than what the persecutions of the Protestant religion by these powers, that we had no other desire to gain profit for or to increase the power of this nation, but that they liked to see other nations prosper." (Nieupoort to de Witt, Oct. 3/13, 1656, *De Witt, Brieven*, III, 286-87.)

<sup>43</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Sept. 28/Oct. 8, *Thurloe*, v, 450-41.



or his mission. Lying as it did on the northwest corner of Poland, which exercised a sort of suzerainty over it, Courland was gravely threatened, like the rest of Poland, by the ambitions of Charles X Gustavus, and her duke, or as he was called by Giavarina, her "prince," now sought some aid and comfort from Cromwell.<sup>46</sup>

But while his influence was being sought by this distant ruler, the question was considered "what Words shall be used, when, in case the Lord Protector shall not consent in Twenty Days, a Bill is to become a Law. And how Bills may be passed in case of the Lord Protector's Sickness, or Absence."<sup>47</sup> Especially in view of the Protector's recent illness, this raised a serious problem. Suppose he were incapacitated for a considerable time, how could legislation be carried on? The issue had never been met, and so long as the Council had remained, in effect, the legislative body, there had been no necessity for raising it, but now, with a Parliament in session, the case was altered. It was a difficult situation, but it does not appear that any answer was, or perhaps could be, given to the question.

Beyond this there were only the usual activities of such a body—with one striking exception. On September 29, the Protector and Council decided that Bradshaw, though he had been ordered to resign as chief justice of Chester and justice of assize for Flint, Denbigh and Montgomeryshire on August 1,<sup>48</sup> should be permitted to ride the circuit,<sup>49</sup> a decision which, according to Ludlow, was taken because the government hesitated to make a breach with the gentlemen of the long robe.<sup>50</sup> Though he had presided over the High Court of Justice at the trial of Charles I, Bradshaw had fallen out with Cromwell, was bitterly opposed to the Protectorate, and had refused to resign as chief justice of Chester on the ground that he had been appointed for life or during good behavior and had done nothing to make his resignation necessary. He had been defeated for Parliament owing to the activities of Major-General Bridge; and both publicly and privately he denounced the Protector and his colleagues.<sup>51</sup> In spite of this, and perhaps because Bradshaw was at this moment of no great importance or influence, the matter was allowed to drop.

In sharp contrast to the case of Bradshaw, on this same September 29 a pass was issued to Christopher Hatton to return to England.<sup>52</sup> He had been a strong supporter of Charles I but had fled to France

<sup>46</sup> *Cromwell's Letters*, ed. J. E. Spenser, 270 and note. Cp. Matt. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400 and n 141.

<sup>47</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 431.

<sup>48</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 50.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>50</sup> Ludlow, ii, 16.

<sup>51</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Bradshaw," and ref. there.

<sup>52</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 583, cp. *ibid.*, p. 116, for refusal to admit him.

in 1648, where he resided until it seemed that his estates would be confiscated, and he came back to save them if possible, in which it would appear he was successful. The main business of the Council was, as . . . . . On Wednesday, October 1, the Protector and Council considered the . . . . . of the Council in Scotland;<sup>54</sup> the problem . . . . . and payment of the forces in the three kingdoms; and ordering "the payment of part of the next assessment money" to pay the navy, so that the first three months' assessment be paid by November 10.<sup>54</sup> To this, on the next day, they added consideration of the activities of the Admiralty Commissioners in preparation of the fleet, directing them to order victuals for 30,000 men for the next year's service at sea—which indicates that they now contemplated a longer war than they had formerly anticipated. This was the more necessary in that Blake was presently writing the commissioners that the fleet had only ten days' allowance of bread at short rations and other provisions were running low.<sup>55</sup> Mingled with these more important affairs was a mass of minor business. The Quakers in prison at Exeter, Dorchester, Bury and Colchester were ordered released and their fines discharged.<sup>56</sup> There was a mysterious pass issued to one Edward Aldrich, possibly the colonel of that name who was, or had been, governor of Aylesbury, to "repair to the Prince Elector's court,"<sup>57</sup> where later, and probably malicious, intelligence reported, his task was to assassinate Charles II, then in Bruges, but in the preceding months having travelled incognito in Germany.<sup>58</sup>

There seems no reason for sending an envoy to the Elector Palatine's court; and certainly no reason for the assassination of Charles II. The removal of Cromwell, as events were to prove, would mean the overthrow of the Protectorate, but the death of Charles II would only leave James, Duke of York, and after him Henry, Duke of Gloucester, successors to the throne, as the execution of Charles I had only resulted in the succession of Charles II to the titular monarchy. Charles II and the Stuart family were, in fact, an asset as well as a liability to the Protector, as he doubtless realized. There was, it is true, always danger of a Royalist insurrection or of his own assassination; but at all times when he wished to rouse the spirits of his party and reconcile even the Republicans to his rule, he invoked the spectre of a restored monarchy, and never without success. It was the one infallible recipe for rallying the revolutionary elements to his side. It

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120-22.

<sup>56</sup> . . . . .

<sup>57</sup> . . . . .

<sup>58</sup> . . . . .

<sup>59</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1656-7), p. 583.

<sup>60</sup> *Airy, Charles II, and Dict Nat. Biog.*



*Instructions to the Generals of the Fleet*

GENTLEMEN,

Our last to you bore date the 28th of August, giving notice of our receipt of yours of the 19th of June, and (upon the grounds therein

to answer any opportunity of service, which might present itself, and our resolution thereupon, that about twenty ships (such as you judged most

We did thereby advise with one of you, at least upon the whole affair, and inconvenient for both of you to be from the head of the fleets, that general Blake should therefore stay with the fleet, and general Montagu return with the squadron, which comes home. We also took notice of the intelligence given us, that the enemy was at that time fitting out some ships of war, and others, to send from Cadiz into the West Indies, for carrying on his trade there; to him, we commended it to you to us

ing of materials for ships or other counterband goods into Cadiz or any his ports, which you can have an eye to, and as much as might be, to prevent his trade and correspondence with Flanders Besides which, and the other damage you may have opportunity to do him, we acquainted you, that in keeping the said fleet in those seas we had an eye to the preservation of our trade to the Straits and to Portugal; the driving on of which would require a good countenance and strength, which being our general scope, we left the management and improvement of the fleet (to the ends after mentioned, and such others wherein it might be useful to the service, and direct to him who did abide upon the place

what was therein expressed, as to the number of ships to remain in those seas, or the way and manner of weakening the enemy and managing the war, we desired your sense and advice thereupon with all speed, and in the mean time,

Since our receipt of the said letters, we have received yours of the 19th of September, communicating to us the good success it hath pleased God to give West India fleet, being a dispensation much obliging us and this whole commonwealth to acknowledge and adore his special goodness and wisdom in vouchsafing so suitable and seasonable a mercy, which may also encourage us and you to wait on him for the future manifestation of his presence and blessing, and that he will still appear a present help in our time of need.

ready in January next, and that (it being likely an opportunity may be then had of fighting with him) a council of war upon this and other considerations had resolved not to send home the great ships

Upon the whole case, we judging that there is little question to be made but the king of Spain will endeavour to send a fleet away to the West Indies

(without which his trade thither will be lost) and understanding, that he expects in December next another plate fleet from thence, it being so signified to us by your letters, as also by letters from vice admiral Goodsonn, who waited for them with fourteen ships near the Havanna until August, but not coming by that time, and his provisions being spent, he sent some part of the fleet home, and the rest is returned to Jamaica, we also conceiving, that there can be nothing of more consequence, than to intercept the Spanish fleet going to and coming from the West Indies, for which end our purpose is to keep a fleet in those seas, which may be able to fight with any fleet the Spaniard can set forth, as the most effectual means to prosecute that war, whereunto we are also encouraged by the unanimous resolution of the parliament, who, before the communication of your letters to them of the taking the Spanish ships, passed this vote, viz \*\*

And for that (having dispatched our orders aforesaid for the sending home of all but twenty ships) we know not but those orders may alter your resolution of keeping with you the great ships, and that a good part of the fleet may be now on their way homewards with the prize, we have therefore determined, and hereby let you know, that two second rate ships, viz the *Unicorn* and the *George*, and four fourth rate frigots, to wit, the *Bristol*, the *Taunton*, the *Phoenix*, and the *Jersey*, are fitting forth to be sent to you with all speed; and in case the whole fleet shall be in these parts at your receipt hereof, we leave it to you, to keep or send so many of them as you shall judge fit, and as may consist with the aforesaid services. And however, upon notice to us of your condition, and what will be necessary to the ends aforesaid, we shall comply with your opinion therein.

In the mean time, we commend it to your care and prudence, that the fleet be disposed of with most advantage for intercepting the enemies ships outwards or homewards bound, and for the hindering the carrying of any materials of shipping into Spain, and (if the prize shall not be upon the way when this comes to your hands) we leave it to you to send it home in such manner as you shall think fit, with respect to its safety and convenient dispatch. And for what concerns victuals and other necessary provisions for the fleet with you, we refer you to the commissioners of the admiralty, who have directions fully to write to you therein.<sup>64</sup>

[after October 2, 1656]

The week of October 6 opened with a curious and unusual demonstration of the strength of the Protector and his attitude toward Sweden. This, as Cromwell intended, was a "review of all his regiments quartered about London, to shew "the strength of his regard for the King of Sweden and his earnest desire to continue united with him in religion and interest. . . There are 20 of these, each composed of 10 companies of 120 men each. He selected one of the best

<sup>64</sup> No signature. Thurloe, v, 518-19. Not dated in Thurloe, but must have been after October 2, when Thurloe communicated the letters mentioned to Parliament, and before Montagu's return. Blake wrote to Thurloe on Dec. 8/18 in reply to Thurloe's letter of Nov. 11/18.

*To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington  
Knight, Speaker of the Parliament*

Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved, We greet you well

It being expressed in the Thirty-fourth Article, of the Government, That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Bench shall be chosen by the Assentation of Parliament and not otherwise.

C

Meeting of the Parliament, appointed, with the Approbation of the Council,

previous day's session.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127-29.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, p 128, cp *ibid*, pp 28, 114, 143

<sup>72</sup> *Pub Intell*, Oct 6-13.

our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Nathanaell Fiennes, and John Lisle, Commissioners of the Great Seal of England; and our Right Trusty and Well-beloved John Glynnne, Chief Justice of the Upper Bench; I have thought it necessary to transmit to you the Names of those Persons, to the End that the Resolution of the Parliament may be known, concerning their Approbation. Which I desire may be with such Speed as the other publick Occasions of the Commonwealth will permit. And so I bid you heartily Farewel

Given at Whitehall, the 10th of October 1656 <sup>73</sup>

Parliament, though it met every day except Wednesday, which was observed as a day of thanksgiving for the victory over Spain,<sup>74</sup> seems to have been scarcely less inactive, concerning itself chiefly with amendments to the bill for the security of the Protector's person, naming commissioners, introducing bills for the naturalizing of numerous aliens, and approving the Protector's nominations.<sup>75</sup> While the Protector and Council were busy with direction of policy and routine administration, Parliament had been occupied, besides these things, with the usual proceedings of such a body in its earlier stages—ordering new elections for seats vacated by members chosen for two constituencies, minor questions of procedure; consideration of revenue and customs, and reference to committees on the problems of swearing and of the costumes and wages of laborers and servants—which was sent to the committee on ale-houses and drunkenness.<sup>76</sup> On October 11, Fiennes and Lisle were approved as Commissioners of the Great Seal on the Protector's nomination.<sup>77</sup> With these and other matters to be embodied in bills which were later to be presented to the Protector, the proceedings of the House offered little if any matter of direct political importance.<sup>78</sup> In all this only one thing was notable—it was the proposal to refer to a committee not only the problem of "wandering, idle, loose and dissolute persons, beggars, rogues and vagabonds" but of "such persons as live at very high rates, and have no visible estate, profession or calling suitable thereto."<sup>79</sup> This was a measure obviously directed against those who might receive support from the opponents of the existing government, but capable of almost indefinite extension and of almost unlimited abuse, as had been evidenced by the slender grounds on which Haynes had seized the poet Cleveland in the preceding November.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *C J*, vii, 437, *Parl Hist*, xxi, 40-41

<sup>74</sup> *Merc Pol.*, Oct 2-9, *Pub. Intell*, Oct 6-13

<sup>75</sup> *C J*, vii, 435-38

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, pp 434-37.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 437-38

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, pp 434-37

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, p 439

<sup>80</sup> *Cp.* Nov 11, 1655, *ut supra*

The question of the excluded members was, however, still in dispute. Henry Cromwell, who had apparently just heard of it, wrote to inquire why Alderman Tighe had been excluded, his only fault being, as Henry expressed it, that he had been a member of the Protector. He included in his

determined. There was still some apprehension of Royalist designs there, and Henry wrote Thurloe that he was only waiting his father's approbation for the final settlement of the militia.<sup>82</sup> On the other hand, the Protector desired that settlement but knew the difficulty of selecting commanders. In spite of the care taken in the selection

the men Henry wished to appoint and the source of their pay. Each troop in England, he went on to say, received £1,000 a year and decimation from the Cavaliers.<sup>83</sup> This was later illuminated, on October 16, by an order in Council that for the newly raised companies in the regiments of Hewson, Gibbon and Barkstead were to be paid according to the English establishment of October 15, 1653, the Irish according to the Irish scale, of Oct. 24, 1653,<sup>84</sup> which argues a difference in the pay of those thus enlisted.

It seems, moreover, that the dissatisfaction over the distribution of confiscated property which always exists in such crises, had extended to high places, for at the order of the Protector and Council for "the payment of the arrears of the country [Scotland], and alsoe the donatives." In this the commander in Scotland was apparently concerned personally, as he had been granted lands from the Duke of Hamilton's estates after that nobleman had fallen at Worcester and had his estates sequestered. They had, according to Monk, been twice sold since that time, much money had been expended in sinking coal-pits, building salt-pans, and like measures, and the General notified the administration that the trustees of the property were sending a representative to protest the order, requesting that proceedings be stayed until the protest had been considered.<sup>85</sup> In itself the incident had no great interest save to the parties concerned, but it is, in little, the story of Royalist estates

<sup>82</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, Oct. 6, Thurloe, v, 477-78.

<sup>83</sup> Same to same, Sept. 29, *ibid.*, pp. 452-53, Oct. 6, *ibid.*, p. 477.

<sup>84</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, *ibid.*, pp. 453-55.

<sup>85</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. 133, Thurloe, v, 657.

<sup>86</sup> Monk to Cromwell, Oct. 11, *ibid.*, p. 490, cp. *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. 135.



as a whole and is a good instance of the cases which occupied so much of the time of the government for many years.

Farther afield, Lockhart sent a warning that Charles II had engaged some one who had access to the Protector to kill him;<sup>86</sup> and Doyley wrote that he was sending Colonel Humphreys home, as being no longer able to resist his "reasonable importunities";<sup>87</sup> so that Humphreys was granted his arrears of pay, offered a post in Ireland, and presently employed as captain or major in Flanders. It was the end of an episode. In August, 1655, Humphreys' regiment, 831 strong, had arrived in Barbados, "lusty, healthful, gallant men, who encouraged the whole army." Within a twelvemonth it had been reduced chiefly by illness to 276 men, for the most part useless, whose officers were petitioning to be allowed to return, Humphreys being more fortunate than most of them in escaping the death-trap.<sup>88</sup> Again, in itself the incident was of no great importance, but taken in connection with other like matters and the sending of a regiment to the New Model army was becoming, or had become, in effect, a professional force, prepared to go anywhere and fight any one at the command of its general, more or less irrespective of religious or political considerations. Those who clung to their convictions, like Harrison, Rich, Carew and their fellows, had been purged from its ranks and were in many cases in prison. Those who remained, excellent soldiers and officers as they were, like Humphreys, were wholly at the disposition of their general, the Lord Protector; and there were enough of them to form not merely an irresistible force in the British Isles but one of the most formidable armies then in Europe, and so recognized by those rulers who sought the aid of its commander. Even so, the utmost care was taken to secure information of the disposition of the troops and their officers and every effort was made to drive from its ranks any who showed dissatisfaction with the existing government.

If the Protectorate was to maintain itself, these measures were necessary, and it is not surprising that so much of the time of the Protector and his Council was devoted to military affairs. The week of October 13, when the Council held meetings on Tuesday and Thursday, with the Protector present at both,<sup>89</sup> was filled with matters

<sup>86</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Oct. 11/21, Thurloe, v, 488.

<sup>87</sup> Doyley to Thurloe, Oct. 11/21, Thurloe, v, 488. and Firth-Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 272. *Intell.*, Oct. 27-1. Moore's regiment. He sent b. . . died and he himself only lived. tests were sent to Thurloe by . . . patent and actions in Maryland (Thurloe, v, 482-7).

<sup>88</sup> Firth-Davies, ii, 722-23.

<sup>89</sup> *Intell.*, Oct. 13/23, Thurloe, v, 488. orders in person, and on

concerning the various prisoners were released—Hugh Courtney from the Isle of Wight; John Carew from Mawes; Colonel Nathaniel Rich, sometime a close friend and devoted follower of Cromwell, but fallen from favor and imprisoned at Windsor, was discharged from imprisonment but confined to his house at Eltham; and all those "lately sent from Abington, and now in custody at Windsor," except one Ruddock, were discharged.<sup>90</sup> In addition Sir Francis Russell was to see that the Quakers who were held at Colchester, Bury St Edmunds and Ipswich, whose release had been ordered earlier, be freed when their fines were "taken off" and "discharged."<sup>91</sup> On the 14th, licences were issued to various individuals to come to London notwithstanding the recent proclamation,<sup>92</sup> and the Council in Ireland was instructed to reimburse Major George Ireland to the amount of £4198/0/6, to be made good to him by lands in Connaught not assigned to the transported Irish.<sup>93</sup> On the 16th, besides a ruling that no augmentation for livings be considered for three months, and a warrant to John Revel and Stephen Luck for the discovery and seizure of leather designed for export,<sup>94</sup> there was an order to a certain Captain Samuel Rose, commander in the Isle of Man, which had been transferred to Fairfax in 1649.

*To Capt. Samuel Rose, Commander-in-chief of the Forces in the Isle of Man*

Whereas Thomas, Lord Fairfax, Lord of Man and the Isles belonging thereto, appointed Jas Challoner his deputy in all but military cases, for which you have our commission, and whereas his Lordship desires a fair correspondence between the said deputy and yourself, we request that neither you nor any officer or soldier under you interrupt the said deputy in the exercise of his civil authority within the lordship, but rather countenance him and his subordinates in its administration.<sup>95</sup>

[October 16, 1656]

Meanwhile the House had gone its way. The naturalization bill was read and committed, the committee which brought in the report in regard to the manner of addresses to the Protector with bills, at-

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133; cp *supra*, Oct. 2.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 583-84. The men were—Windham, Jon Trelawney or Trelawney, co. John Norton, John Flint, Col. Somerset

Fox to come up for a trial at Westminster

<sup>93</sup> *Cal S P Irel.* (1647-60), p. 832, cp *Cal S. P Dom* (1651-6), p. 170 and (1656-7), pp. 61, 109, 113.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* (1656-7), p. 132. Undated, but probably at this time.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

tended him on the afternoon of the 14th; and on Thursday Lambert and a committee met with him to obtain his approbation of the *Narrative* of Stayner's victory and an order for November 5 as a thanksgiving.<sup>96</sup> More important still, on Friday the 17th, they began a debate on the Spanish war, which was carried over until Monday, and Sydenham laid before the members an estimate of the debts chargeable to the treasury of the navy; of the state of the pay due the forces in the British Isles, especially the arrears; and a third paper

by letters he revolutionized the land and sea forces and charges of the administration amounted to some £856,000, besides an old debt charged to the excise of about £260,000. This, for those days, was a staggering sum, and "it was propounded that for arrears of excise from generall merchants of London there would bee yet one hundred thousand pounds; from intercourse merchants, . . . thirtie thousand pounds, from the City of London for arrears of taxes about ten thousand pounds. Then that enquiry should be made what moneyes were in any treasury for the late Kings, Queens or Princes lands, or what moneyes were resting in the hands of any purchaser, and the like for Bishops, Deanes and Chapters' lands; . . ."<sup>97</sup> From this it appears that the revolutionary government, which had relied so long on this spoil of its enemies, had not yet abandoned hope that there might be something left in the bottom of that barrel. It was a vain hope, for that resource had long since been exhausted, as the Protector himself had pointed out, and what scraps remained were hopelessly insufficient to meet the demands of the Protectoral government for money and yet more money to finance its military and naval establishments. Thus far the Spanish adventure had not returned even its cost. The government had expected. Sequestrations, fines . . . the expense of the army of occupation in any of the three kingdoms; even the City and its merchants seem not to have met, or been able to meet, the heavy exactions laid on them by the government; and, all in all, it was apparent that the government was, in effect, bankrupt, with small hope of being able to escape from that situation, except by a rate of taxation which it did not dare to levy.

It was at this moment that we get two more glimpses of Cromwell in his more personal capacity. The first is a communication to that

<sup>96</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 438-40.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 438. The Committee for the Reduction of the Kingdoms communicated to the Council the discovery of purchases made by forged debentures, that the commissioners had returned certificates amounting to more than £70,000 and more were expected (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1666-7) n. 177.

Johnston of Wariston who had done so much unconsciously to contribute to Cromwell's conquest of Scotland. Writing to him on October 14, Argyll, who had apparently seen the Protector recently, assured the Keeper of the Registers of Scotland that Cromwell was "reserving one care for my freinds," and that he was "very tender in his respect towards you and affected with your condition and had apoynted 300 pd. sterling yearly for you; which as its an act of kindness from men, so (al things considered) of great mercy from the Lord . . ."<sup>99</sup>

At about this time, too, George Fox appeared in London and records that

his condition and of the sufferings of friends in the nation, and how contrary to Christ this persecution was, and to the Apostles and Christianity, and so I rode by his coach till we came to James Park gate and he desired me to come to his house. And the next day one of Oliver's wife's maids, Mary Sanders, came up to me to my lodging and said that her master came to her and said he could tell her some good news . . . and he said unto her G: Fox was come to town . . . he told her how I met him and rode from Hyde Park down to James Park with him. And so Ed: Pyott and I went to Whitehall after a time and when we came before him there was one Dr. Owen, Vice Chancellor of Oxford with him: so we was moved to speak to O. Cromwell concerning the suffering of friends and laid before him and turned him to the light of Christ . . . and he said it was a natural light, and we showed him the contrary and how it was divine and spiritual . . . And the power of the Lord God . . . the feet of . . . standing by the table and he came and sat upon the table's side by me and said he would be as high as I was for the Lord's power came over him. And so he continued speaking against the light of Christ Jesus and went his ways in a . . . and companions, I never parted so . . .

Probably on Thursday, the 16th, the Protector advised the Council of the presentation of a memorandum from Nieupoort to Colonel Jones in regard to an Amsterdam ship brought to Portsmouth by an English frigate. The memorandum was delivered to the Protector by Jones, and Thurloe told Nieupoort that "speaking of the treaty communicated to his Highness in behalf of their high and mighty

<sup>99</sup> Argyll to Wariston, Oct. 14, quoted by Wariston in *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston*, III (ed. Jas. D. Ogilvie, Edinb., 1940), 48.

<sup>100</sup> Fox, *Journal* (1911), I, 260-61, cp. Wm. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (L., 1912), pp. 437-38.

lordships . . . his Highness had read it, and that he was since informed, that the king of Denmark was discontented about the last concluded at Elbing. That therefore his Highness was desirous to be further informed about the same, before he could declare himself further concerning the treaty of the guaranty concluded with their high and mighty lordships."<sup>101</sup> This seems inconclusive enough, nor is it illuminated by Schlezer's report to the Elector of his discovery that the Protector was inclined to show friendship to the house of Orange and that he, Schlezer, was leaving for the Hague to discuss the situation with the Princess.<sup>102</sup> Bonde, having reached Hamburg on his journey home, wrote the Protector of his lifelong gratitude for the treatment he had received in England; the pleasure of Charles X at the news of the English victory over Spain, adding that the ratification of the Anglo-Swedish treaty would be sent soon and that Cromwell's ambassadors would be welcomed in Sweden.<sup>103</sup> Giavarina reported, on the other hand, that the audience of the Swedish commissioner and the envoy of Courland was still delayed; adding that the captured plate had been delayed in reaching England by storms, but that arrangements had been made to convert it into crowns and half-crowns with a new device—on one side the arms of the three kingdoms, with those of the Protector in the middle; on the other an effigy of the Protector on horseback.<sup>104</sup> There was also a Royalist report that the Elector Palatine had sent a Robert Lesley from Heidelberg to treat with the Protector for the restoration of the Elector's pension of £10,000 from the old royal government in return for his entrance into the Protestant League, agreeing to keep the house of Austria too busy to assist Charles II and to obstruct that prince in his endeavors to make treaties with other German princes—which may help explain the visit of Edward Aldrich to that ruler's court. This scheme, it was reported, was agreeable to the Protector. Lesley was said to be much courted and had been presented by Lambert with a rich coach and horses.<sup>105</sup> Information from like sources noted that the Levellers had agreed with the Royalists on a price of £15,000 for the possession of Portsmouth, and the Levellers were looking for an opportunity to "stab" Cromwell and Lambert, without any help from Sexby, whose plot had been foisted without their consent.<sup>106</sup>

In the midst of these excursions and alarms, plots and rumors of plots, diplomatic maneuvers and designs, the Protector took occasion

<sup>101</sup> N. . . . .

<sup>102</sup> S . . . . .

vii, 757

<sup>103</sup> Bonde to Cromwell, Oct. 19/29, Thurloe, v, 502

<sup>104</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Oct. 17/27, *Cal S P Ven* (1655-6), pp. 276-77

<sup>105</sup> [Rumbold] to Ormonde, Oct. 18, Macray, iii, 193, no. 592, Hyde to Bristol, Oct. . . .

to write to the Senate of Hamburg one of those frequent letters in regard to the treatment of Englishmen abroad:

*To the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of Hamborough*

MOST NOBLE, MAGNIFICENT, AND RIGHT WORSHIPFUL, DEAR FRIENDS

James and Patrick Hare, subjects of this commonwealth

brother Alexander who died intestate, were so declared by a sentence of your court pronounced in their behalf twelve years ago against their brother's widow; and the estates of their deceased brother, together with the profits, only the widow's dowry excepted, being adjudged to them by virtue of that sentence, nevertheless, to this very day they could never reap any benefit of their pains and expenses in obtaining the said judgment, notwithstanding their

chief magistrates, and with whom the greatest part of the goods was deposited, was an opposition too potent for them to surmount, while he strove all that in him lay that the goods might not be restored to the heirs. Thus disappointed and tired out with delays, and at length reduced to utmost poverty, they are become suppliants to us, that we would not forsake them, wronged and oppressed as they are in a confederated city. We therefore believing it to be a chief part of our duty, not to suffer any countryman of ours in vain to desire our patronage and succour

city, That the sentence pronounced in behalf of the two brothers may be ratified and duly executed, according to the intents and purposes for which it was given, and that you will not suffer any longer delay of justice, by an appeal to the chamber of Spire, upon any pretence whatever for we have

avail, of necessity (and which is no more than according to the customary law of nations, though we are unwilling to come to that extremity) the severity of retaliation must take its course, which we hope your prudence will take care to prevent. From our palace at Westminster, October 16, 1656

Your lordships' most affectionate,

OLIVER, P<sup>107</sup>

Meanwhile there was much business long delayed in transit. Goodson and Stokes wrote that it was impossible to build fortifications because it was necessary first to erect houses, and most of the masons and carpenters brought from England and Barbados were dead.<sup>108</sup> And by way of Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, Sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught by patents from the King and Parliament, requested a new patent from the Protector to secure his posi-

<sup>107</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 421-22, *Columbia Milton*, no. 85

<sup>108</sup> Goodson and Stokes to Cromwell, Oct. 18, Thurloe, v, 500-1.

tion in that disturbed region.<sup>109</sup> There was, indeed, a lull in public business. The single meeting of the Council in the week of October 20<sup>110</sup> was marked only by the confirmation of the charter of the East India Company, referred to it on October 20 by the Protector and acted on the day following.<sup>111</sup> The House revealed an equal lack of interest. On the 20th it ordered that no private petitions be admitted for a month.<sup>112</sup> Samuel Chidley was committed to the care of Barkstead in the Tower for his *Thunder from the Throne of God, against the Temples of Idols*, directed to—or against—the Protector.<sup>113</sup> Writs were issued for several elections where members were chosen for more than one place.<sup>114</sup> Lambert was instructed to inform the Protector that the House desired an account or estimate on November 6 of what would be necessary for carrying on the Spanish war for the ensuing year, out of the present revenue.<sup>115</sup> And to indicate that the Fifth Monarchists were still active, there appeared on October 22 another of their tracts, this time addressed to the army, and entitled *A Looking-Glasse for, or An Awakening Word to, the Officers . . . Wherein is set before them some passages in severall of their Declarations . . . of the Rights and liberties of the People*.<sup>116</sup> It was this sort of thing which, in connection with the reports of plots, kept the Protector's government in a continual state of anxiety. It seemed impossible to prevent it even by the most stringent control of the press, for where they were not published by the "underground" printers, they were issued in Holland and smuggled into the British Isles and distributed by agents of the disaffected party, by pedlars, at fairs, from hand to hand, "from a brother's pocket or from under a sister's apron," so that the traffic in them was all but impossible to check.

Among his other activities at this moment the Protector took occasion to write to Charles X Gustavus in regard to a certain Sir William Vavasour, who, like many men from the British Isles, had taken service in Sweden and was now apparently returning to his command.

<sup>109</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, *ibid.*, p. 494.

<sup>110</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. xxi, 136-38.

<sup>111</sup> Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 118.

<sup>112</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 441.

<sup>113</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 442-44. . . . . Protector and  
on Mondays  
and Fridays (Sept. 18 and 22).

<sup>114</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 442-44.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 445.

<sup>116</sup> Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, no. 832.

*To the King of the Swedes*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING,

and goodwill toward  
their behalf may seem superfluous, yet we were unwilling to dismiss without  
our letters to your majesty this noble person, William Vavassour, knight of  
the golden helmet serving under your banners, and now returning to your  
majesty which we have done so much that formerly following your majesty  
blood in several combats Insomuch, that the succeeding kings of Swedeland,  
in remuneration of his military skill, and bold achievements in war, rewarded  
him with lands and annual pensions, as the guerdons of his prowess. Nor do  
majesty according to his merits; and we also farther request, That he may be  
paid the arrears due to him. shall not object upon the lik  
majesty, to whom we wish all happiness and prosperity.

Your majesty's good friend

From our palace at Westminster  
October 22, 1656.

OLIVER P<sup>117</sup>

On the next day, in the usual pursuit of money, he issued letters patent appointing a commission of nineteen members to examine all persons accountable for public money in Ireland, on the ground that

greate summes of money and large quantities of arms, ammunition, and provisions of all sorts have been received & issued by severall persons within our dominion of Ireland, the accompts of which by reason of the Rebellion & Warre, have not yett been fully determined<sup>118</sup>

On October 24 Montagu arrived at Portsmouth with a portion of the fleet, and as soon as Thurloe advised the Protector of its arrival, he wrote the admiral that "in pursuance of your desires [the Protector] resolved to send unto you Col Kelsey, Capt. Hatsell, Capt. Lloyd, Col Briscoe, Major Bourne (if they can all be had) and by them you will receive his Highness's thoughts concerning the fleet now with you Their despatch is now preparing, and his Highness desires, that you with the fleet will stay at Portsmouth, until the

<sup>117</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, IV, 419-20; compared with Latin in *Columbia Milton*, no 83.

King, Wm Bael, Arthur Hill John Bridges, Robt Southwell, Robt. Gorges, Edw. Robert.



persons aforesaid arrive with you, ."<sup>119</sup> This, though not unexpected, was good news, portending as it did the arrival of the plunder of the Spanish fleet, which at that moment was particularly welcome.

This week was notable for another, and unusual, conferring of dignities. On October 25, the Protector conferred upon William Sheppard the post of serjeant-at-law. Sheppard, an ardent Cromwellian, had made a reputation as a country solicitor in Gloucestershire, and especially as a writer on legal practice, particularly on the office of justice of the peace. He had been called to London by Cromwell about 1653 and made one of the clerks of the Upper Bench, and was active on the Council committee for corporation charters, though a member of neither Council nor Parliament. He had apparently at this time published a volume under the title of *England's Balme*, concerning the "regulation of the law and the better administration of justice," and whether or not this was the occasion of his elevation, that elevation was at any rate the recognition of his services not only to the Protector but to the profession of which he was a member. Two days later, on October 27, Sheppard was sworn and admitted before the Committee of the Great Seal,<sup>120</sup> and from that time until his death he continued to publish volumes on the practice of the law in its lesser branches which made him one of the best known and most prolific of English legal writers.

The main business of the Protector and Council, however, continued to be that of the armed forces. It was interrupted by the death and funeral of Cromwell's sister, the wife of General Desborough, who, on October 27, was buried in Westminster Abbey with great pomp in one of the tombs "which in other days were reserved for royal bodies only."<sup>121</sup> At the Council meeting on the next day, the 28th, with the Protector present, provision was made for the payment and equipment of the regiments recently raised by Gibbon and Hewson in anticipation of a Royalist rising.<sup>122</sup> The army committee . . . . . Colonel Biscoe . . . . . and there was evidently some discussion in regard to Sweden, for Fiennes and Fleet-

<sup>119</sup> *Pub Intell*, Oct 20-27, Thurloe, v, 509, 524, Carte, *Orig Letters*, II, 115-16.

<sup>120</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, xxi, 222, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Sheppard." His *England's Balme* has been dated 1651-52, but that is probably an error. The preface is dated Oct 1, 1656; the work is dedicated to his Highness and the Council and is entered in the Stationers' Register under the date of Oct 11, 1656 (ed. Roxburghe Club, II (L, 1913), 90), cp. also *Pub Intell*, Oct 27-Nov. 3. See also his *Formes and Presidents of Charters*, contained in his work *Of Corporations* . . . . . full form of a municipal charter, pp . . . . . ment" under Oliver P.

<sup>121</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Oct 31/Nov 10, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1655-6), p 280.

<sup>122</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), pp xxi, 139.

<sup>123</sup> *Id.* . . . . .

wood were ordered to "consider what was to-day propounded by his Highness and Council."<sup>124</sup> On Wednesday the 29th, Tichborne was sworn in as Lord Mayor before the Lords of the Exchequer,<sup>125</sup> having been formerly approved by the Protector, who thus secured another supporter in a strategic position. Thursday was a fast-day, Owen, Goodwin and Griffith preaching at St. Margaret's before the House.<sup>126</sup>

All this was incidental to the chief business of the moment. On Friday, October 31, the Council approved a report, later approved by the Protector on presentation by Lambert and Sydenham, from a committee of the Council for the disposition of the money and plate brought by Montagu. It was decided that the whole amount be coined in the Tower; that £50,000—or £60,000 if desired—be advanced before October 10, and £10,000—or £15,000 if desired—weekly, that for bars of various marks there should be paid stated rates "according to value and fineness"; with further details in regard to the rates for Mexican coin and money from Peru.<sup>127</sup> These orders were further clarified on the following day, November 1, in the Protector's presence. The money was to be sent by wagon from Portsmouth, for though it would have been easier and cheaper to send it by ship to London, Clarendon noted that the Protector thought it would 'make more noise' if it were brought by land, which was certainly true and gives further evidence of Cromwell's sense of what we call "publicity" if such evidence were needed. What was even more to the purpose was the disposition of the money. The first £20,000 was to be paid into the Exchequer for the use of the navy—and his Highness' household.<sup>128</sup> It would appear that the Protectoral establishment was very short of funds, for on October 28 the Admiralty Commissioners had been ordered to lend £2,000 out of the excise to Maidstone for "to be repaid from the Exchequer." A windfall changed the situation. On November 1 it was ordered that the money should be paid to Maidstone out of the amount payable by Viner and Backwell on account of the prize brought in by Montagu.<sup>129</sup> All these details may seem insignificant in themselves but they appear to confirm the conclusion that the Protectorate was in financial straits from

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>125</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Oct. 27–Nov. 3.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656–7), p. 143.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxi, 148, Clarendon, *History*, iv, 27.

<sup>129</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656–7), p. 140.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

which the Spanish plunder for the moment served to rescue it, though it did not greatly affect the general problem of national finance. The success of Stayner, however, had another result. On Sunday, November 2, after the sermon, the Marquis of Baydes and his brother, the sons of the viceroy of Peru who had died in the attack on the galleons, were brought before the Protector and some of his 'lords.' Of the hundred prisoners or so that Montagu brought back, some twenty-five or thirty men of rank, from whom ransom might be expected, were sent to Chelsea;<sup>131</sup> the rest were freed and, presumably, permitted to find their way back to the own country as best they could.

The settlement of the problem of the Spanish treasure and prisoners was accompanied by the raising of another and still more important question—that of the succession to the Protectorate, which doubtless had been rendered more pressing by Cromwell's recent illness. The prospect of his removal had made his followers anxious as to their situation and they had begun to consider the question seriously. Ludlow tells the story of Colonel Jephson's suggestion that the Protector take the title of king and his reproval by Cromwell, though apparently more in jest than in earnest. "Get thee gone for a mad fellow," Ludlow reports Cromwell as saying, clapping Jephson on the shoulder; but, as Ludlow adds with his usual acerbity, Jephson shortly thereafter got a foot company for one son, an Oxford scholarship for another, and a troop of horse for himself, and was presently sent as envoy to Sweden, presumably as a reward for his "madness."<sup>132</sup> This suggestion having failed, it appears that on Tuesday, October 28, when Jephson, member of Parliament for Youghal, brought up the "question concerning the election of successive Protectors as itt was now settled in the Instrument, some debates were concerning itt as to the safety of itt, but there was noe conclusion made, butt they adjourned without putting any question whether any further debate should be of itt or noe,"<sup>133</sup> and in consequence there appears nothing of the matter either in the Commons Journals or in Burton's *Diary* of the Parliament. That there was some such discussion, however, seems certain. Giavarina, enlarging on the theme, noted that they

<sup>131</sup> Nieupoort to States General, Nov. 7/17, Thurloe, v, 569, Giavarina to Doge, Oct. 31/Nov. 10 and Nov. 11/17, Thurloe, v, 569, 570.

<sup>132</sup> Ludlow, II, 20-21. In regard to Jephson is absurd. Jephson had been a well-known man for many years, was one of the most active members of the great Irish Committee of Lords and Commons during the Civil Wars, and colonel of a regiment of horse sent over to help Inchiquin in Munster in 1646. He was a man of position and ability, an old adherent of Cromwell, and just the sort of person likely to be chosen for employment." (Lomas-Carlyle, III, 187)

<sup>133</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 77. Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Oct. 28, Thurloe, v, 565.

wished to make the succession hereditary in the house of Cromwell. "The members," he wrote, "incline to this decision from their wish to raise Cromwell's family to the most conspicuous honour by this . . . very heavy charge upon the state if this great office were to be conferred by election, as an immense sum of money would be required for any new Protector chosen to enable him to support the lustre of his station, and as fortune has shone upon this house they think it better to continue it, and permit it to end as the Almighty may decide." This was not the whole of the question at issue, nor was the state as such primarily concerned. Article XXXII of the *Instrument* declared specifically that "the office of Lord Protector . . . shall be elective and not hereditary," and provided that the election should be by the Council. That, of course, would not involve in itself any additional expense. But Cromwell, like the other revolutionary leaders, had received great grants from confiscated Royalist estates. Any one outside of the Cromwell family who took his place must, presumably, have like grants to maintain the dignity of the office, and there seemed at the moment no such property available. Moreover men like Jephson—who had already, in fact, been threatened with the loss of his property in Ireland—were nervous at the possibility of the resumption of their estates by their former owners in case of a change in government. Moreover there were some, notably Lambert, who . . . the succession, and, as the event proved, . . . to seize power if it fell from the hands . . . then, that the question never came to a vote. As to Cromwell's attitude in the matter, Giavarina reported that

as everyone naturally desires his own advancement and that of his posterity, and though Cromwell pretends the contrary he would not disdain the permanence of this great dignity in his family. It is said he acts thus in order that he may be pressed, as happened when he assumed his present dignity, from which he has not yet learned how to govern . . . throw him, to his utter destruction.<sup>124</sup>

This was only the opinion of one man, and he a foreigner, but, even apart from the hostile judgment of Ludlow, it did not stand alone. Bordeaux reported that the hostility of the Parliament might be fatal to the Protector, while on the other hand its votes could only strengthen his position in so far as they were sustained by military force. "That," he continued,

<sup>124</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Nov. 7/17, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1655-6), p. 282.



the contending factions which Oliver ruled with a strong hand, had a more objective view of the situation than those who took an active part in it. As to Cromwell himself, it would appear from the evidence at this time—and from the event—that, as usual, he confined his attention to his own position and left his colleagues to judge, put off the question of his successor to the very end, nor is it entirely certain that even then he decided it definitely. In this, as in so many other instances, he did not ask to see the distant path, one step enough for him. He was, as the Dutch caricatures pictured him, a tight-rope walker, nicely balancing himself on his precarious support, leaning neither to the right nor to the left, and depending on his balancing pole of opposing forces to keep him steady on his dangerous path.

## II

Thus far the new government had followed the usual course of previous assemblies under the monarchy, whose precedents were continually adduced, even by the Protector himself, though with some apologies for quoting them. It had considered various cases like those of the lands of Montgomery of Ards and Lord Clanboye, and the status of the Adventurers' lands in Ireland<sup>136</sup>. It had taken up the perennial question of the regulation of brewers and of alehouses; of highways, of the relations between England and Scotland; of strollers and vagrants, of Papists and recusants. It had even discussed at some length the rights or privileges of "minstrels," who "corrupt the manners of the people and inflame their debauchery by their lewd and obscene songs"; and had argued seriously whether or not they should be included in that list, and whether or not they should be expelled. But the most important question was that of one James Nayler, whose case was put before a committee on October 31 and whose importance was witnessed by the fact that the committee consisted of some fifty-five men including the chief law officers of the government<sup>137</sup>.

Nayler was a Quaker, then some forty years of age, who had come from near Wakefield in Yorkshire, where he had married and settled. In 1642 he had left his wife and children, entered the army and risen to be quartermaster of Lambert's troop of horse. Leaving the army he had become an Independent preacher, then, coming in touch with George Fox, he had turned Quaker, been expelled from an Independent congregation on charges of immorality; gone to London, where he joined a Baptist conventicle, which in turn also expelled

<sup>136</sup> Burton, 1, 2-5.

<sup>137</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 448.

him. Returning to the North, he began preaching, was arrested for blasphemy, declaring that "Christ was in him," and arranging his hair and beard to resemble the usual pictures of Christ. He gathered about him a little company, chiefly of women; preached in London, made a progress to the west country, and entered Bristol, riding on a horse, by his supporters, after the fashion into Jerusalem. He was accordingly arrested and brought to London with some of his followers, and so came to the attention of Parliament

Nor were the Quakers the only disturbing element in this time of religious, political and even intellectual ferment. It was at this moment that there appeared the first edition of Harrington's *Oceana*, one of those numerous Utopias with which men have amused their imaginations. Harrington, reckoned among the Republicans, who, in general, were opposed to the Protectorate as they had been and continued to be opposed to monarchy, differed from many of his colleagues, perceiving, as many of them did not, that the extinction of monarchy and a House of Lords was not enough to ensure a true commonwealth. Like the Levellers—of which he was not one—and like many later theorists, he conceived the more equal distribution of property, in this case of land, the abolition of primogeniture, with various devices to promote and ensure equality of conditions as among various elements of society, and between city and country. This ingenious speculation he addressed to Cromwell, and he conceived of such a reform as being accomplished not by a popular assembly or by the people in general but by some superior authority like that of Moses or Lycurgus who, having accomplished the reform, seems to have envisioned Cromwell as Olphaus Megaletor—Oliver the Great-hearted—as his dedication of the volume to the Protector appears to indicate. The story goes that the manuscript was seized by the order of the Protector, read by him, and only rescued from destruction by the intervention of his favorite daughter, Mrs. Claypole. There is a further tradition that, having read the book, Cromwell observed that the gentleman would like to trepan him out of his power, but what he had got by the sword he would not quit for a little paper shot. It does not seem probable that either Harrington or Cromwell took *Oceana* for more than what it was meant to be—an exercise in the imagination. In any event, it was published, Harrington was not imprisoned, even though his essay was regarded by some as "dangerous", and it produced a series of replies, among which Baxter's *Holy Commonwealth* was the most important.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Advert first in *Merc. Pol.*, Oct. 29–Nov. 6, entered in *Stationers' Register* (II, 86) Sept. 19. Cp. Toland's ed., 1700, and Firth, *Last Years*, I, 68–72.

Harrington's fantasy was only one of the more or less disturbing publications of the time. The exclusion of the members of Parliament and the raising of the question of the succession naturally inspired many of them. *A Short Discourse of the Government of England from the Court to the Country made by a Member of the House of Commons*, excluded illegally, issued on October 27, naturally arose from the purge. It was followed on November 8 by Prynne's *Summary Collection of the Principal fundamental Rights, Liberties, Proprieties of all English Freemen*, whose popularity and sale led to at least two new editions within a few months. That in turn was followed by a less restrained address to Cromwell, on November 24, entitled *Protectors, Parliaments and All; See, Hear and Quake for Fear*, which was a not uncommon product of the more fanatical element of those days, and was reinforced by another Fifth Monarchist effusion from the pens of Feake and his colleague, Pendarvis.<sup>139</sup> Such publications, not uncommon even in our day, seem now matters of merely curious interest. They were not so regarded then. They were a part of practical politics; and the fact that they found, presumably readers, was a matter of much concern to the Protector's government, as the activities of Thurloe's intelligence system and their consideration by the Council demonstrate.

It was no less concerned with money, and to this a petition from the *Proprietors, commoners and Mineral Bounders . . . within the Counties of Cornwall and Devon* at this moment contributed. This was part of the activity of that indefatigable mining-engineer and promoter, Thomas Bushell, sometime Charles I's mint-master and farmer of the royal mines, a devoted Royalist who had, however, made his peace with Cromwell in 1652-3. His proposal was to recover the "deserted and drowned mines," particularly at Hingston Down, Combe Martin and Gwennap; but it was not until February 5, 1658-9 that he finally received from Cromwell confirmation to the privileges granted him by Oliver four years earlier.<sup>140</sup> It does not appear what advantage, if any, Bushell, his associates, or the government, ever derived from this effort to increase the resources of his country; and the next item of business which came before the Protector only served to show how infinitely various were the matters with which he had to deal.

In the diary of that cantankerous Scotsman, Johnston of Wariston, is recorded a conversation between Cromwell and Argyll which had evidently taken place some weeks previously. As Wariston noted, Argyll had written that Cromwell "uttered very favorable expressions of me, and told of M. Sharpe pressing an aunsweare becaus of my

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Abbott *Rehling of O. C.* 1656-1657.

<sup>140</sup> W. Gough, *The Superlative Prodigal*



the "Resolutioners" and the "Remonstrants"—of which Wariston was one—still flourished, and it was in this connection that these men had been summoned to meet the Protector, which Wariston, at least, was unwilling to do. He went so far, however, as to make his peace with Cromwell; in 1657 he accepted from the Protector his old office of Clerk of the Registers of Scotland; and this alliance with the revolutionary government, like that of Argyll, was in time to cost both of them their lives.

It was possibly about this time, also, that the Protector addressed two letters to the King of Portugal; one a letter of credence for Maynard, who left for Lisbon in November; the other the usual complaint in regard to the treatment of an English ship captain-owner:

*To the most Serene Prince, John, King of Portugal*

MOST SERENE KING

The peace being happily concluded between this republic and the kingdom of Portugal, and what refers to trade being duly provided for and ratified, we deemed it necessary to send to your majesty Thomas Maynard, from whom you will receive these letters, to reside in your dominions, under the title of ambassador, to whom we have given full powers, and to take care of the business of our republic in your majesty's territories. In order to the better management of the same, and to the satisfaction of your majesty, as well in matters of trade, as upon other occasions for the interest of our republic, we make it our request to your majesty, that you will vouchsafe him favourable access and audience, which we shall acknowledge as a singular demonstration and testimony of your majesty's goodwill towards us. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty with all prosperity. From our court at Westminster, October —, 1656.

Your Majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, P.<sup>148</sup>

*To the most Serene Prince, John, King of Portugal*

MOST SERENE KING, OUR DEAREST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE

Thomas Evans, a master of a ship, and our countryman, has presented a petition to us, wherein he sets forth, that in the years 1649 and 1650 he served the Brasile company with his ship the *Scipio*, being a vessel of four hundred tons, and of which he was master: that the said ship was taken from him, with all the lading and furniture, by your majesty's command, by which he has received great damage, besides the loss of six years gain arising out of such a stock. The commissioners by the league appointed

<sup>141</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, iii, 52.

<sup>142</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 419, *Columbia Milton*, no. 82.

on both sides for the deciding controversies valued the whole at seven thousand of our pounds, or twice as many milreys of Portugal money, as they made their report to us. Which loss falling so heavy upon the foresaid Thomas, and being constrained to make a voyage to Lisbon for the recovery of his estate, he humbly besought us, that we would grant him our letters to your majesty in favour of his demands. We therefore, (although we wrote the last year in behalf of our merchants in general to whom the Brasile company

no obstacle may hinder him from demanding and recovering without delay what is owing to him from the Brasile company, or any other persons. God Almighty bless your majesty with perpetual felicity, and grant that our friend-

From our palace at Westminster, October —, 1656

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, P.<sup>143</sup>

The victory of Stayner had many repercussions abroad, greatly strengthening the position of the Protector, then busily engaged, through Lockhart, in bargaining with Mazarin over their proposed joint expedition against Dunkirk and Mardyke. On Monday, October 27, Lockhart reported that he was trying to persuade the Cardinal that the Protector's charge for the use of English ships was not excessive. The shrewd Scottish ambassador also refused to agree to levy men for Dunkirk except at the cost of the French, in spite of the fact that Cromwell was now "master of great sums of money,"<sup>144</sup> presumably as the result of the capture of the Spanish galleons, whose value, as usual, had been much exaggerated. Further than that, according to Brienne, the Protector still clung to his resolution not to permit allied ships to carry enemy goods,<sup>145</sup> which, probably, did much to check the flow of materials from Spain to the Spanish Netherlands by way of Dutch vessels. This did not, apparently, cause any breach with Holland; for in accordance with the Protector's desire, communicated to Nieupoort on October 7/17, to learn the Danish king's opinion in regard to the treaty of Elbing, which had been signed between the latter the — he had gathered information from — which he would like to communicate either to Cromwell or to Thurloe "if half a quarter of an hour could be spared."<sup>146</sup> Apparently it could, for he spoke to Thurloe on October 31,

<sup>143</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 420-21, *Columbia Milton*, no 84

<sup>144</sup> *Lockhart to Cromwell*, Oct. 27, 1656, *ibid.*, 2-33

<sup>145</sup> *Brienne to Cromwell*, Oct. 27, 1656, *ibid.*, 2-33

<sup>146</sup> *Lockhart to Cromwell*, Oct. 31, 1656, *ibid.*, 2-33

first concerning the communication of the treaty of guaranty with the king of Denmark, and the last treaty concluded at Elbing, being both communicated to the Lord Protector by order of their high and mighty lordships, and secondly concerning the maritime treaty. His honour said, that the Lord Protector did judge that, which was concluded at Elbing . . . in regard of inclusion and comprehension in that wise as the same is expressed in the treaty, to be friendly done on both sides, and without making any mention of that in Denmark, he said that they were ready to enter into conference with me about the maritime treaty, and that . . . I might expect the commissioners the next week without fail.<sup>147</sup>

At the same time it appeared by intelligence from the Hague that there was a great debate as to what course should be taken in regard to the English claim of the right of search and seizure of contraband goods carried by neutral or friendly vessels, like those of the Dutch. It was reported that the admiralty at Amsterdam had ordered their ships to show all honor to English men-of-war, but should put off being searched "with all civility," assuring the absence of contraband; but if the English were not satisfied and insisted on the right of search, "they should then oppose it, and manfully fighting against them, have a care of the country's honour and reputation."<sup>148</sup>

With England and Spain at war, with the Spanish Netherlands lying, as it were, between them, with Dutch ship-masters willing, even anxious, to carry goods and munitions which the Spaniards could not themselves transport, there was in this situation the makings of a bitter quarrel between the Protector and the States General; a situation which, in other fields, would have required the nicest handling to avoid the junction of the Dutch with the Spaniards, and only their ancient antagonism and perhaps the fear of an Anglo-French alliance prevented Holland from more active resentment. The Dutch, cut off from part of their trade by the Anglo-Spanish war, had naturally turned their attention more to the North Sea and the Baltic, and there again had come into greater competition with the English. In this, it would appear, they had been on the whole more successful than their rivals; but for de Witt, no less than for Cromwell, the path had been narrow and full of pitfalls, and each party was compelled to watch its steps with the utmost care to avoid, if possible, another Anglo-Dutch war which, under the circumstances, might well have been fatal to them both. On the other hand, it was reported that the victory over Spain and the continuing threat of Blake's expedition had relieved the Protector's government from at least one danger. Thurloe's office was informed that Charles II and his followers were discouraged; that though their agents were still in

<sup>147</sup> Nieupoort to Ruysch, Oct 31/Nov 10, *ibid.*, p 537.

Such was the situation of affairs at the beginning of November, 1656, while the Nayler case was coming before Parliament and the Protectoral system was being re-examined inside and outside of the House. On November 3 was the day of the session, the Protector being present at only a part of the session, which was concerned mainly with foreign affairs. Thurloe and the commissioners for the Dutch treaty were ordered to communicate to Nieupoort the substance of a petition from the Merchant Adventurers, "with his Highness' and the Council's resentment thereof." There was consideration of a fit person to send to Holland; and the committee on Swedish affairs was ordered to prepare a letter to the king of Denmark in regard to that question.<sup>160</sup> With one exception the proceedings of the House were little more important. Apart from the observation of November 5 as a day of thanksgiving for Stayner's victory and a bill on Friday, November 7, permitting Robert and Algernon Peyton to sell lands to pay their debts, ordered to be presented to the Protector,<sup>161</sup> Sydenham reported

[illegible]

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid*, p. 534

<sup>110</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), pp. xxi, 152-53. Also an order in Council to the Coun-

(*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 153) According to Burnet, Swinton was 'the man of all

condemned (*Dict Nat Biog*, "Swinton") Also, Nov 4, letters of Privy Seal for payment for £1897/4/5 to Martin Noell for money advanced by him to persons employed beyond seas, incidentally cancelling warrant to Frost of July 9, 1656, *supra*.

<sup>181</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Oct. 13-20, Nov. 3-10; *C. J.*, vii, 450, *Thurloe*, v, 494.

<sup>152</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 450.

ish prize, which amounted to not more than £600,000-£700,000. Much of it, according to no doubt exaggerated reports, had been embezzled by the captors, one captain said to have acquired £60,000 and—what was even less probable—some seamen as much as £10,000.<sup>153</sup> Under conditions of the time it was to be expected that officers and even seamen should get prize-money, but the sums attributed to them by current gossip were probably out of all proportion to what they actually received. In any event it was not only a welcome addition to the government's resources, but, what was fully as important, a blow to its enemies.

It was especially useful in strengthening the position of the Protector's agents abroad, and these, Lockhart in particular, had need of such reinforcement. On November 8 he reported that he had had an audience with Mazarin at which, unfortunately, he wrote, Lionne, who had lately returned from Spain, was present. It was, apparently, a somewhat heated interview in which the blunt Scotchman did not hesitate to express himself. "Finding severall particulars formerly agreed unto, questioned," he wrote, "and others absolutely denyed, I was guilty of the rudenesse to tell his eminence, that I did not understand such procedure in businesse, and was astonished to meet with so unexpected change." It appeared that a levy of 3,000 men was expected from the English; and it was proposed that if the Emperor invaded any French territory, England should assist Louis with 4,000 foot at English expense in case of invasion, and the French would provide the cavalry if they were invaded. That was a new and impossible condition, but Mazarin did agree to the question of the use of English ships and their payment.<sup>154</sup> As the French negotiation thus proceeded, news from Danzig came that there was to be a peace conference there with representatives from France, Holland, the Empire and Great Britain; but that the Danzigers were very angry with England and the Protector on account of their friendship with Sweden, toward which Danzig was naturally hostile.<sup>155</sup> On the other side of English affairs, Henry Cromwell wrote to ask his father to inquire into the wreck off the coast of Ireland on October 23-24 of part of the fleet bound for Jamaica with the loss of Brayne's second in command, lieutenant-colonel Bramston, and 104 officers and men, with many supplies. The ships, Henry wrote, were rotten, leaky, and unfit to face a storm.<sup>156</sup> At the same time another Jamaica-bound emigrant was writing that his party of New Englanders had been taken by the Spaniards and he with others was a prisoner in

<sup>153</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Nov. 4, Thurloe, v, 557, Giavarina to Doge, Nov. 16, *ibid.*, p. 558.

Santo Domingo.<sup>157</sup> All in all the Western Design seemed a peculiarly ill-fated adventure up to this time; but, fortunately for the government, its misadventures were virtually unknown in England save to the administration.

Into this situation was injected one of those curious circumstances which mark the whole of this extraordinary period of plot and counter-plot, and incidentally complicated the business of the revolutionary government. To Thurloe's office came information from a certain Mr Strangeways that a Lady Hall declared that she had got trace of an Irishman who was to stab the Protector; that his life-guard was implicated in the plot, "which his Highness is acquainted with, and continues them still in their employment to trace their further designs"; and that Tynemouth was to be betrayed to Charles Stuart by a Major Tolhurst. Strangeways himself was skeptical. He had difficulty in pinning her down to facts; and were this all of the story it would not be worth recording.<sup>158</sup> But one of Ormonde's correspondents, Rumbold, informed him that "one Lady Hall, who was sent by the King with letters to his friends, has discovered them to Cromwell, and has been sent by him into the country to endeavour the betraying of some persons there."<sup>159</sup> In this confused web of intrigue it is not possible now to untangle the threads. Who Lady Hall was it seems impossible to discover. Major Tolhurst was in command of Tynemouth at the time; but beyond this all is blank, save the fact that there was apparently a Lady Hall; that she was somehow implicated in some kind of a design, whether as Royalist or Cromwellian; and that in this case there exists what is wanting in so many like it, testimony from both sides as to the existence of the individual chiefly concerned, though her character and purpose is still as obscure as it was then to the worthy Mr. Strangeways.<sup>160</sup> It is worthy of mention only as an illustration of the complexity of the situation with which Thurloe and his master had to deal almost from day to day.

Of a wholly different character, yet no less characteristic of the times, was the renewal of the old dispute over the printing of the Bible. In that long and acrimonious controversy the Protector finally became involved. As an advertisement in the *Public Intelligencer* noted,

<sup>157</sup> John Aylett to Cromwell, Nov. 4/14, *ibid*, p. 554.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid*, pp 576-78.

<sup>159</sup> "I have been told that a certain Lady Hall, who was sent by the King with letters to his friends, has discovered them to Cromwell, and has been sent by him into the country to endeavour the betraying of some persons there."

<sup>160</sup> "I have been told that a certain Lady Hall, who was sent by the King with letters to his friends, has discovered them to Cromwell, and has been sent by him into the country to endeavour the betraying of some persons there." It is likely that she knew or knew about her, had a low opinion of her, describing her as "a great cheate in London," and her father as an "old drunken casherde priest," and intimates she had more than one husband (Thurloe, v, 577, 668).

Whereas for the space of about Twelve years past, the Printing of the Bible lay in Common, so that every man presumed to Print it at pleasure . . . it so fell out through' the Arbitrary and Licentious custom of Printing, that many hundreds of very gross Errors are escaped in the Common Impressions now abroad, . . . For remedy whereof, due care hath been had to settle the Printing of the Holy Scriptures, in an orderly way for time to come, and there is now a Bible finished, By his Highnesses special Command, free from those Errataes . . . Such regard hath been had likewise to the Publick, and ease of the people, in the price of Bibles, that his Highness Printers . . . are obliged to sell Bibles in the Common Volumes without Notes . . . at no more but Two Shillings a Book in quires . . . at the House of Henry Hills <sup>161</sup>

Thus, for the moment at least, was ended a controversy as bitter as it was unseemly over the printing of Holy Writ, but only, apparently, by the active intervention of the Protector himself. There is in it a certain human touch, which is even more evident in another document of this time. It was probably on November 10 that he referred to the Council the petition of Hannah, the widow of one Silvanus Smith, for relief and maintenance, there having been some question obviously in the minds of the authorities as to just how he met his death. That question the Protector himself resolved, appending to the petition his interpretation of the matter.

Forasmuch as I apprehend by the certificate<sup>162</sup> hereto annexed, and by the . . .  
the anchor, if the case be as is suggested and certified, I think that in equity the relict of the person so killed as aforesaid should be considered of as the widow of one slain in the fight, and therefore desire you to reconsider the condition of the petitioner <sup>163</sup>

It was presumably passed by the Council at its meeting on November 11, the first of two during that week, at which the Protector was present for at least a part of each session <sup>164</sup>. On November 10 also was dated the Protector's charter to the Company of Needlemakers,<sup>165</sup> as recommended in the previous August <sup>166</sup>. At the meeting on November 11th the Protector and Council ordered that the commissioners for the Dutch treaty discuss with the Dutch envoys the issuing of a pass for three years to be offered to the Council.<sup>167</sup> They also ad-

<sup>161</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Nov. 3-10

<sup>162</sup> Of Edmund Pearson and Andrew Boulton, churchwardens, and two others of St Botolph's Aldgate, in her favor, Dec. 29, 1655

<sup>163</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 154

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxi, 158-61

<sup>165</sup> *Cal.* in *The Worshipful Company of Needlemakers* (1874), p. 9

<sup>166</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 64-65

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156, and Thurloe, v, 583.

vised that Lockhart be granted leave to return to England for a fortnight to see his wife, and the Protector evidently sent him a personal letter to that effect to accompany Thurloe's advice.<sup>168</sup> The meeting on Thursday considered matters of somewhat more variety and importance. The Council referred to the Committee for Scottish affairs two petitions from the Hamilton family, one from the widowed Duchess of Hamilton and her four daughters for permission to compound for their estates which had been given to Monk and sold by him; the other from the daughters for redress for present miseries and future ruin, since they had no money and no lands.<sup>169</sup> The long quar-

relly to be sent back to England to answer charges of misdemeanor and contempt for departing without leave.<sup>170</sup> In addition to this, the vexatious business of the Jamaica reinforcement came up again on a report of the Protector to the Council that one of the two ill-fated ships carrying Brayne's command was in Cork, but that one of two others there could be hired in its place. It was ordered, in consequence, that the commander take on the ship as many as possible saved from the wrecked vessel and any others bound thither, in addition to those from the ship at Cork.<sup>171</sup> Thurloe was ordered to prepare a letter from the Protector to the king of Denmark in regard to the latter's efforts to obstruct the ratification of the treaty between Sweden and Holland.<sup>172</sup> More important still was the order to reduce the regiments just raised from 1,200 to 1,000 men, those discharged to have their full pay and a week extra;<sup>173</sup> which seems to indicate that the recent nervousness over an insurrection had begun to wear off. This, with some business connected with the Admiralty commissioners and a grant to Colonel Thomas Geely,<sup>174</sup> comprised the results of these meetings, and was a typical instance of the operations of the administration.

This was the way the Protector and Council lived. Across the Council table came a mass of business of every conceivable descrip-

<sup>168</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Nov. 19/29, *ibid.*, p. 609, cp. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 156, which notes the letter as dated Nov. 11 and received Nov. 18, and Thurloe, v, 583.

<sup>169</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 157-58.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159, cp. Thurloe, v, 551, 681.

<sup>171</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 159.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157. A three year lease to try title and recover possession of lands in Devon and Cornwall for a debt owed by Sir James Bagg to Charles I. On Nov. 11 the Council ordered payment of the lease. Charles had held *terra Regie* for the King during



of obscure parishes. They negotiated with the rulers of Europe and considered the petition of a common sailor's widow for a pension. They despatched fleets and armies to conquer a foothold in the West Indies and they sent a committee to adjust the marital relations of John and Mary Buck—and they were more successful in Jamaica than with Mrs Buck who defied and ejected the committee!<sup>176</sup> But above all they administered the affairs of the armed forces. That was the most important part of all their activities, for upon it depended not only their position but their lives. It has been natural to concentrate attention upon the greater affairs of state with which the Protector and his advisers were concerned and to neglect or take for granted what was, after all, their main business—that of remaining in power. Given that limitation they did the best they could. Their panegyrists have noted their concern with the Protestant interest, the command of the seas, freedom of conscience, equal representation, amendment of the laws, appointment of able and honest judges, sympathy with the poor. Some of these may be admitted without dispute, some may be conditioned by the fact that they were all conditioned by the fact that the Protectorate was a despotism and a military despotism. Its strength lay less in its cause than in its army and its leader. That situation, as Cromwell recognized, was hindered, not helped, by the existence of a Parliament, which, however selected and however purged, inevitably disclosed opposition. It was a measure of the strength of the Protectorate that this was so; nor was it, as it has been suggested, the rivalry of other leaders which made his position insecure. It was against the spirit of the people, and, true or false in its details, the story of his resort to Calamy reveals the situation. To Calamy's reproach that nine out of ten people were against him in his dissolution of the old Parliament, he had replied "But what if I should disarm the nine and put a sword into the tenth man's hand?" That, in essence, was what happened, and all argument bases itself on the principle that the end did or did not justify the means, for of the means there is no question.

This domination of the government of England by the commander of the armed forces, in part at least, was the occasion of the long debate which filled the last months of 1656 and extended into the year following as to the question of the succession to the Protectorate. Amid a mass of minor business,<sup>177</sup> it was reported by the industrious

<sup>176</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1655-6), pp 115, 375-76. Fuller account in F. R. Inderwick *The Interregnum* (L., 1891), p 183.

<sup>177</sup> Making provision for the younger children of William Masham, pardoning certain individuals (*C J.*, vii, 452).

Giavarina what seems probable, though not elsewhere confirmed, that,

Parliamentary denunciation of the Protector's health was not the Protector's health, but the succession which might be expected. But that is mere hypocrisy, as is much to be feared, he may prefer men to feel anxiety about the succession, rather than have one of his sons cause it, arousing universal detestation and bringing about their own ruin.<sup>177</sup>

It was natural in the state of the Protector's health that his followers should look about for some solution of the question as to what would happen when he was gone. It was no less natural that they should divide, as they finally did divide, between the Protector and the army, the one group on the whole favoring the Protector, the other elective succession, and it was perhaps most natural of all that a man of Cromwell's type should have been back of the state of emergency. But this was not the case. On the 10th of June 1658, the Spanish treasure from Portsmouth to the Tower, amid great expressions of public rejoicing, especially in the City, reported to the House the disappointing news that, so far from the million pounds worth of cochineal. It was the more necessary therefore, in view of this disappointment, to find money for the war. Rejecting a motion to increase the monthly assessment,<sup>178</sup> it was voted that the duties on Spanish wines and raisins be increased, but that the excise on tobacco from English plantations be reduced.<sup>179</sup> It seems possible that, as sometimes happened in those earlier days, the Protector had not expected that hostilities against the Spaniards in the West Indies would of necessity involve war with Spain in Europe, for at various times war "beyond the line," between two European powers did not always mean total elimination of commerce between the two countries, which was apparently still carried on to some extent by the Dutch, French and Hamburgers, even, possibly, by English ships through Portugal, or some other neutral power,

<sup>177</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Nov. 14/24, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), pp. 283-84.

<sup>178</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 82.

<sup>179</sup> *C. J.*, VII, 453-54.

or even directly, with or without the connivance of the English authorities. The financial question was, in fact, still acute, as was evidenced by Parliament's concern with it and especially by the financial expedients devised to meet the cost of war. Though the assessments had been nominally—and in part actually—reduced from the £120,000 a month in 1653-54, first to £90,000 a month, then to £60,000 a month, that latter sum was, in fact, often anticipated under stress of hostilities, so that, what with payment in advance, it was in fact, though not ostensibly, restored to its original figure of £120,000 within the next six months. As Cromwell himself noted in his speeches to his Parliaments, the value of the sales of the lands of bishops, deans and chapters, royal property and fee-farm rents had sunk to an insignificant figure. The decimation taxes had proved insufficient in many, if not all, cases to meet the charges of the militia they were supposed to support, and, in fact, Parliament refused to continue this tax, which had been levied without its consent.<sup>180</sup>

Nor were the followers of Charles II better off. Giavarina noted—what was very possibly the fact—that certain Royalists had gone to Bruges to apologize to Charles for the inability of his supporters in England to help him and that the London merchants were about to send a similar delegation with like excuses.<sup>181</sup> In spite of this, Charles and his followers went on with their activities against the Protectorate. It was reported that he had some six or eight thousand men and fifteen ships at his disposal,<sup>182</sup> and it was further noted that, in addition to the efforts of the Dutch to exasperate the Danzigers against the Protector,

several considerable officers of Charles Stewart are gone from hence [Holland] to Dantzick, with an intention to debauch the nations of Cromwell, which dwell there, and to seduce others of the nation of Cromwell against their own desire and inclination, who did a long while oppose it; but the States General or the states of Holland did force them . . . contrary to the interest of Dantzick itself, for by that they have lost the nation of Cromwell, . . . all their design is to have all the commerce alone in [the] East Sea, with the co-operation of Denmark, and all this chiefly to the prejudice of Cromwell.<sup>183</sup>

All this negotiation of Charles and the rivalry of the Dutch was no more than was to be expected, and the Protector was too busy at home for the moment to pay much attention to it, had he been so inclined. The Nayler case now took another turn. On Monday, November 10, a messenger from London conducted Nayler with some

<sup>180</sup> Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy*, *passim*, W. A. Shaw in *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, IV, 454ff.

<sup>181</sup> *Giavarina to Deane*, Nov. 7, 1654, *Col. S. P. New* (1654-5), p. 284.

<sup>182</sup> V, 588.

companions to London, where they arrived on Friday, to be held in the messenger's house in the Westminster market-place until further parliamentary order.<sup>184</sup> That, as it happened, was not given for some time. During the following week on November 18 and 20, the Council was occupied with small concerns, the chief of which related to foreign commerce, three petitions involving merchants trading to the East Indies and for the release of two good elena and remain until May 15. Wm. Cockayne and money they had advanced at Merchant Taylors' Hall of captives at Algiers.<sup>185</sup> These were the more im- Council was being importuned to open the trade to India under government regulation, and there was much confusion in consequence. As one of the East India Company men wrote presently:

Notwithstanding the East India Company have often solicited the Lord Protector and his Counsell that the trade to India might bee carried on in a joynt stock, yet their successe hitherto hath not answered their desires, but the said trade lies open and free for any persons to send shipping to India, soe that this yeare very many ships have and will set saile for all partes of India.<sup>186</sup>

In another direction, however, the government was more firm, for on November 18 there appeared the Protector's proclamation against the transportation of wool, wool-fells, fuller's earth and other materials, to secure the monopoly of that business for England.<sup>187</sup>

It was apparently on this same day that the committee "about the manner of the Parliament's addresse to his Highness in passeinge bills" attended the Protector, "wherein they are agreed soe, that now it is possible wee may ere longe have some fruit of parliament, and one act or two passed in few dayes."<sup>188</sup> It seems evident from this that in spite of the fact that Protector and Parliament had not thus far been at odds with each other, parliamentary business had not progressed very rapidly. It was not expedited by the Nayler case or the still more important consideration of the succession to the Protectorate. According to Giavarina, the next day, Wednesday, November 19, "was fixed by the assembly to discuss the question [of hereditary succession] and decide it." According to him, Cromwell sent to ask them to do nothing in the matter and

<sup>184</sup> *Pub Intell*, Nov 10-17

<sup>185</sup> *Cal S P. Dom* (1656-7), pp 163-66, Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 134-35

<sup>186</sup> Wm Foster, *English Factories in India, 1655-1660* (Oxford, 1921), p 60, Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 122-34

<sup>187</sup> Crawford, i, 371, no 3075

<sup>188</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Nov 18, Thurloe, v, 605

day next week, after it has been anxiously awaited by all such a long time. Yet Cromwell seems very far from desiring this conspicuous honour continued in his posterity and as he has proved it by so many refusals many are of opinion that the parliamentarians will at last grow weary, change their minds and do nothing for his Highness in the matter. But such talk comes from ill-affected persons whose prejudices are their conversation. Those who see danger into it are still less likely to be so easily convinced. Cromwell's refusal to accept the crown has created a universal impression that all his excuses are a sham, his assumption of this great dignity is expected at any moment.<sup>189</sup>

That assumption, it appeared in time, was incorrect; but there was nothing improbable in it. However unlikely it seemed that a Huntingdonshire country gentleman should ascend the English throne, there had been plenty of instances in preceding centuries of such an elevation. Cromwell was, indeed, of lower rank in the social scale than that Gustavus I who had set the house of Vasa on the Swedish throne in the preceding century, of not even such noble extraction as that John IV of Portugal with whom he had but lately been corresponding, and who had been raised to the throne of that country only sixteen years before. But he had won the place he occupied as Protector by his military and political talents; he was recognized as the most powerful man in the British Isles and one of the ablest rulers in Europe. In an age of military adventurers, to the minds of the foreign representatives then in England there was nothing incredible in his assuming a title of which he already had the authority, and more than the authority. The difficulty was in the army, as Cromwell recognized. Whatever the politicians in Parliament thought, the real decision lay with the officers; and it appears that in these very days some thirty of them had met in Wallingford House and "resolved vigorously to oppose a settlement in that great point,"<sup>190</sup> that is to say, presumably kingship or a hereditary succession.

They were, indeed, not all opposed to it, but it was apparent that, at best, such a solution would produce a sharp division in their ranks. That was revealed, among other things, by the report of a division between Major-General Berry and Colonel Bridge, which Colonel Bridge interrupted and was summoned by Desborough to set down his position in writing, which Bridge did, and to which Desborough strongly objected, though he admitted the strength of

<sup>189</sup> *ibid.* (1659-60), p. 286.  
<sup>190</sup> *ibid.* (1659-60), p. 286.  
 Cromwell and the Crown,"

Bridge's reasoning There were, in fact, two questions at issue, though they were involved with each other. The one was the question of giving Cromwell a higher title; the other was the question of his successor—though it was all but inconceivable that, if he were made king, the title should not descend to his eldest son. There were, indeed, three questions beside the comparatively simple issue of kingship. They were whether the succession should be hereditary, elective, or nominative. The officers seem, in general, to have opposed the title of king; they were divided on the question of the other three, but seem, on the whole, to have been not entirely opposed to a nominated successor, though still preferring election. Bridge, indeed, offered something of such a suggestion to Desborough "discoursing of the inconveniencie by a sodaine alteration of the constitution from elective into hereditary, I tolde him that . . . impendent dainger by a competition . . . prevented, and offered as . . . nominate his immediate successor . . . for doubtles hee would nominate such a one as hee should have noe cause to suspect. Hee replied he was very free to that, and soe all officers of the Army and others I speake with . . ."<sup>181</sup>

According to Bordeaux the whole question was to have been brought up on Saturday, November 22. "It seems," he wrote to Brienne,

that they have now resolved to speak openly of the project about the succession. It was to have been proposed the day before yesterday; the delay makes it thought that the army is not yet well disposed . . . Nevertheless the most public opinion wishes that they could agree and feigns this distaste [for making the Protectorate hereditary] only to conserve their credit among the inferior officers who cannot tolerate the establishment of a perfect monarchy. The noblemen and lawyers who make up the guard and many other people in all conditions in England want it. Even those who are well disposed to the royal family believe that this would be an advantage, which has lessened the quarrel between them and the family of the Protector. Nevertheless if he survives a while until the establishment of which he speaks, his children will be able to conserve the authority.<sup>182</sup>

ence—for which he had waited two months—Giavarina was not so successful for the Protector was "suffering from a catarrh . . . which not only confined him to his room but made him keep his bed, so it was not a mere excuse for postponing" the Venetian's audience.<sup>183</sup>

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 438-40

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 438-40

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 438-40

The Courlander's business only dealt with "maritime affairs and trade. It seems, however, that he is asking his Highness to be included in the last treaty between England and Sweden," so Giavarina wrote, adding that "The commissioner of Sweden has never been able to . . . it easy . . .

of importance being entrusted to General Fleetwood, who receives the royal packets and acts for the crown of Sweden, though without any official character, and in a manner different from that practiced by all the other foreign ministers, as he neither visits nor receives visits and remains practically incognito."<sup>194</sup>

Though he was apparently making no public appearances, the Protector . . . person . . . granted the honor of serjeant-of-law to John Fountaine, sometime a Royalist who had compounded for his estate; and to a certain Evan Seys, sometime attorney-general for Glamorganshire but perhaps now chiefly remembered from the fact that the Protector's seal on his warrant is still in existence<sup>195</sup> On the other hand much business naturally came into his hands On November 19, Nieupoort addressed to him another application for relief for a Dutch ship which had been brought into Plymouth a year earlier, enclosing a letter from the States General asking for restitution of its cargo of a hundred thousand pounds of "rosine" or its value<sup>196</sup> Meanwhile Lockhart, who had been supposed to be leaving for London and had received letters from Cromwell and Thurloe giving him permission to return, announced his stay at the French court would be permanent—or at least extended<sup>197</sup>—which seemed to indicate, what turned out to be the fact, that the negotiations between the Protector and the Cardinal were far from being concluded. On the other side of the political situation there came information that Charles II was having trouble with deserters, that his court was numerous and immoral, that Sexby would be well received, but that his maneuvers were well known, and for that reason, as well as for the fact that "Cromwell daily becomes more terrible to his enemies," any design those enemies had should be put into execution as soon as possible<sup>198</sup> That there was some danger of a . . . It was reported that White- . . . manner of the Gunpowder

<sup>194</sup> Same to same, Nov 21/Dec 1, *ibid*, pp 286-87.

<sup>195</sup> *Parl Hist*, xxi, 222 *Dict Nat Biog.*, "Fountaine," gives the date as 1658. For the warrant see *infra*, Dec. 11, 1657.

<sup>196</sup> Nieupoort to Cromwell, Nov. 19/29, Thurloe, v, 611.

<sup>197</sup> Giustinian to Doge, Nov 18/28, *Cal. S P Ven.* (1655-6), p 285, cp Thurloe, v, 609.

<sup>198</sup> Intelligence from Mr. Butler, Nov. 22, *ibid*, p. 645, Hyde to Talbot, Nov 19/29, Macray, iii, 206, no. 625

Plot, and one of Thurloe's informants, "P. M.," advised him that "lately there was a chimney fired in Whitehall on purpose to effect it . . . the cheife undertaker of this villany is a man unsuspected, and in great esteeme, and lives in your house; . . . Then . . . they intend to cry out liberty, religion, and taking away of taxes. These are either presbyterians, or levelers, or a mixture of all sorts."<sup>199</sup>

Such was the situation toward the end of November, 1656. The question of kingship had been kept in abeyance almost as long as possible and it was evident that it could not much longer be suppressed. If it had not come before Parliament in any very definite form, it had been the subject of great debate outside of those walls. So far as Cromwell himself was concerned, even those closest to him were apparently ignorant of his opinion and his purpose, but there was no doubt but that it would split the party supporting him into two highly antagonistic elements and it was no part of his intention to let that happen. It would have had small effect on his foreign relations if he accepted the crown, but a division in the army or between the army and the politicians would have weakened his position in England and might well have brought about another civil war which, whatever its results, would have lessened his power, if it would not altogether have destroyed it. He stood, indeed, in a slippery place and for the moment there was nothing else for him to do. He did not dare move in any direction. It is impossible to evaluate his position without considering that at all times he went not only in some danger of his life and of a Royalist insurrection and invasion, but that his position as Protector was always in question. Only his own skill and courage held together the various elements of his power. His interests were divided, only his . . . . . throw by either his Royalist opponents or his own followers, so that, whatever else he did, he kept a strong hold on the armed forces. He was a military dictator and his whole career as Protector was evidence of that fact. This the representatives of the foreign powers fully recognized and they spoke and acted accordingly. To them his protestations of divine favor; his concern with the Protestant Interest, his speeches, his prayers, even his tears, were merely devices by which he kept his hold on power. Viewed in that light all these expressions of his personality, notably his letters to foreign rulers, take on another aspect from that . . . . . It is no reflection . . . . . "sincerity" to consider him from that point of view. It is merely a more realistic attitude as to his actual place and authority. It was now becoming a question how long and in what fashion he could continue to exercise that authority without some change in its character.

<sup>199</sup> Intelligence, Nov. 18, Thurloe, v, 602



## CHAPTER VII

### EMPIRE, NAYLER AND THE KINGSHIP

NOVEMBER 20, 1656-JANUARY, 1657

As part of the spirit of expansion which was taking firmer hold especially of the Puritan mind, the "Empire of England" was beginning to take shape in the Cromwellian period. Hostilities with Holland had not, indeed, led to the increase of English possessions, as they were to do in the next period; but the conflict with Spain had already brought a certain extension of English authority in the Caribbean, and was presently to bring bridgeheads on the Continent, which, however useless, represented an increase in English power in the affairs of the rest of Europe. But in general, save for the transportation of prisoners especially from Scotland, Ireland and Wales, the English Empire was not yet a World which had resulted from the English Revolution. Ireland had not been maintained under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, though the connection between the English colonies, particularly New England, and the mother country had been continued and expanded. In like fashion, despite the government's care and concern for the interests of English merchants abroad, foreign trade, so far from increasing, seems to have remained more or less static or even diminished. Thus despite the acquisition of Jamaica and Acadia and the shipment of so many Irish, Scots and Welsh to the New World, the "Empire of England" had not notably progressed as a result of the Puritan Revolution. It had been found impracticable to induce the New Englanders to emigrate to Jamaica despite various efforts of the government to that end; and the fate of those who went, or were sent out from the British Isles was not such as to encourage others to go. On the other hand the acquisition of Acadia had enlarged the Empire somewhat in that direction, though, again, with small increase in population. There was, however, considerable communication between the government of the Protector and the Massachusetts authorities, one of whom at this moment made a report in the matter.

In his account of an interview with the Protector, Leverett noted "what I had from him the 18th of November," indicating the Protector's "strong desire . . . for some leading and considerable company of New-England men to go thither [to Jamaica], for at that time he

come from Boston in Lincolnshire; he had served as captain in Rainsborough's regiment in the civil wars; and was one of the most prominent and influential settlers in New England. Could he have been persuaded to go to Jamaica, it would have been a great help to that struggling colony; but it was becoming apparent that little hope for it was to be looked for from New England. The situation was a real emergency. Few settlers and those of little consequence were induced to exchange the ills they knew for dangers that they knew not of, and Leverett, like Gookin, was unwilling to leave New England for Jamaica. It would seem that the Protector was much concerned at this moment with this problem, which was more or less bound up with that of Ireland, about which another Gookin was writing to him, in default of "the just difficulty of access to your person . . . whose time is soe incomparably precious," to urge more public confidence in his son Henry. The settlement there, "as glorious . . . as ever nation enjoyed," he wrote lyrically and not quite truthfully, was almost complete, though he admitted that there were still obstacles in the Irish, who had ruled earlier, and in the annoyance of the officers at not having civil as well as military power.<sup>5</sup>

During the last week of November the Council met on Tuesday and Thursday with the Protector present at both sessions.<sup>4</sup> Not the least important part of the business was the approval given to the designs for a new coinage of gold and silver by Thomas Simon. They marked a change from the Commonwealth coinage to that of the Protectorate, notably in the fact that on one side was the head of the Protector, with the inscription *Oliva D. G. R. Pub Ang Sco. et Hib. Protec.*, and on the other the arms of the three kingdoms with those of Cromwell overlaid and his motto, *Pax quaeritur bello*, with the new idea of a motto around the edge, to prevent the old practice of

<sup>3</sup> *Cal S P Cal.* (1574-1660), pp 450-51

<sup>3</sup> Gookin to Cromwell, Westminster, Nov 22, Thurloe, v, 646-49.

been arrested contrary to the terms of capitulation on C's order (*Hist. Miss. Comm. Repts* 11, App VI, p 139 (*Hamilton Mss*))

"clipping" to which former coins had been subject. Whether or not the design with the Protector's head—like the coinage of monarchs—indicated some obscure tendency in the direction of further personal aggrandizement, it is a noteworthy fact that Cromwell, as the head of the government,<sup>6</sup> was concerned with the rearrangement of the Irish companies in the newly-raised regiments of Gibbon and Hewson;<sup>6</sup> various orders for payment; augmentations of livings; and the usual grist of petitions.<sup>7</sup> Among them

was one for the estate, as he said, having been seized by the Papists. This the Protector referred to the Piedmont committee to determine as they saw fit.<sup>8</sup> It was, apparently, the first time there had been such a personal application and it raised a nice question as to whether the funds collected could or should be used to meet the claims of individuals, nor does it appear whether or not Barth got his money.

With some exceptions, the meetings of the House during this week were of scarcely more importance. A bill for the transportation of several commodities of the "Commonwealth" of the Commonwealth was passed unanimously and the Protector's consent to it desired,<sup>9</sup> and because the members believed they had but sixteen more days to sit, it was resolved that a committee attend the Protector to get him passed.<sup>10</sup> The committee and the next morning was appointed for the ceremony.<sup>11</sup> Apparently that same Wednesday had been selected to discuss the question of the succession, but, as Giavarina wrote,

the Protector sent such pressing and obvious reasons to show his objections that the assembly was obliged to listen to him and to put the matter aside, and no one knows when it will see the question settled. Cromwell well knows that when he wants the succession for his posterity and when he asks for a higher title, all will be granted, since he controls the wills of those who have it to give. Cromwell everything as a king. The Protector has commended and approved the rupture with the Spaniards, upon which he entertained some apprehension at first. All their decrees have been made with reference to his wishes, while they have afforded him the best

<sup>6</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1650-7), p. 170, 1 *hurloe*, v, 657, 714.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 170-75 *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71.

<sup>9</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 458.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, cp. *Clarke Papers*, iii, 82-83n.

<sup>11</sup> Burton, i, clxxxix-cxc.

Wherever and however the astute Venetian got his information, he was not often wrong in his estimate of the situation, and in this, as in so many cases, the event seemed to bear him out. The discussion of this delicate and difficult question was postponed, and before meeting the Protector on Thursday the 27th Parliament hastened to pass three more bills: one for naturalizing certain individuals, one for altering the leather-market at Leadenhall from Monday to Tuesday, and one that the passing of bills should not determine this session of Parliament.<sup>18</sup> This last came none too soon. It was observed that "so extraordinary a Caution shews very plainly that the House, though thoroughly purged and modelled, had some Jealousy that the Protector might intend to dissolve them";<sup>14</sup> and hardly had it passed when it was announced that Sergeant Dendy was at the door with a message from the Protector that the presence of the entire House was desired in the Painted Chamber.<sup>15</sup> There its members found his Highness, who had been accompanied thither by his horse- and footguards, the members of the Council; the Commissioners of the Great Seal and of the Treasury, the Lord Chief Justices of the Upper Bench and of the Common Pleas, the rest of the Judges and the Master of the Rolls—the whole pomp and circumstance of the Protectoral establishment including, it was reported, more than 300 members of the House. The Speaker gave the Protector an account of the proceedings of the House; the bills which had been passed were read, to each of them the Protector declared "We do consent," whereupon "the Clerk made an entry thereof on the Bill, in these words, 'The Lord Protector doth consent'." Of those bills *five* were public and *six* private; and it is notable that the first of the former was a bill for the Parliament's preservation, the second a bill for quieting the possession of the government, that is to say for "renouncing and annulling the pretended title of Charles Stuart", the third was a bill

ment. This done, "the Sergeant at Arms attending his Highness, and likewise the Sergeant attending the Parliament (standing) all this

13.

<sup>16</sup> *C. J.*, VII, 460.

time with their maces on their shoulders," the Protector made a short speech, either before or after which, according to Giavarina, "some of the most devoted of the members tried to raise the question of the succession but it was put aside by his Highness who compelled them not to go any further".<sup>16</sup>

*His Highness the Lord Protector's Speech in the Painted Chamber to the Parliament assembled, the 27th of November, 1656*

MR SPEAKER,—I had some doubt in myself whether I should have spoken or no at this time, but from something you delivered I think myself concerned to speak a little Mr Speaker, this is the first time we have met together, and it is with a great joy of heart to me to meet you here, I do now receive a return from God in some measure of my prayers for you, and though you have sat but a little time, that you have made many good laws, the effect whereof the people of this Commonwealth will with comfort find hereafter Therefore, Mr. Speaker, you might have spared the excuse you made concerning your time, and as you have so well proceeded hitherto, I doubt not but you will make a good progress, and I shall be always ready to assist you and join with you in anything for the being and well-being of these nations, and continue my prayers for you.<sup>17</sup>

By Friday, November 28, the Protector had finally completed the list of those chosen for sheriffs and thus, in a sense, rounded out the Protectoral official system.<sup>18</sup> He was still concerned with the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, to consider which he had already asked the attendance of representatives of the Resolutioners and Remonstrants. For the latter Johnston of Wariston was chosen, for the former James Sharp.<sup>19</sup> They were hard men to deal with Whitelocke had noted earlier that Wariston was "angry at every thing but himself, and at that too, sometimes";<sup>20</sup> Broghill had advised Cromwell that Wariston was a "Fifth Monarchy Presbyterian";<sup>21</sup> and Cromwell, having had some experience in dealing with Sharp, made one of his few jokes, remarking "that gentleman after the Scotch way ought to be called 'Sharp of that ilk.'"<sup>22</sup> Burnet ob-

<sup>16</sup> The account of this ceremony comes from Burton, i, cxc-cxci. Giavarina's comment is in *Cal. S P Ven.* (1655-6), p. 288. The list of bills is in *C J*, vii, 460, and *Parl. Hist.* vi, 100.

—Carlyle, *Suppl.* 123, and noted as "reported to the House by the Speaker the same day." It is not clear whether the effort to raise the question of the succession was made before or after the members' return to the House.

<sup>18</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Nov. 24-Dec. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Broghill to Thurloe, Nov. 26, Thurloe, v, 655-56.

<sup>20</sup> Whitelocke, p. 557.

<sup>21</sup> Thurloe, iv, 557.

<sup>22</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Sharp," quoting from *True and Impartial Account* (1723), p. 34; cp. also Thos. Stephen, *Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp* (1839).

It was about this time, apparently, that Mazarin presented to Lockhart four fine saddle-horses for the Protector's use,<sup>34</sup> and it was possibly in these days—though it may have been in 1657<sup>35</sup>—that the Protector addressed another protest to Louis XIV in regard to the seizure of an English vessel in Thames mouth by a "sea-rover pretending a commission from the son of the late king Charles"

MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, OUR DEAREST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE

[illegible]

about Paris. The date is, however, "not at all consistent" with the "character" of Molière of the last year," in spite of the "fact" that the letter "must" have "been written—or sent—in 1657."

diction of the French, was taken at the very mouth of the Thames, by a sea-  
 rover, pretending a commission from the son of the late king Charles which  
 being directly contrary to your edicts and the decrees of your council, that  
 no English ship, taken by the enemies of the parliament, should be admitted  
 into any of your ports, and there put to sale, they demanded restitution of  
 the said ship and goods from M. Lestrade, then governor of the town, who  
 returned them an answer no way becoming a person of his quality, or who  
 pretended obedience to his sovereign, That the government was conferred  
 upon him for his good service in the wars, and therefore he would make his  
 best advantage of it, that is to say, by right or wrong; for that he seemed to  
 drive at as if he had received that government of your majesty's free gift, to

to have a hand in, that the king's governor contrary to the king's interest has  
 not only suffered to be committed in your ports, but he himself becomes the  
 pirate, seizes the prey, and openly avouches the fact With this answer

majesty the last year with little better success, for as yet we have received no  
 reply to those letters Of which

the governor was with the army

rather flutters unpunished about the city, and at court, enriched with the  
 spoils of our merchants Once more therefore we make it our request to your  
 majesty, which it is your majesty's interest in the first place to take care of,  
 that no person whatever may dare to justify  
 esty's confederates by the contempt of your rc,

be properly referred to the commissioners appointed for deciding common  
 controversies on both sides, since in this case not only the rights of con-  
 federates, but your authority itself, and the veneration due to the royal name,  
 are chiefly in dispute. And it would be a wonder, that merchants should be  
 more troubled for their losses, than your majesty provoked at encroachments  
 upon your honour, Which while you disdain to brook, with the same labour  
 you will demonstrate, that you neither repent of your friendly edicts in favour  
 of our republic, nor connived at the injuries done by your subjects, nor neg-  
 lected to give due respect to our demands From our court at Westminster,  
 Novemb. — 1656.

OLIVER, P.<sup>28</sup>

By Monday, December 1, 1656, the Protector seems to have re-  
 sumed the audiences which had been more or less interrupted. The  
 first was with Leverett, who wrote,

<sup>28</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 422-24, Columbia *Milton*, no 86, with the addition "West-  
 monasterii, die Novembri," at the end.

*Leverett's audience with Cromwell*

At my presenting your letter of the 14th of June, I was pleased to enquire of the business of the same. By his reser-

ber, he manifesteth a very strong desire in him for some leading and considerable company of New-England men to go thither; for at that time he was

and had as had from England to New-England, in order to their bettering their outward condition, God having promised his people should be the head and not the tail, besides, that design hath its tendency to the overthrow of the man of sin and withal was pleased to add, that though the people had been sickly, yet it was said to be a climacterical year, that others had been to view the place, as Mevis people, who upon liking were gone down and Christopher's people were upon motion, and he hoped by

some considerable numbers would go from New-England. His Highness was As to the bettering our outward condition like Englishmen than any of the

rest of the plantations, to which his Highness replied, that they were more industrious, what then would they be in a better country, to which I added, that there were more in New-England produced to bespeak us a commonwealth than in all the English plantations besides, the which his Highness granted. I objecting the contrariety of spirits, principles, manners, and customs of the people of New-England to them that were at the island or in any other plantations that could remove thither, so not like to cement, his Highness replied, that were there considerable persons that would remove from thence, they should have the government in their hands and be strengthened with the authority of England, who might be capable of giving check to the ill and vicious manners of all. Whilst his Highness was pleased to entertain me with these discourses, an honourable gentleman of his council came in,

was pleased to express himself concerning New-England's rigidness and persecution, to which his Highness was pleased to answer very much in the favour of them, that they acted like wise men, and God had broken the designs of evil instruments, bearing witness with them against evil seducers which had risen up along them, mentioning one or two. Much more passed in discourse, and his Highness broke off with this, that he would not impose any particular injunction upon me<sup>25</sup>

On the same day, after dinner, Giavarina had his long-sought audience, in which he took occasion to tell the Protector of the attempt of the Turks to use English ships against Venice, asking that it be stopped and that firm instructions be sent to the English ambassador at Constantinople and to the consuls in Turkish territory to oppose the Turks and to support the Venetians. To this protest, as

<sup>25</sup> See also the account of the audience in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, 1659, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> See also the account of the audience in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, 1659, p. 10.



Giavarina wrote, and especially to the interpretation made by Fleming, the Protector listened with great attention:

He then replied that he rejoiced with all his heart at the success given by God to the arms of the most serene republic against the common enemy. He wished she might go on and win greater [victories] and so he was much affected to hear what I said about the violence of the Turks. His affection and esteem for the republic obliged him to have its interests at heart and to see that neither his subjects nor anything belonging to him should do it injury at any time. He hoped to give clear proofs of this to match his desire and goodwill. The requests I made in the name of your Serenity were equally just and reasonable. He had promised all. He would be necessary to discuss the matter with his Council and then decide what would be most advisable and profitable. He would have the answer before them as speedily and he assured me the speed. For the rest he spoke highly of the Senate and assured me of his constant desire to serve your Excellencies, and it is to be hoped that these fair words will be matched by deeds which are so necessary for the relief of your Serenity and of all Christendom.

The Venetian was, however, not very hopeful. To his further importunities he "obtained a reply like the first, the Protector repeating that everything should be put through quickly", but, as Giavarina added, "I will not venture to predict what the result may be because I know that all affairs, even those closely affecting interests of state, go on for ever and never receive the finishing touches." But the Protector did not end there. As Giavarina concluded

When I had finished and as I was about to take leave his Highness got the introducer to tell me that he also had a request to make to be referred to the most serene republic. He had heard of the goodwill towards its affairs and admired the unequalled generosity of the Senate, he told me that some of his subjects who had served your Excellencies in the present war with the Turk were slaves and captives in the hands of the barbarians. He prayed your Serenity to consider the services they had rendered and procure their release. This could easily be done by exchange for Turks taken by the Venetian arms in the last battle. He did not believe that the number of English slaves exceeded 150. If your Excellencies will render this service to the state and so great a charity to a number of poor families, lacking some a father, some a brother or other relation, who long to have them back and not so far away, he would receive it as a special favour and an act of spontaneous generosity on the part of the republic, which would make men invoke blessings on her and to desire that God would grant her all prosperity and increasing glory. He was sorry to have to make this request at the same time that I was preferring mine, as it might be supposed that he wanted to make a bargain and that if he could not obtain what he desired he would not grant what was asked of him. He had made the request

moved solely by love of his subjects and on the supposition that the exchange can easily be made, as suggested, without the slightest cost to the republic. He would leave everything to her generosity and humanity. This would not have any influence on the despatch which I had suggested to him

Upon this the astute Venetian observes that the Protector had seized the opportunity presented to him, thinking that "he who desires a favour must also grant one, so his excuses amount to nothing," "I am not sure that the Venetians would have been so easily deceived, they might move faster in London." Giavarina was not deceived by fair words and empty promises. He realized that there was little or no substantial assistance to be expected from Cromwell for his state in its war with the Turks, nor did Venice receive much more than sympathy from the Protector, then or thereafter, nor did Giavarina probably expect any. The most that he could hope for was what he asked—that if England did not aid Venice, she might, at least prevent the use of English vessels by the Turks, and while there were English officials in the Ottoman Empire, there is, of course, a possibility that they were sent. If they were, they seem to have had no effect, nor, under the circumstances, would that have been surprising. England was involved in war with Spain, which took all the resources at her command, and Venice was a long way off, nor likely to be of any help.

There is no record of the Venetian question in the Council minutes of its three meetings in the ensuing week, of which the Protector attended two.<sup>30</sup> On the contrary, the main business of the Tuesday meeting had to do with the matter of the regulation of hackney-coaches,<sup>31</sup> and that of Wednesday with the continuance of the army committee as appointed in January, 1653-4, in order to execute the order for a six months' assessment from December 25, 1656.<sup>32</sup> There was also issued an order on that day to the Treasury Commissioners to pay the Treasurers at War £360,000 out of the next assessment money to come in to be applied to the army service.<sup>33</sup> It was further ordered that the salaries of Thurloe, the members of the Council and its officers and servants up to last Michaelmas should be paid out of the money brought by Montagu and coined by Viner and Backwell;<sup>34</sup> which, with a petition of the brigade of foot raised for service at

<sup>30</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Dec. 5/15, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1655-6), pp. 290-92.

<sup>31</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), pp. xxi, 188-89. On Dec. 2 he approved two orders, one of Sept. 16 and one of Oct. 28 (*ibid.*, p. 183), which gives some point to the observations of both Giavarina and Thurloe that business went on very slowly.

<sup>32</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 1-8, *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. 180.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 184-85.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.



cities and boroughs to maintain or extend their ancient privileges. These—with one from Leeds as a precedent—the Protector referred to the Council on December 1, which in turn referred it to Sheppard—whom he had lately made a serjeant-of-law—and the other com-

ment, all these comparatively insignificant pieces of business, like the concern for imprisoned Quakers at this time,<sup>42</sup> were no doubt necessary, but one may well wonder where the Protector and the Council found time and energy to devote to greater matters of state.

All of this was in a measure emphasized, in a measure interrupted, by the case of Nayler, who, having been brought from Bristol with some of his more devoted followers, was now summoned before Parliament, which spent many weary hours in committee and in open session in discussing his case. That case was difficult and at no time more than this. Nayler was what might be called in modern phraseology an "end product" of the religious movement which preceded and accompanied the Puritan Revolution. Despite what seem to modern eyes his eccentricities and extravagances, he evidently had an attractive personality. He was apparently a moving orator, emotional, eloquent, rhetorical, who appealed successfully to women. It was alleged against him that he accepted that he had raised one of them from the dead, that, if he had not actually claimed to be Christ or his reincarnation, he had more or less tacitly accepted that character when applied to him by his followers. On these grounds, the matter having been considered in committee, as well as on the grounds of the disturbances which accompanied him wherever he went, after some preliminary debate he was summoned before the House on December 6, 1656, and charged, among other things with "horrid blasphemy."

There ensued a strange incident, even for those times. He refused to kneel or take off his hat—which was removed for him—or to recognize the authority of the House or the Speaker, though he was careful to deny neither. In his ensuing examination with all his apparent simplicity he revealed a shrewd, if disordered, mind. It was found impossible to pin him down to any definite commitment and the ensuing debate, which had smouldered along in committee and elsewhere for weeks, burst out in a furious, if complicated exchange of

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>42</sup> Dec. 2, order by the Protector to Col Geo Fenwick, Maj Fenwick and Thos Moore to examine whether 7 Quakers who had appealed to him had been committed to prison. Dec. 5, to Lt-col Fenton, to certify whether these seven Quakers had been imprisoned at Horsham according to law (*ibid.*, pp. 229-30).

theological opinions mixed with practical concerns of politics. It involved not only the facts of the case but the question as to whether his utterances were "error" or "blasphemy," and especially as to whether the word "horrid" could be applied to them; whether his contention that "Christ was in him" implied that he pretended to be Christ; whether Parliament was a judicial body competent to pass upon his case; and various minor issues. On those the House was sharply divided. The Solicitor-General, Ellis, with Strickland and Downing were against him. Desborough inclined to leniency. Lambert, who testified that he had been "a very useful person" as his quartermaster, of "unblameable life and conversation," and a member of a "very sweet society of an independent church," pleaded, like Sydenham, against hasty action.<sup>43</sup> Skippon urged speedy punishment. So far as Cromwell himself was concerned, there seems no record of his having taken any part in the matter directly or indirectly, though Skippon declared "I heard the supreme magistrate say, 'It was never his intention to indulge such things'"; and he continued for himself, "we see the issue of this liberty of conscience. . . . If this be liberty, God deliver me from such liberty."<sup>44</sup>

The views of Nayler's antagonists finally prevailed. On December 8 it was voted that he was guilty of "horrid blasphemy," then the debate as to his punishment dragged on for another week. Though Richard Baxter, who had been one of the chief opponents of Nayler's execution,<sup>45</sup> and though the House of Commons, in constructing the sentence, he took pains not to identify himself with it; partly, no doubt, because he was not naturally cruel; partly, perhaps, because he had a certain sympathy with the doctrine of "inner light," which Nayler personified, however extravagantly; partly, perhaps, because Nayler had been a good soldier; partly, no doubt, because he may have felt that such a punishment came with ill grace from a party which had stood for religious liberty; and finally because it would antagonize many who otherwise might have supported his government more wholeheartedly. It was impolitic to offend Parliament, and he permitted the sentence to be carried out, though he presently took pains to dissociate himself from the judgment pronounced by the House. Nor did the Nayler case concern only Parliament and the Protector. It produced a schism among the Quakers themselves, for Fox repudiated his disciple—or rival—and there ensued a division between his followers and those of the martyred Nayler which was slow to heal.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Baxter (*Chronicle*, p. 100), p. 100. "The House of Commons was divided upon the question of his punishment, and the debate was continued for several days." *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>44</sup> Burton, i, 50.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>46</sup> There are two recent lives of Nayler, one by Mabel R. Brailsford (1927), the other by Emilia Fogelklou (1931), the latter translated from the Swedish, each inclined to

The Nayler case, which was the most celebrated incident of the kind in those days, revealed, indeed, the difficult position of the Cromwellian régime, not only politically and religiously but intellectually. Like the case of the Unitarian Biddle and that of Anne Hutchinson in Massachusetts earlier, it showed that whatever sense of toleration the Puritans possessed had very definite limits. It did not reach as far as Episcopalians, much less to Catholics, on the one side, nor to Quakers or Unitarians on the other; nor was that to be expected, for that was not an age of tolerance. It has been possible to defend the actions of the Protector and his followers as champions of order, and it has been equally possible to eulogize Nayler as a saint and a martyr. To a generation accustomed to the peaceful and beneficent pietism of modern Quakerism the treatment of this deluded man seems inexcusably harsh; but the early Quakers, however pietistic, were far from being quietists. They were then reckoned more akin to the so-called Ranters, many of them resorting to extravagances of costume—or the lack of it—of manner and of language, equally disturbing to civil and religious peace. The “buff-coated captains” who—like Cromwell himself—had once interrupted or driven episcopalian clergy from their pulpits were now ill-disposed to endure the challenge of these new evangelists. In the very days that Nayler’s case came before the House, George Fox addressed to Protector and Parliament a complaint that “the . . . was turned out of there offices of Justices and other offices (& turned out of ye army)” for their beliefs.<sup>4</sup> There were always some hundreds of Quakers in prison during the Protectorate and its records are full of arrests, imprisonments and fines of the members of that society. As Skippon said “If this be liberty, God deliver me from such liberty.” This was, in effect, Parliament’s opinion—and Nayler’s epitaph.

So far as the Protector himself was concerned, as Nayler’s case was being considered by Parliament and its committee, he took occasion to sign various documents—a commission to William Yaldwyn as sheriff of Sussex, and a letter to Frederick III of Denmark:

*Commission for William Yaldwyn*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all the dominions thereunto belong, &c. To all Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, Freemen, and others, in the county of Sussex, greeting,

Whereas we have committed to William Yaldwyn, Esquire, the said county of Sussex, with the appurtenances, to keep the same during our pleasure, as in our letters patents thereof to him made is more fully conteyned, Wee do therefore command and require you that in all things which belong to the

eulogy and each revealing, among other things, that Nayler’s influence over women did not cease with his death.

<sup>4</sup> Fox, *Journal*, i, 263.

office of Sheriffe you doe [be] ayding and assisting to the said William Yaldwyn, the present Sheriffe of the said county of Sussex In testimony whereof wee have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, December 3, 1656.

OLIVER P.<sup>6</sup>

*Instructions for William Yaldwyn*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c To all persons to whom these presents shall come, greeting

Whereas we have committed to William Yaldwyn the younger, our county of Sussex, by him to be kept during our pleasure, and that he may render yearly unto us farms and duties due to us, and likewise make answer unto us at our Court of Exchequer, of all our debts due unto us appertaining to the office of Escheator for the said county of Sussex In testimony whereof, &c. [we have caused these our letters to be made patent] Witness ourself at Westminster, December 3, 1656

OLIVER P.<sup>6</sup>

*To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Frederic III, King of Denmark, Norway, the Vandals, and Goths; Duke of Sleswic, Holsatia, Stormatia, and Dithmarsh, Count in Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst; etc*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, OUR DEAREST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE

We received your majesty's letters dated the 16th of February, from Copenhagen, by the most worthy Simon de Petkum, your majesty's agent here residing Which when we had perused, the demonstrations of your majesty's goodwill towards us, and the importance of the matter concerning which you write, affected us to that degree, that we designed forthwith to send to your majesty some person, who being furnished with ample instructions from us, might more at large declare to your majesty our counsels in that affair. And though we have still the same resolutions, yet hitherto we have not been able to send a person proper to be entrusted with those commands, which the weight of the matter requires, though in a short time we hope to be more at liberty In the mean while we thought it not convenient any longer to delay the letting your majesty understand, that the present condition of affairs in Europe has kept us in anxiety with no ordinary care and thought; while for some years, to our great grief, we have beheld the protestant princes, and supreme magistrates of the reformed republics, (whom it rather behoves, as being engaged by the common tie of religion and safety, to combine and study all the ways imaginable conducing to mutual defence) more and more at weakening variance among themselves, and

"The . . ."  
363-4n, from Mss. preserved at Blackdown House in Sussex "There is a tradition, not well founded, that this house was occasionally frequented by Oliver Cromwell in secret, and it is known, that its possessor at that time [Yaldwyn] was his great partisan and friend" (*ibid.*, p. 363)

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 364n

jealous of each other's actions and designs; putting their friends in fear, their enemies in hope, that the posture of affairs bodes rather enmity and discord, than a firm agreement of mind to defend and assist each other. And this solicitude has fixed itself so much the deeper in our thoughts, in regard there seems to appear some sparks of jealousy between your majesty and the king of Sweden, at least, that there is not that conjunction of affections, which our love and goodwill in general toward the orthodox religion so importunately requires your majesty, perhaps, suspecting that the trade of your dominions will be prejudiced by the king of Sweden, and on the other side, the king of Sweden being jealous, that by your means the war which he now wages is made more difficult, and that you oppose him in his contracting those alliances which he seeks. It is not unknown to your majesty, so eminent for your profound wisdom, how great the danger is that threatens the protestant re-

between you, more especially, should break forth. However

and everyone glad to behold peace and concord reigned between them for

states-general) so we thought it our ship, not to conceal from your majesty what our sentiments are concerning these matters, (more especially being affectionately invited so to do by your majesty's most friendly letters, which we look upon, and embrace, as a most singular testimony of your goodwill towards us) but to lay before your eyes

at this time, when our most embittered enemies seem to have on every side conspired our destruction. There is no necessity of calling to remembrance the valleys of Piedmont still besmeared with the blood and slaughter of the miserable inhabitants, nor Austria, tormented at the same time with the onsets of the popish that the artifices and

fortunate pile of miseries, if once the reformed brethren should come to add their own dissensions among themselves, and more especially two such potent monarchs, the chiefest part of our strength, and among whom so large a provision of the protestant security and puissance lies stored and hoarded up against times of danger, most certainly the interests of the protestants must go to ruin, and suffer a total and irrecoverable eclipse. On the other side, if peace continue firmly fixed between two such powerful neighbours, and the rest of the orthodox princes; if we would but make it our main study, to abide in brotherly concord, there would be no cause, by God's assistance, to fear neither the force nor the subtilty of our enemies; all whose endeavours and laborious toils our union alone would be able to dissipate and frustrate. Nor do we question, but that your majesty, as you are freely willing, so your willingness will be constant in contributing your utmost assistance, to procure this blessed peace. To which purpose we shall be most ready to communicate and join our counsels with your majesty; professing a real and



cordial friendship, and not only determined inviolably to observe the amity so auspiciously contracted between us, but, as God shall enable us, to bind  
In the mean time,  
successful to your  
majesty.

Your majesty's most closely united by friendship,  
alliance, and goodwill,

From our Palace at Westminster,  
December 4, 1656

OLIVER, P.<sup>80</sup>

Meanwhile Brayne had arrived at the Barbados on Nov 27 and four days later wrote the Protector an account of his five weeks' voyage,<sup>81</sup> while on December 3 a certain Walter Gostelo enclosed in a letter to one of the Protector's servants, Huet, an appeal to Cromwell to come to terms with Charles II.<sup>82</sup> It was in line with a pamphlet Gostelo had published earlier on the same subject,<sup>83</sup> and represented the sentiments of a small but active group which had long sought some basis of accord to settle the government. It was a hopeless project, but scarcely more hopeless than those entertained by the more aggressive Cavaliers. Of these one of the most energetic was that Sir Marmaduke Langdale who had made such a gallant stand at Preston against Cromwell, had been taken prisoner, and sent to the Continent and still dreamed of another attempt. At this moment he reported to Hyde the

universal discontent against Cromwell and the readiness of all to join with any considerable force that may land in England, the Cavalier and the Catholic are the coolest, the former relying on his former merits and sufferings, the latter on his interest in the Spaniard; the Presbyterian fears the King may be restored without him, and therefore seems the most active in offering assistance joined with the old dogs, he first began a parliament, wherein he is assured by <sup>But none</sup> of these are willing to stir ice gotten, will be able to produce what effects the V. <sup>ice gotten,</sup> now they insolently propound.<sup>84</sup>

In itself Langdale's letter was of no great significance. He was no statesman, Hyde did not like him; and there was no danger that his advice would be taken seriously. But he represented that element

<sup>80</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 424-26, *Columbia Milton*, no 87, compared with orig in Danish archives, cal in *47th Rept Dep. Keeper Pub Records*, p 66. Cp *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 153, 160.

<sup>81</sup> Brayne to Cromwell, Barbados, Dec. 1, Thurloe, v, 668

<sup>82</sup> Gostelo to Cromwell, Bruges, Dec 3, *ibid*, pp 673-78.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Abbott, *Rebellion of Oliver Cromwell*

among the Royalists who rested their hopes on Spain. At this moment Cromwell could best be stopped by stirring up Don John of Austria with either Spanish forces or Sexby's friends; though the plotter admitted that he could do nothing unless the Royalists abandoned their plea for the death of the Protector in favor of the liberty of the country. He was, Sexby said, already sure of the governors of three port fortresses and of a great part of the army.<sup>55</sup>

Such were the vain designs with which Charles II's followers and Cromwell's enemies consoled themselves. Neither Charles II nor Hyde had much faith in them. Through Cardenas, Philip IV let it be known that he would co-operate only in so far as Sexby's plans coincided with his own and did not oblige him to give up his own designs. Sexby was sure that his party would serve Philip I, but to overcome, Philip would only have exchanged one enemy for another, and was more likely to miscarry than Charles II's designs. Sexby's aim was only the destruction of the Protector, while Charles had only one interest—the restoration of the monarchy.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless instructions were drawn up for negotiation with the Spanish ministers regarding Sexby's proposals, written by Hyde and probably designed for the Earl of Bristol, then in the Spanish Netherlands and friendly with Don John of Austria. That prince confided to him that there was "close correspondence with Wildman who does not trust Sexby with it, Sexby's friends being those who are engaged for a republic, and who would indeed for numbers be considerable did they not consist of persons differing as to all the essentials of that very government."<sup>57</sup> That was, in a sense, the strength of the Protectorate. However much it was hated by its enemies, they were not only a heterogeneous company, but they were divided among themselves by animosities almost, if not quite, as great as their dislike of Cromwell, and with aims so divergent that even in the improbable event of their success, they could offer no definite programme for reconstruction. This lay only in the restoration of the monarchy and that was impossible so long as Cromwell lived. The landing of a Spanish force would, as in the case of the previous invasions by Scotch and Irish troops, have unified England in support of the Protector, so that, in a sense, as in many other cases of the kind, the revolutionary party, which was far from united, was held together by pressure from the outside. Only in the fact that one of the greatest generals of the time, the Prince de

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213, no 646.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 213-14, no 647.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15, no 648.

Condé, was then in Spanish service in the Netherlands, was there much to be feared from that quarter.

It would appear from the single meeting of the Council in the second week of December—on Thursday the 11th—at which the Protector was present for a part of the time,<sup>88</sup> that the government felt itself in less danger than at various other periods. That was revealed in part, at least, by the fact that orders were issued to release Sir Henry Vane and the two Fifth Monarchist agitators, Feake and Rogers, from their imprisonment.<sup>89</sup> The financial situation was relieved for the moment by the receipt of the Spanish treasure, £4,000 of which was ordered to be paid to Maidstone to repay the Navy Treasurers who had lent that sum to meet the Protector's household expenses<sup>90</sup>—which reveals how hard pressed the government had been in the past months. Besides this it was ordered that the Army Committee act "as former committees have acted," in securing from the receivers-general £360,000 out of the Exchequer for the army by virtue of the Protector's privy seal of December 11, to pay the forces out of the new assessment.<sup>91</sup> The armed forces were, in fact, at once the greatest source of the Protector's weakness and of his strength. Without them he could not have maintained his position, but their maintenance was with the utmost difficulty—if at all. The government was thus financially, as well as politically, always having to choose between the two horns of the dilemma in which he found himself.

While he thus confronted bankruptcy on the one hand and conspiracy on the other, the House was concerned with neither, but devoted its talents to the Nayler case, its theological, legal and administrative problems, to an extent which, if it had not been so tragic, would have held many elements of comedy. Whether Nayler's offence was "blasphemy, heresy, idolatry," "seduction" or "imposture," consumed many weary hours of debate before it was determined as "horrid blasphemy." That decided, further debate ensued on punishment—death, pillory, imprisonment, whipping, cutting out his tongue or boring it through, banishment, cutting off his hand and riding a horse with his face to the tail, with like alternatives, finally determined as whipping, pillory, branding his forehead with a B for "blasphemer," and boring his tongue, and riding a horse backward through Bristol. The lesser—though still savage—punishments were

<sup>88</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. xxi, 192-95. The Protector approved four other

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>90</sup> *Sept. Dep. Keeper Pub. Rec.*, App. II, p. 258.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

voted partly in fear of making Nayler a martyr, partly through the plea of lawyers like Whitelocke as making a dangerous precedent,

While the Commons fiddled over the Nayler case, there were symptoms of trouble elsewhere. According to Giavarina, supported by other testimony, there was discovered a plot in London to fire a mine in Whitehall, after the manner of the Gunpowder Plot, to dispose of the Protector and his advisers.<sup>62</sup> On the strength of that discovery and other intelligence, Sir Thomas Peyton's chamber in the Tower was searched and he, with the two searchers, was examined. which said he plans of Charles II by two or three months, unless an accident should occur—that is to say, presumably, the death of the Protector.<sup>63</sup> Consequently, so Ormonde was advised, Peyton's "imprisonment will be so strict that he will be useless to the King, a misfortune much to be lamented, for no one was more able and willing,"<sup>64</sup> prisoner in the Tower as he was! Some explanation as to the long drawing out of the Nayler case is afforded by the report of Bordeaux that Parliament was keeping itself busy with matters of little importance to give men's tempers time to cool so that the proposal to make Cromwell king might be passed.<sup>65</sup> From other directions that report seems to have been confirmed. Giavarina noted that the question of the succession was brought up the Protector's objections.<sup>66</sup> Bernardi wrote that the Protector's closest friends joined in and Titus advised Hyde that if Cromwell consented than he will lose",<sup>68</sup> so that, all in all, it would appear that Nayler's case may, in fact, have served more purposes than appeared on its face.

The only thing that Cromwell lacked of being king was the title. On Wednesday December 10 he knighted James Calthorpe,<sup>69</sup> high sheriff of Suffolk and Colonel William Lockhart, who had just re-

<sup>62</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Dec. 12/22, *Cal S P Ven* (1655-6), pp. 294-95. There was also news of a conspiracy in Scotland (*ibid*).

<sup>63</sup> Thurloe, v, 691-92, 694, *C. J.*, vii, 481.

<sup>64</sup> [Rumbold] to [Ormonde], Macray, iii, 221, no. 667.

<sup>65</sup> Cited by Firth, "Cromwell and the Crown," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xvii (1902), 441 n. 32.

<sup>66</sup> Macray, iii, 216, no. 652.

<sup>69</sup> Calthorpe was the brother-in-law of Sir John Reynolds, who had been knighted by Cromwell (1654), was an ardent Cromwellian and

turned from France.<sup>70</sup> With the latter he was reported to have had conferences every day to get some idea of the situation in France and Mazarin's attitude. Giavarina, with all his industry, was unable to gain any idea of them, "as they pass under four eyes only," but he surmised that they were intended to prevent peace between England and Spain and to form some alliance between France, Sweden, England and Portugal<sup>71</sup>—which was as good a guess as any and probably not far from the truth. From Paris there came intelligence that Mazarin announced that he had certain information that Cromwell would accept the crown and that every one in France believed it, though the intelligencer doubted if it were true.<sup>72</sup> On the other side of the shield, the controversy over the right of search and seizure over the Dutch ships, which was claimed by England, remained a sore spot in the relations of the two countries. The States General reiterated its orders to Dutch captains to fight if they had declared no contraband and the English still persisted in an effort to search.<sup>73</sup> To Nieupoort's protest to Thurloe in the matter, however, the English secretary declared the charge "an invention and fiction of the Spaniards" to provoke hostilities between England and the Netherlands, "that the Lord Protector did endeavour to preserve a true and firm amity with their high and mighty lordships; and that it was no ways his intention to prejudice the subjects of the United Netherlands, . . . much less that he should excite others to do the same against them."<sup>74</sup> The fact remained, however, that he did not disavow the claim to search, and that there were undoubtedly reasons for the protests of

at whatever risk, and there were certain to be—as there were—continual "incidents" arising out of the English efforts to put a stop to it. But neither the States General nor the Protector wanted war, and these remained only irritations not causes for hostilities.

It seems at least possible, if not probable, that the Naylor case, which consumed most of the time of the week of December 15, was designed, in part at least, to evade the discussion of the embarrassing question of the succession to the Protectorate. On any other grounds it is difficult to understand why such a relatively minor issue was permitted to drag out at such length. It is easy to say, as has been said, that it was due to the incredible stupidity of the Parliament, but when it is considered that the House was

<sup>70</sup> *Pub Intell*, Dec 15-22, *Parl Hist.*, xvi, 221

<sup>71</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Dec 12/22, *Cal S P Ven* (1655-6), pp 295-96

<sup>72</sup> Letter from Bampffield, Paris, Dec. 13/23, Thurloe, v, 705

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 682-83, 696-97.

<sup>74</sup> Nieupoort to Ruysch, Dec 10/20, *ibid*, p 697

so largely composed of members of the government and of the armed forces, that many of those who spoke longest and loudest were precisely those most prominent in affairs, and many of them close to the Protector; the explanation of stupidity loses much of its weight. In any event, the motion was carried to its importance or to that of Nayler, and if it served its purpose to perfection. A motion to put Nayler to death was defeated.

A committee of ministers, including Caryl, Nye, Manton, Reynolds and Griffith was named to confer with him and, if possible, to bring him to a sense of his errors.<sup>75</sup> Besides this the main business of the week was a petition presented on Friday, the 19th, by ten aldermen of London, "to debar all from being eligible free men there that do not contribute with their pains and persons, and purses, to the burthen of the justice of that magistracy, to support it." To this there was considerable opposition, as aiming at a monopoly for Londoners, but it was finally committed.<sup>76</sup>

To these matters and the appointing of Tuesday and Thursday of every week to consider means for carrying on the Spanish war,<sup>77</sup> was added another question which went to the heart of the whole problem of the existence of the Parliament itself. This was the matter of adjournment over the holidays, for though Christmas was not officially recognized, there were apparently some who still believed in a recess at that point. It was supported partly on the ground that the weather was cold, that many members were ill; and it was added that it was necessary to keep the House in session to find means for the carrying on of the war. In the words of Fiennes, who often spoke for the opposition, "We never have met that we cannot kill the King of Spain, nor take Spain or Flanders, by a vote. There must be monies provided, . . ." On the other hand, Bond retorted that "twenty resolve to go down on Monday next. . . . It is reported abroad that we are but a rag of a Parliament. They say that we are now made up of none but soldiers and courtiers, and I know not what friends to my Lord Protector." To which Desborough replied, as tempers rose "I hope no man thinks it a scandal to be a soldier, or my Lord Protector's friend." When the debate had reached such a height of animosity that the exchanges became personal, he added that "We grow hungry, and consequently angry," but it was

<sup>75</sup> Burton, I, 152, 158, 168-73, 182-83, *Merc Pol*, Dec. 18, says he was conveyed to Newgate; but Burton (I, 158) and other sources say Bridewell.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176-79.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191. It was ordered on Tuesday that the Protector's consent be requested for a bill to enable Colonel Richard Carter, a member from Cornwall, to sell certain lands to pay his debts and those of his deceased father (*C. J.*, vii, 468).

not hunger which lent sharpness to the discussion. Bond had put his finger on the sore spot. The question of the excluded members was again brought forward, and behind it lay an uneasy consciousness that the position of Parliament was by no means assured, either as to its composition, its powers, or even the length of its life. It was only too evident that what Bond had said was right; there was a feeling that the House was at the disposal of the Protector, that it was, in the last resort, not much more than a somewhat transparent screen for . . . prevent further reflections on the situation . . . etely laid aside the old resolve in this case, to prevent further debate, and so ended the dispute," which was becoming increasingly embarrassing to the government.<sup>78</sup>

It was a peculiarly significant moment for the questions raised in this debate to be brought forward. Tuesday, December 16, was the third anniversary of the founding of the Protectorate, and, though the news-sheets are silent on the subject, Giavarina reported that it was "celebrated with festivity, bonfires and the firing of all the guns at the Tower."<sup>79</sup> The day before Cromwell had knighted Alderman Robert Tichborne, Lord Mayor of London, and Lislebone Long, its Recorder.<sup>80</sup> On Thursday he addressed the mayor of Newcastle on Tyne and the Presbyterian churches there.

*To the Mayor of Newcastle. To be communicated to the Aldermen and others whom it doth concern*

GENTLEMEN, AND MY VERY GOOD FRIENDS,

My Lord Strickland, who is one of our Council, did impart to us a letter written from yourselves to him, according to your desire therein expressed, which occasions this return from us to you.

As nothing that may reflect to the prejudice of your outward good, either personal or as you are a civil Government, shall easily pass with us, so, much less what shall tend to your discouragement, as you are saints, to your comfort . . . nonly known by the name . . . —will be so far from being actually discountenanced, or passively suffer damage, by any applying themselves to me, I do, once for all, give you to understand, that I should thereby destroy and disappoint one of the main ends for which God hath planted me in the station I am in.

Wherefore I desire you in that matter to rest secure. True it is that two Ministers, one Mr Cole and Mr Pye, did present to me a letter in the name of divers Ministers in Newcastle, the Bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland, of an honest and Christian purpose the sum whereof I extracted, and returned an answer thereunto (a true copy whereof I send you here en-

<sup>78</sup> For this debate see Burton, I, 190-95.

<sup>79</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Dec. 19/29, *Cal S P Ven* (1655-6), p. 297.

<sup>80</sup> *Parl Hist*, xxi, 221, *Pub Intell*, Dec. 15-22. Masson dates it, apparently incorrectly, Dec. 10 (v, 303).

closed), by which I think it will easily appear, that the consideration of my kindness is well deserved by them; provided they observe the condition expressed, which in charity I am bound to believe they will; and without which their own consciences and the world will know how to judge of them.

Having said this, I, or rather the Lord, require of you, that you walk in all peaceableness and gentleness, inoffensiveness, truth and love towards them, as becomes the servants and churches of Christ, knowing well that Jesus Christ, of whose diocese both they and you are, expects it, who, when He comes to gather His people, and to make Himself a name and a praise amongst all the people of the earth,—He will save him that halteth, and gather her that was driven out, and will get them praise and fame in every land, where they have been put to shame. And such lame ones and driven-out ones were not only the Independents and Presbyterians, a few years since,

with you, I have thought fit to commend these few words to you, being well assured it is written in your heart, so to do with this that I shall stand by you

And committing you to the blessing of the Lord, I rest,

Your loving friend,

Whitehall

OLIVER P 81

18th December 1656

*For our loving friends the Ministers and Churches of the Presbyterian judgment in the counties of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne. These*

GENTLEMEN

The letters you sent us by the hands of Mr Cole of Newcastle and Mr. ... and have been since considered of ... it to return you this following answer as full as we can to your demands

To use ye  
interest of C  
churches, the interest of magistracy, the endeavor of all possible union and  
accomodation and forbearance to brethren of different judgments with a  
desire to have breaches healed among saints and that you purpose to be so  
far from intrenching upon the freedom of those churches that are of a dif-  
ferent constitution and model from you, that you do not claim so much as  
right to exercise any act of power or jurisdiction over any but such as volun-  
tarily submit to your government over them in the Lord. These particular  
expressions of yours held too in all ingenious and sincere practice which we

<sup>81</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, CCXV, from Thurlow, v, 714 in Secretary Thurlow's hand. In response to this letter, the "Churches at Newcastle" presented an address to the Protector, gratefully thanking him for his "singular affection and most Christian tenderness" to them as shown in his letter to the Mayor. Printed in *Nisbolk's Original Letters and Papers of State*, p. 138 (Mrs. Lomas' note)



are bound in charity to believe you intend and will do, will not need our approbation, for the Lord himself will protect you in them. As for us be as-

that the people of God should walk in the light of the Lord each sort in their integrity seeking the best they can the promotion of the interest of Christ as they have received him and so walking, considering while all Saints are pressing towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus, there ought to be patience and love exercised each to other upon the hope of that promise in third Phi. that if any be otherwise minded God shall reveal what is lacking even to them also, in assurance that you will make good these your own professions and undertakings, We do again assure we shall stand by, encourage and assist you to the uttermost of our power, and so committing you to the grace of God We rest

Your loving friend

OLIVER P.<sup>22</sup>

Whitehall, December the 18th 1656.

These communications, which indicate that there were some differences of opinion between what may be assumed to be the officials of Newcastle and the Protector, indicate little more than the Protector's desire to keep peace between the two communions and to retain the support of both, in so far as possible.

If it were possible for historians to recover the conversations of their characters, we should know much more of the history of the past than is preserved in the more formal and more studied documents which have come down to us, and at few times in Cromwell's career is such first-hand information more to be desired than in this period when, the first period of the Protectorate nearing its end, men turned to look to the future when Cromwell would no longer be at the head of the state. The speeches in Parliament, Cromwell's own utterances, the letters of the period, as in so many other cases, shed little light upon the real facts of the situation. Here, as at so many other times, it is possible to imagine what went on behind the scenes; it is not possible to bring forward any proof—short of what is called "the penetration of genius"—to substantiate the many interpretations of events which, in all honesty, we can never know. Here, as often, is the smallest part. It is possible to build up a picture of Cromwell's character and motives and fit into it such pieces of information as support it. That has been demonstrated perhaps too often. But to discover the actual facts of the situation, especially to unearth real evidence to support the concept of such a man is not only often difficult, it is impossible. At this juncture when the highly important question of the succession to the Protectorate was obviously being

<sup>22</sup> *Extracts from the Newcastle upon Tyne Council Minute Book, 1639-1656* (1920), pp. 33-34.

discussed by many persons, especially in the House, and in all probability even more by . . . we have only bits and pieces of evidence . . . wholly unrelated to the great movements of the time.

At this moment the Reverend John Tillotson, then fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, chaplain to the Attorney-General, Sir Edmund Prideaux, and tutor to his son, met with the Protector to discuss the question as to some property belonging to the college leased to the Protector, with the following result:

### *Conversation with Tillotson*

On Fryday last Mr Attorney Gen was pleased to carry mee thither & bring mee to him I deliverd the Letter which hee read carefully once & againe, & recited to Mr Attorney that clause (*nulli tamen libentius agnoscunt quam gens togata praesertim Academica*) & sayd to him, Mr Att. upon the words *gens togata* you the Lawyers might have come in for the most thankfull people if *praesertim Academica* had not hindered you. When hee had made an end of reading lookeing very pleasant hee came to mee & walked downe to the lower end of the roome . . . Colledge very kindly, I am glad I had an opportunity to do your Colledge that favour; I pray present my service to your Master & Fellowes, & tell them I give them thanks for their thanks & tell them they shall find mee ready to embrace all . . . particular to yo . . . mee After this (for I advised with the Attor. about the busines of the Lease<sup>44</sup> who told mee it could not bee taken ill to have it mentioned) I told him I was to trouble his Highness with another busines from the Coll. too inconsiderable . . . minded mee of it; I am now going to dinner & know not where readily to find the Lease, but I desire to have it renewd & to that purpose shall send one to wayte upon the Society, all I shall desire of them is they would please to use mee as they do their other Tenants (smileing as hee spoke this) I shall give some Order to my steward concerning it & desire to speake with you againe this afternoone, in the mean time go & dine with my steward, & thereupon sent one of his Gentlemen downe with mee After dinner I wayted upon him but hee was so busy with the Marquesse of Dorchester & my Lord fines that I could not speake to him tho I was a great while in the roome where hee

<sup>44</sup> See Dec. 19, 1655, for order to the Admiralty Commissioners to assign timber worth £1000 to the College.

<sup>45</sup> Oliver Cromwell, for lease of ground for 21 years, printed from J. R. Wardale, *Clare College Letters and Documents* (Camb, 1903), pp. 24-28, in vol. III of this work, pp. 969-70.

was . . . I have bin more tedious in this relation because I have given you all that past in his owne words In summe I perceived (& so Mr Attorney observed) that hee was much pleased with our Letter. . . .<sup>85</sup>

The conversation with Tillotson proves, in fact, only one thing—that in his . . . relation was situated. Two days earlier, on December 16, Thurloe wrote Henry Cromwell that the Protector had given orders for a warrant for settling the Treasury in Ireland, but that it would have to await Council action.<sup>86</sup> On that same 16th of December the Council in Ireland drew up a commission for authorizing the Deputy and Council

under the Great Seal, which was accordingly done.<sup>87</sup> Meanwhile in the course of that same week Monk sent two messages to the Protector by Thurloe, the first to ask that two, preferably three, Council members, who also sat in Parliament, be sent to Scotland to consider matters already too long neglected;<sup>88</sup> the second to ask the Protector's opinion as to a silver mine which had been discovered, whose purchase Monk recommended,<sup>89</sup> though with what result does not appear, save that Scotland's silver treasures seem not to have added to the resources of the Protectorate.

Apparently it was about this time, too, that Bordeaux had an audience with the Protector, in which there was some discussion of the Spanish fleet and of the league proposed by Cromwell—and, incidentally, an expression of the Protector's pleasure with the horses which had been sent him by Mazarin.<sup>90</sup> The French ambassador was advised by Brienne of the impending arrival in London of commissioners from France and warned to . . . any further treaty between the Protector . . . Giavarina thought that improbable, for he noted that English "suspicions of the Dutch here increase daily and there is good cause for fearing some mischief which certainly will not be to the advantage of either." Many believed that the Anglo-Dutch peace would be broken by spring, and there was fear that the Dutch might assist Charles II, to whom they seemed more favorably inclined at the moment.<sup>91</sup> To

<sup>85</sup> Tillotson to Dillingham (Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University and Master of Clare Hall), Dec. 22, 1656, Wardale, *ut supra*, pp. 21-24.

<sup>86</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Dec. 16, Thurloe, v, 709.

<sup>87</sup> *Cal. S. P. Irel.* (1647-60), pp. 835-36, Dunlop, II, 648-49.

<sup>88</sup> Monk to Thurloe, Dec. 16, Thurloe, v, 707.

<sup>89</sup> Same to same, Dec. 20, *ibid.*, p. 723.

<sup>90</sup> Mazarin to B. . . . 732.

<sup>91</sup> Brienne to B.

<sup>92</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Dec. 19/29, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1655-6), p. 297.

support that view, Thurloe's intelligencers reported Charles' increasing strength; the Princess Royal's promise of £100,000, the exclusion from her service of any Hollanders or Zealanders as being "altogether Cromwellians"; and—contrary to her earlier expressed opinion—ex-Queen Christina's "invective in all his discourses agaynst my lord protector."<sup>95</sup> Nor was it likely that the letter which Cromwell wrote, probably at this time, to "the English well-affected Inhabitants on Long Island in America" would improve matters—an answer to their complaints of and plea for protection from injuries done by the Dutch and others on the island.<sup>96</sup>

The old Christmas holidays made no difference to the revolutionary authorities. The Council sat on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday—which was Christmas day—though the Protector did not attend on that day.<sup>97</sup> Its business was chiefly routine,<sup>98</sup> the only exceptions being the election of a collector on November 13 for a new collector who had encouraged the "disaffected" to vote.<sup>99</sup> At the meeting on Christmas day, the Merchant Adventurers of Hamburg were ordered to send Townley in custody to answer the charges against him, as he had not yet arrived, though ordered to appear some time previously.<sup>100</sup> The House was, if possible, even less active, considering the petition of

from his wife, Katherine, the daughter of Lord Goring,<sup>100</sup> and a bill for the naturalization of numerous individuals.<sup>101</sup> Christmas day was, however, notable for two things. The first was that the House was "thin, much, I believe, occasioned by observation of this day," in the words of its diarist,<sup>102</sup> so that a bill was read "for the abolishing,

<sup>95</sup> Thurloe, v, 710, 721.

<sup>96</sup> The only clue to the date is a bond, dated Dec. 26, 1656, signed by James Grover "The only clue to the date is a bond, dated Dec. 26, 1656, signed by James Grover" arrived at Gravesend some time before Aug. 24, 1657 and was immediately arrested. The letter was turned over to Stuyvesant and sent, unopened, to the directors of the WIC at Amsterdam (*Documents relating to the colonial history of* B O'Callaghan, II (1858), 162-63).

<sup>97</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. xxi.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>101</sup> Burton, I, 205-6.

<sup>102</sup> *C. J.*, VII, 474.

<sup>103</sup> Burton, I, 229-30.

and taking away, of Festival Days, commonly called Holy days," which brought out objections to "the preparation of this foolish day's solemnity," and the danger of "returning to Popery"<sup>103</sup> Christmas day itself the Protector celebrated by writing a letter to the Speaker in regard to the Nayler case, which, on the next day, was the occasion of a heated discussion in the House. Were there any doubt that the Protector was an accomplished politician, it might well be disposed of by this extremely adroit communication. It was at once seized on by Nayler's adherents as a vindication of that deluded man and it was described by Thurloe as expressing detestation of both Nayler's opinions and practices.<sup>104</sup> It roused hot discussion in the House both as to its intent and to the powers of Protector and Parliament, as well as to the facts of Nayler's punishment, and even as to the position and the authority of the Parliament itself

*To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, knight, Speaker of the Parliament. [To be communicated to the Parliament]*

O. P.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having taken notice of the persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of such crimes as are commonly imputed to the said person: yet We, being entrusted in the present government, on behalf of the people of these nations, and not knowing how far such proceedings (wholly without Us) may extend in the consequence of it, do desire that the House will let Us know the grounds and reasons which have proceeded.

the 25th of December 1656

Whatever effect this letter had on Nayler's supporters and opponents outside the House, there was no question as to the effect on that House itself. Insignificant as the brief communication appeared on its face, it had an importance far beyond its ostensible purpose, for it raised the whole question of the Protector and their relation to the previous debates that there was some doubt in the minds of the members themselves, and still more in the mind of the public at large, just what the powers and the position of the Parliament were, and this request brought to a head all the issues at stake. Most men recognized that the whole question of the legality of the government was involved; and in the course of the debate which arose out of this let-

<sup>103</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 475

<sup>104</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Jan. 20, Thurloe, vi, 8.

<sup>105</sup> Lomas-Carlisle, CCXVII, from Burton, i, 370, orig. *Add. Mss.* 6125, p. 284 (*Ayscough*).

ter and which went on for some days, Lambert admitted that "If a Parliament should be chosen according to the general spirit and temper of the nation, and if there should not be a check upon such election, those may creep into this House, who may come to sit as our judges for all we have done in this Parliament, or at any other time or place" So far as "keeping out the members [who had been excluded], . . . consider what a Parliament you might have had"<sup>106</sup> Like Bond, he gave the case away. These were not the words of men conscio.

ally in . . . more a proper Parliament than the Nominated or Barebones Parliament of ill-fated memory. Great events, Machiavelli had written, arise from great causes but small circumstances, and this seemingly simple and natural inquiry of the Protector, like Lambert's observation, went to the root of the matter. What right had Parliament to determine such a case, for that matter what right had the revolutionary government to its power, except the right of might? These were not good questions to raise; for as many men besides Lambert had implied, this government would not last forever, nor even, perhaps, very long, and what would its successor think and do about its actions—and even its members? Men were already looking to the future, and many of them were already trimming their sails preparatory to setting a new course.

Nothing is more apparent at this moment than that the revolutionary government was even more than usually disturbed over the financial situation especially as aggravated by the war with Spain. That was increased by the disappointment over the plunder of the Spanish fleet, which had fallen so far short not only of the original expectations but of the first reports of its amount. The debates in the House during Christmas week of 1656 brought this into sharp relief, and various members found no remedy but their old resource, the plunder of the Royalists. On Tuesday the 23rd, Lord Eure brought in a petition from the North Riding suggesting the abatement of the excise and assessments and laying the entire burden of the war upon "them that are the cause of it, that the old army may be encouraged, and the new charges laid aside."<sup>107</sup> This found favorable reception from the House; and on Thursday, Christmas day, Desborough offered a bill "for continuance of a tax upon some people [that is to say the Royalists], for the maintenance of the militia," on the ground that this charge had fallen alike on the just and the unjust. Supported by councillors like Sydenham, Strickland, Pickering, Lambert and Thurloe, it was opposed by parliamentarians like Lenthall, White-

<sup>106</sup> Burton, I, 281.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 208-9

locke and Bampfield on the ground that it violated the Act of Oblivion. It was even suggested in the debate that the Cavaliers were the cause of the war with Spain. The force of politics could go no farther than such a suggestion as this. None the less it was resolved by 88 to 63 that a bill be brought in next day for assessments for the maintenance of the militia to be laid on those who had been in arms for . . . . . that the simple, . . . . . government from . . . . . ts hold on the imagination of the leaders, especially of the army.<sup>100</sup>

It was at this time that Cromwell wrote Mazarin in regard to the latter's request for toleration for the English Catholics, and other matters.

*To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin*

The obligations, and many instances of affection, which I have received from your Eminency, do engage [me] to make returns suitable and commensurate to your merits. But although I have this set home upon my spirit, I may not (shall I tell you, I cannot?), at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stand, answer to your call for Toleration.

I say, I cannot, as to a public Declaration of my sense in that point; although I believe that under my Government your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion, making a difference. Truly I have (and I may speak it with cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness within me to the truth of what I affirm) made a difference, and, as . . . . . out . . . . . their . . . . . estates. And herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Eminency in relation to that.

And now I shall come to return your Eminency thanks for your judicious choice of that person to whom you have entrusted our weightiest affair, an affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I had some doubts of its success, till Providence cleared them to me by the effects. I was, truly, and to speak ingenuously, not without doubtings, and shall not be ashamed to give your Eminency the grounds I had for much doubting. I did fear that Berkeley would not have been able to go through and carry on that work, that either the Duke had cooled in his suit, or condescended to his Brother. I doubted also that those Instructions which I sent over with 290 were not clear enough as to expressions, some affairs here denying me leisure at that time to be so . . . . . I would — If I am not mistaken in his . . . . . from your Eminency, that fire which is kindled between them will not ask bellows to blow it, and keep it burning.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 230-43.

But what I think farther necessary in this matter I will send your Eminency by Lockhart.

And now I shall boast to your Eminency my security upon a well-builed confidence in the Lord for I distrust not but if this breach widened a little more, and this difference fomented, with some new arguments to be added to it,—I distrust not but that I shall be able to be satisfied in the sight of God as to an outward dispensation of mercies, and noisome to their

may impute it to the resentment of joy which I have for the issue of this Affair, and will conclude with giving you assurance that I will never be backward in demonstrating, as becomes your brother and confederate, that I am,

Your servant,

OLIVER P.<sup>109</sup>

Whitehall

26th December 1656

This letter to the Duke of York, who had served with Turenne in 1653-55, was apparently popular with the Irish troops in French service, and when the treaty with Cromwell was signed, providing for the exclusion of the English royal family from France, Mazarin endeavored to make James the captain general of the French forces in Piedmont, and so keep his troops in the regiments. That plan was vetoed by Charles II, who was at the moment not on good terms with his brother, and in September, 1655, James had gone unwillingly to Bruges with his household, including his "governor," Sir John Berkeley, who was dismissed from the Duke's service by Charles at almost the same moment that Cromwell was writing this letter to Mazarin, though Charles presently relented, recalled Berkeley and made him a peer. James, who had followed Berkeley into Holland, was apparently reconciled to Charles; and from this situation two rumors presently arose. The one was that the quarrel between Charles and James was part of a Royalist plot for James to come to England, the other was that Berkeley was in communication with Cromwell. There is no evidence for the first, but this letter may indicate that there may have been some foundation for the second, though Hyde—who did not like Berkeley—gives no indication of such a situation. It is less, that there was some underground intrigue in which Berkeley was involved, though if he was, it was not suspected by the royal

<sup>109</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, CCXVI, from Thurloe, v, 735. The cipher name (290) is that of Bampfild, though Mrs. Lomas notes that in Thurloe's cipher (v, 711) Bampfild's number is 883.

C's scoutmaster, in 1740, and Mrs. Lomas notes that it is printed in a Brit. Mus. tract, 669, f. 20 (42). There is a copy of this letter in the Clarendon Papers, said by the editor to be in Henry Hyde's handwriting, cp. Macray, iii, 318, no. 673.



brothers, unless, indeed, the fact that Berkeley was ejected from the court at this time may be some suggestion of such an intent.<sup>110</sup>

The question of Catholicism in England was raised in reply to Mazarin's inquiry on the subject and Bordeaux's representations—was more important even than disagreements between the royal brothers and intrigues in their court. The Protector, as he wrote Mazarin, did not dare show favor to the English Catholics, as it would weaken his position as the Protestant champion, but, as Bordeaux testifies, he was extraordinarily lenient with them. Bordeaux wrote that every church festival or saints' day service was attended by Catholics in his chapel and there was no interference with the worshippers, or even the priests, on the part of the government.<sup>111</sup> Cromwell was, like Mazarin, in a difficult position. Each, officially, was the champion of his own faith, the one Protestant, the other Catholic; but each was confronted by a minority of the opposite communion, and unless the Catholics were to be more or less tolerated unofficially in England, the position of the French Huguenots would be more difficult in France. Both Cromwell and Mazarin, in consequence, protested publicly, but privately were naturally inclined to overlook the existence on the one hand of Catholics, on the other hand of Huguenots, in their respective countries, and thus the situation of the offending communions was made easier in both countries to the benefit of those who belonged to them. Neither Cromwell nor Mazarin dared commit himself to toleration, but so long as English Catholics or French Protestants conducted themselves with moderate discretion, it does not appear that either was seriously molested.

The year 1656, in fact, ended on something of that inconclusive note, not merely in the matter of England and France, Catholic and Protestant, but in other directions as well. The Protector and Council kept Wednesday, the 31st, as a day of private fasting and humiliation, which, if it followed the precedent of like occasions, indicated some great matters on foot.<sup>112</sup> The House failed to meet on Monday, the 29th, "in respect of Mr Speaker's Indisposition of body,"<sup>113</sup> and when it met again it spent its time chiefly in arguing whether the order of the day was the war with Spain or the Protector's letter regarding Nayler, and when the latter was fixed upon, the old question arose as to the judicial power of the House. The real issue, however, lay deeper than the problem of Nayler.<sup>114</sup> It was, at bottom, the power and position of the House itself, and the debate produced only

<sup>110</sup> Cp. Mrs Lomas' notes, Lomas-Carlyle, III, 6-7, Airy, *Charles II*, pp. 121-22, *Dist N*.

<sup>111</sup> B.

<sup>112</sup> *Pub Intell*, Dec 29-Jan 5.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>114</sup> Burton, I, 269-82.

one notable observation. Sydenham, admitting that it had judicial power as respected its own members, or as a court of appeal, argued that it must not encroach on the liberties of the people, for, as he said in a burst of eloquence, "We live as Parliament men but for a time, but we live as Englishmen always. I would not have us be so tender of the privilege of Parliament, as to forget the liberties of Englishmen."<sup>115</sup> As the year came to a close, this was the fundamental issue. It was another turning-point in the Protectoral system. Protector, Council and Parliament would go on—but how? Who and what would . . . when he died; what would take the place of the Council; what, in fact, would the successors of this Parliament think and do about the activities of this present House? Nothing was settled. The Spanish war had not gone as had been planned, the problem of elective, hereditary or nominative succession to the Protectorate had not been determined; the "settlement of the kingdom" had not been achieved, the system of major-generals, whatever its virtues in keeping the peace, had aroused bitter resentment and was, undoubtedly, nearing its end. The finances were in a difficult, if not a desperate, situation. There was a sense of uneasiness in the air, and it was not without significance that the year ended with a day of fasting and humiliation for Protector and Council. Echoing Sydenham, Lambert expressed the same idea that was in the minds of every one—there might come times and men "who may come to sit as our judges for all we have done in this Parliament, or at any other time or place. . . . But admit a Parliament in after-ages should be called, suitable to the temper of the people, that should bring those to your bar to be tried that have faithfully served you, arraigning your sequestrators or commissioners, or any that have acted by your authority"<sup>116</sup> No one can read the record of the utterances in Parliament in these last days of 1656 without sensing their note of doubt and uncertainty, a foreboding of the approach of the end of this revolutionary government—and what then? Some change in the existing system was not merely indicated; it was becoming imperative. What form it would take was not so certain. Whether, as had been already indicated, making Cromwell king, or whether some other way could be found to meet a situation which was rapidly becoming impossible, no one knew; but in every direction, in the Council, in the House, and in the country at large, men sought for a sign, but as yet a sign had not been given them.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 281-282.

## II

By the beginning of 1657 the pattern of the Protectorate had become fairly clear. It was, from an idealistic point of view, a noble conception, to make England devout and sober at home and terrible abroad. In the preceding years the so-called "Sixty" or "Eighty-two Ordinances," measures like revenue and police and even ecclesiastical legislation, which, if it was designed to prevent meetings of Royalists, was scarcely less directed toward the betterment of English manners and morals as the Puritan party conceived them. Horse-racing, cock-fighting, bull-baiting, excessive drinking, gambling and duelling were forbidden or left under severe restrictions. Theatrical representations were interdicted, church holidays, especially Christmas, were abolished, and all other amusements were eliminated. The Protectoral court set a decorous example to the country. The halls which had once echoed with music and dancing, with masques and orchestral performances now resounded only to the tramp of soldiers, the exhortations of divines, and the somewhat dolorous melody of the metrical psalms. There as elsewhere the dull garments of the Puritan replaced the "silks and satin brave, which formerly it used to have"; and in every direction, English life, whatever it gained in morality, lost in gaiety. On the other hand, England regained a place in European affairs she had not held since the brave days of great Elizabeth. Her fleets threatened every continental port and carried the fear of her arms far beyond the seas. Her ambassadors were received by European princes with a respect they had not known for many years, foreign envoys sought the favor of the Protector and besought his aid, while continental Protestants perceived in him a new champion. From him and from his followers there came a constant stream of eloquence in behalf of "liberty," especially religious liberty, and if it appealed but little to those to whom, like the Episcopalians, it was denied, it had, unquestionably, a profound effect not only upon that generation but perhaps even more upon its successors.

Such was one side of the shield borne by the triumphant Puritans. On the other side it was apparent, at least to foreign observers, that such triumphs had been bought at a great price. To them it seemed obvious that the Protectorate was, administratively, what earlier generations had called a "tyranny"—not as a term of opprobrium but as a form of government. It had in it something of what the eighteenth century called "despotism," but it was most like what the twentieth century was to know as "dictatorship." It was, in modern terminology, a "one party state," to all intents and purposes "totalitarianism," and it was much concerned with what is now

called "power politics." Under whatever terminology of "honest" and "godly," it worked according to the "party line." It differed from the old monarchy not merely in the abolition of kingship and the House of Lords, but in the complete alteration of what was still called Parliament. There was, in fact, no such thing as parliamentary government in the ordinary sense of that phrase. The retention of the name served to obscure, though it did not conceal, the fact that the single chamber which went under that name was little more than the creature of the one effective authority in the state—the Protector and his Council. The old title of Protector itself did not mean what it had once meant. It had been revived, in default of a more attractive word, but the powers of the office differed widely from those exercised under that name in the preceding century. Oliver Cromwell was, in fact, a dictator, and he might well have applied to himself the language later attributed to Louis XIV, "the State, I am the State." He held his office in theory—and possibly in law, as law then was—by virtue of a written constitution, the *Instrument of Government*, but actually by the leadership of the armed forces on which, in the last resort, his authority rested. He was assisted by a Council of State, chosen; and by a number of officials. Under his direction, foreign policy directed; ordinances with the force of law were framed and administered, judges appointed; and even local administration largely controlled. Only in one direction—if that—was his power limited. Having broken the fundamental law, he was careful to preserve the others; and these from time to time, with the support of the legal profession, and a certain reluctance to submit on the part of the Parliaments he felt compelled to call, offered a certain check upon what would otherwise have been absolute authority.

Especially after the appointment of the major-generals, those officers, with county commissioners for all sorts of purposes—militia, assessments, sequestration and decimation of Royalists' estates, and ecclesiastical affairs—with the presence of the army everywhere, in garrisons or on the march, and control of the militia, carried the authority of the central government into every quarter of the British Isles. Moreover there were congregations and individuals of his party which supplied his government with information and supporters, enabling it to keep close watch upon his opponents at all times and in all places. I have not space here to compare his situation and that of his followers with that of the dictators of our own day, with Soviet commissars, Nazi gauleiters and Fascist secretaries, and the "party" they represent, but one of the most eminent of modern political writers has not hesitated to make such a comparison. With all the difference in what we have learned to call

"ideology," there is a certain hard core of truth in such a comparison. With every allowance for the circumstances which brought Cromwell to power and for the blessings which he may have conferred on the English people, with every sympathy for the language of "liberty" which he used and for the cause which he championed, it is not possible to evade or avoid the facts of his administrative methods once he was in power.

In at least two respects, indeed, the analogy between him and his modern counterparts breaks down. If Cromwell was a tyrant, he was, even in the opinion of his opponents, not a man of blood. Once his power was secured, he used it sparingly. He did not shrink from taking human life, but he took as little of it as was consistent with his own ascendancy and that of his party, though it is true that he did not hesitate to embroil his country in war with what was at the moment a friendly power. The second difference between his rule and that of later revolutionary leaders lay in his attitude toward the subject of most revolutions and revolutions: to change the old system as far as possible, and to set up a wholly new system to replace the old. In

the old system of parliamentary monarchy were offered by the Protector. Cromwell was prepared for neither, and he was guided by the spirit of compromise with the spirit of the past. He kept as much of the past as he could. Of it all, only episcopacy wholly disappeared. He was even ready to accept—indeed he leaned to—a government with "something monarchical" in it. It is true that he issued a series of ordinances which, in effect, resembled what might be called a code, he was concerned with reforming, simplifying and cheapening judicial processes, but he made no effort to revolutionize the general body of laws, or even to interfere with its administration by the courts. He chose good men as judges and he did not disturb them in the execution of their duties. Whatever their opinions on the validity of his ordinances, save in a few cases—notably that of treason—the legal profession did not believe that the law of England was to be changed.

In consequence the ordinary lives of the people were greatly disturbed as is usually the case in revolutionary periods. Monarchy was, indeed, abolished and with it went many of its out-branches, but the Protector assumed the powers and prerogatives of kingship, even to the point of conferring knighthood and still higher dignities. He presently created an "Other House" to which he sum-

moned a new aristocracy, which was in effect his own creation. He and his followers toyed with the idea of exchanging the title of Protector for that of King; they considered and finally adopted the idea of hereditary succession to the Protectorate, so that it is small wonder that Royalist and Republican, Leveller and Legitimist combined against him. The system which he strove to put into effect was not, as it has sometimes been described, a middle course; much less was it a compromise. Whatever its importance, whatever its inevitability, with more than the power of a monarch he was able to enforce it.

Nor was his life a life of ease. They were confined, in effect, almost wholly within the little area bounded by Whitehall, St. James's Palace and Westminster Hall, the Mews and the Cockpit, with weekly visits to Hampton Court, occasional outings in Hyde Park and less frequent official excursions into the City. There he spent his life in a round of C

sations with those who came to see him on an infinite variety of business and reviews, the signing of innumerable orders, letters and commissions, such as fall to the lot of any ruler. He went in continual fear for his life; he was compelled by the circumstances of his situation to endure a threat which he could never meet face to face. If "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," much more uneasy is that of a dictator. Such a life ill compares with that earlier, humbler period of riding to and fro on his little businesses in Huntingdon, Ely and Cambridge, much less with the brave days when he led his troops throughout the length and breadth of the British Isles and always to victory. One need not take at their face value the satires of the Royalists on the meager, thrifty housekeeping of his wife, in such sharp contrast to the easier graces of the days of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, and in still sharper contrast to the wit and wickedness of the court of their son. But it is evident even from the most friendly accounts of the Protectoral court that, though it may have suited Cromwell, others, even of his own family, found it dull. It was dignified and severe, it was impressive to foreign envoys, though largely, it would seem, on account of the force which surrounded it and which it commanded, but it lacked almost every element of courtly life to which they had been accustomed. To Cromwell himself it seems that it was wearisome, and he sought relief in riding or driving in the Park, where he could hunt and bowl, and bring back to him some feeling of that earlier, more active, more adventurous life which he had exchanged for power. He seems to have been fond of music—of a sort; he liked outdoor sports; he loved practical and not always seemly jokes, he was fond of horses and horse-racing; but he had small op-

portunity or none to exercise many of these tastes. It was the price of power; and this confinement, with the eternal vigilance he was compelled to exercise, obviously wore on him.

Nor had he the satisfaction of knowing that his Protectorate was popular. It could never gain the support of the people. They wanted a parliamentary monarchy; most of them wanted an established church, episcopal or presbyterian, or a combination of the two, as the case might be. All their history, all their traditions, all their sentiments, all their political and legal concepts were bound up with kingship, and, among other and more important considerations, it was an inconvenience not to have a monarchy. It was the strength of the Protectorate that it approached that ideal so nearly, it was its weakness that it fell short of that system. That weakness and that strength many of the Protector's supporters realized. It is conceivable that Cromwell himself sensed it; yet, being what he was, he could accept neither a republic nor a monarchy, for the adoption of either of them threatened even greater dangers than those he faced as Protector. Yet here again he differed profoundly from modern dictators. No one ever proposed to make Mussolini king, or Stalin or Hitler emperors; no one ever suggested marrying them or members of their families into the old royal houses, yet both solutions to the English constitutional problem were suggested, even urged, in Cromwell's case, and, apart from extreme Republicans or Royalists, no one, not even Cromwell himself, seems to have been startled by the idea. It is, one may say, the English spirit, or genius for compromise. It is, perhaps, the fact that Cromwell's own situation and character made possible such suggestions; but, whatever the reasons for advancing them, the very fact that they were put forward and seriously considered, reveals the difficult and anomalous position in which he found himself. That position was made more difficult by his illness in the latter part of 1656, and by the beginning of 1657 it was evident that he had come to a parting of the ways.

In particular his ill health had raised grave questions in the minds of his supporters. It is easy to condemn them for their fears for their own fortunes, it is easy to deride them for their concern over their "preferments." It is easy, but it is neither wise nor generous. It was natural for them to consider what would become of them—their families and their principles—once Cromwell was gone. They had risked their lives and fortunes in a great cause, they had won the fight, but they naturally looked to the future. As Sydenham said, they lived as Parliament men—or officials—for a time, but as Englishmen always, and there was doubt in many minds even as to their status as members of Parliament. This was evidenced in many ways—by raising the question of the relation of Parliament to the Protector, of Parliament's authority in the *Nayler* case, whether legislative

or judicial; and, finally, the extraordinary absenteeism of the members, especially over the Christmas holidays. When the roll was called on the last day of 1656, more than eighty of some three hundred members who were left were found to be absent. The excuses given by the absentees form the only bright spot in the annals of this Parliament which were dull even for such an assembly. One of the commonest reasons offered was that the member was attending to his duties as sheriff, mayor or county official, which gives a clue to the character of the House. The importance of Parliament and local affairs, and produced acid observations to the effect that such men should not be permitted to hold such offices save by leave of the House. Several gave their wives' illness as an excuse, to which it was observed that "if every man that has an ill wife, should be excused, it would go far . . ." In the end it was voted that any member who did not appear within a fortnight should be fined twenty pounds;<sup>117</sup> but the very number of absentees and their often flimsy excuses for non-attendance indicated the disrepute into which the House had fallen even among its own membership.

The combination of the Nayler case, the Protector's illness, and the House's failure to meet on the first day of the new year, was not uncommon in the history of the revolutionary government, and it is worthy of remark that the first action the House took on the first day of January 9, as a day of humiliation to be kept in conjunction with like action earlier by the Council—if the analogy with similar circumstances in the days of the old army councils holds good—this seemed to portend some important movement in the political field, in this case, no doubt, the question of the succession or that of kingship. Nor was it without significance that on this same January 1, there was brought in from the committee for raising money a bill "for the better improvement and advancing the receipts of the excise and new imposts wherein was the branch for 12*d* a head upon private families." The plunder of the crown, the church, the Royalists now exhausted, or nearly so, the spoil of the Spaniard having fallen so far short of expectations; finding the assessments, the customs and excise insufficient to meet the expenses of administration, the armed forces, and now the war; it seems that this, with the proposed additional levies on the Royalists by the so-called Militia Bill, was the last desperate effort to discover some means to go on. It naturally roused even more bitter opposition than the Militia Bill, for it fell upon the Cromwel-

<sup>117</sup> Burton, I, 283-89

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.



lians as well as on the "malignants" "If any thing in the world will make a Parliament stink in the nostrils of the nation," observed one of its opponents, "it will make us odious"<sup>119</sup> None the less it was read a second time in the following week, though there seems no record of its having become a law.

It seems evident that, as happens to all revolutionary movements at some time, as had, in fact, happened to this one earlier, it had somehow, somewhere, lost its momentum. It had slowed down, it was coming to what engineers call a "dead center," where the driving-wheel moves neither one way nor the other without some new impetus. Whether it was the Protector's illness, the exclusion of the members from the House, the ineptitude of Parliament, the Nayler case, the Christmas season, war weariness and other causes, this lassitude was no less apparent in the House. The Council met on Tuesday and Thursday of the week of January 5, but the Protector did not attend, and the proceedings lacked any great importance.<sup>120</sup> Morland had returned to London on December 18 from his mission to the Swiss cantons and presented a report, but its reading was postponed.<sup>121</sup> A letter from Giavarina to the Protector was read and the draft of a letter to Bendish at Constantinople was considered and amended,<sup>122</sup> but in the main the business of the House was of small interest and less significance. On his part, the Protector knighted Colonel James Whitelocke, the eldest son of "Lord" Bulstrode Whitelocke;<sup>123</sup> and appointed one Abraham Barrington one of the two auditors of "prests" and foreign accounts;<sup>124</sup> but these were matters of small consequence or none, save to the men concerned.

On the other hand, the House, thanks to the diastolic action of the preceding days, suddenly woke to life. It does not appear that any action was taken in regard to the Protector's nomination on the Nayler case, but there was no doubt of its importance. The main question for the moment was the old problem in this case for the militia, which, interrupted by the Speaker's illness, the fast day and lesser matters, consumed most of the week. It was noted as remarkable that on Wednesday, when the question first came up, there was the unusual number of 220 members in the House, "besides the usual number" on account of the excise bill.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Burton, I, 292-93

<sup>120</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. xx1

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237

<sup>123</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Jan. 5-12. "The Protector knighted James Whitelocke, eldest son of Lord Bulstrode Whitelocke."

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 12. "The Protector appointed Abraham Barrington one of the auditors of the prebends and foreign accounts."

<sup>125</sup> Burton, I, 320

and Thurloe approved the militia bill than that the Protector's son-in-law, Cromwell, and his friends were opposed to it, as was the distinguishing character of those that were against this Bill, that they were for the hereditary rank."<sup>126</sup> Broghill was particularly violent against it. To Claypole's argument that such a decimation tax violated the Act of Oblivion, he added that those on whom the tax was to be laid had no representation in Parliament, that it was laid upon "our enemies . . . to ease ourselves," and that there was no appeal for them "How," he asked, "is it probable that we should gain that party by punishment, when we could not by grace?" To this Mr. Robinson replied, among other things, "We must judge by appearances in cases of our own safety and preservation . . . I never trusted in a Cavalier. They are a false people They distinguish themselves. I would have you to distinguish them. Let us preserve ourselves as long as we can. The law of nature obliges us to it."<sup>127</sup> Whitelocke opposed the bill on the ground of the Act of Oblivion. Lambert supported it on the ground that "The quarrel is now . . . not who shall rule, but whether we shall live, or be preserved, or no."<sup>128</sup> These observations went to the heart of the matter. They revealed, among other things, the uneasiness of those in power.

These sharp divergences of opinion were not confined to the House. In December, 1656, Feake, Rogers and Sir Henry Vane had been released from their imprisonment, and on January 5, at that center of agitation, All Hallows, Feake "endeavored to worke upon a great auditory upon pretence of . . . relating them at great length, quoting an order from the Protector for his transference from one prison to another and citing another order for his release. He spoke for three hours, challenging any one to "justify any of those false reports . . . to the prejudice of his reputation." His challenge did not go unanswered by the Baptists in the audience. First Henry Jessey, then Kiffin and Simpson, took exception to Feake's "dividing and rending the churches," and to his calling the Protector's government "Antichristian and Babylon." Feake retorted by denouncing Kiffin as a "courtier" and Simpson as an "apostate," and the meeting finally broke up in disorder.<sup>129</sup> In so far the divisions among his opponents worked, in a sense, in the Protector's favor, though the revival of the Fifth Monarchist agitation portended further difficulties for a government which was confronted by a more serious problem in which the Fifth Monarchists had a part

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312-13

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319

<sup>129</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 86.

<sup>130</sup> Thurloe, v, 755-59, cp. Firth, *Last Years*, I, 211-12.

While Parliament adjourned and its members devoted their time to committee work on account of the Speaker's illness,<sup>181</sup> there came information of a new plot, so aptly timed it might have been arranged. Sexby, busy with his intrigues abroad, had appealed to Spain to furnish him with 1,000 foot, preferably Irish, and 500 horse, promising Charles II ships, and also appealed to Spain for money. But Sexby and Charles' advisers did not see eye to eye. Sexby insisted that there be no mention of restoration of monarchy until Cromwell was dead, only "liberty of the country." Hyde, however, declared that Charles would make no concessions to Levellers or Republicans, on whose aid Sexby counted; and under such circumstances, despite the activities of men like Feake, there seemed small prospect of success by such divergent elements. It was in this confused situation, with Parliament more or less at odds with the Protector, and the administration more or less at a standstill, that the House was informed of another design against the Protector's life, in part at least connected with Sexby's plans and perhaps engineered by him, through the same agents, Sindercombe and Cecil, whose earlier unsuccessful attempt was now for the first time revealed. According to the story, after the failure of their plan to kill Cromwell as he went to meet Parliament, they had plotted to waylay him at Hammersmith on his way to Hampton Court and shoot him from the window of a house which they hired, overlooking a narrow place in the road. That plan was defeated by Cromwell's giving up his visits to Hampton Court in September, but the conspirators merely transferred the scene of the attack to some point on his way to Turnham Green, near St. James's Park. They suborned a member of his life-guard, one Toop, to advise them of his movements, and provided themselves with "strange engines" in the form of "screwed guns" carrying twelve bullets and a slug. They bought fast horses to assure their escape, lurked about the Park—where on one occasion, it was said, Cromwell stopped to admire Sindercombe's horse and had some conversation with the conspirator himself, but failed of killing the Protector as he missed because the horse had a cold. Finally they devised a "fire-work" of powder, tar, pitch and other materials to be introduced into Whitehall chapel and so destroy the palace. But Toop advised the authorities of the plot, Sindercombe and Cecil were arrested, were apparently examined by the Protector himself, and Toop and Cecil confessed.<sup>182</sup> The circumstance was the more remarkable in that

<sup>181</sup> Burton, I, 321, 337.

<sup>182</sup> There are many accounts of the Sindercombe plot. See Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, nos. 878, 917, Lomas-Carlyle, III, 8-9, Firth, *Last Years*, I, 116-19. For the examinations of Toop and Cecil see Thurloe, V, 774-75.

Burnet—not an entirely trustworthy source—tells that Cromwell's agent, Stoupe, had advised Thurloe months earlier that an Irishman had gone from the Low Countries bent on some such design, but Thurloe, observing that they had many such reports, made light of it and did not communicate it to Cromwell until Sindercombe's plot came to light.<sup>133</sup> That, in view of Thurloe's character and activities, seems more or less improbable, but in any event the plot came to nothing. Sindercombe, who fought savagely against arrest, was sent to the Tower, tried and condemned to death, but cheated the hangman by dying of poison before he could be executed, while Cecil apparently saved his life by his confession.<sup>134</sup>

Such was the story which began to make its way into the public consciousness on January 8, the day that the infernal machine was discovered; and which has, in general, been accepted by historians at its face value. All plots brought into the light of day have a tendency to seem fantastic, and this, in the case of the Sindercombe plot, is especially true. The details which seem grossly exaggerated, if not wholly improbable. Some persons even at the time were skeptical of the whole matter;<sup>135</sup> and it seems certain that the conspirators could have killed Cromwell had they not been chiefly concerned with their own escape. But there is material enough in the correspondence of those about Charles II to show that if the various details brought out in the examinations of those involved in carrying out the design were not all precisely correct, there was, at least, a plot of some sort in which Sindercombe, Cecil and the mysterious Royalist who went under the name of Boyes were involved.<sup>136</sup> It is not improbable that, in spite of Burnet's story, Thurloe was acquainted with the design, that he allowed it to go on, and seized the conspirators only when their guilt could be fully proved, for that was his custom in more cases than one. The times were, in fact, full of plots. Only a week before the Sindercombe plot, examinations of prisoners in Liverpool uncovered a certain John Brotherton who, it was alleged, had sworn he would kill the Protector if he were hanged for it.<sup>137</sup>

The Sindercombe plot had, however, one result which the conspirators could not well have taken into account. Coming as it did at a critical moment in the discussion of the Protectoral system, it rallied Parliament to Cromwell's support. While the examinations of the prisoners were going on, the House proceeded with its discussion of the Militia Bill and, owing to the illness of the Speaker, devoted the

<sup>133</sup> Burnet, *op. cit.* p. 100.

<sup>134</sup> *ibid.* p. 101.

<sup>135</sup> Notably Giavarina, who gives at length the opinions of "the knowing ones" that it was "made up by the Court itself" (*Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), pp. 9, 12).

<sup>136</sup> Macray, *iii*, 241, no. 718 *et passim*.

<sup>137</sup> Thurloe, *v*, 745-47.

greater part of its time by successive adjournments between January 8th and 19th to a grand committee on that subject and lesser committees for a variety of other matters—highways, trade, the borders, the fens, the union of England and Scotland, the Bible, religion, and the question of Mr Scot's divorce from his wife, the daughter of Lord Goring. This last brought, naturally, not only a large attendance of members and spectators to hear the scandalous details of this unsavoury case, but even, according to the diarist, pickpockets. Of these one was said to have concealed himself "under the table," whereupon "Colonel Fiennes drew his sword and vapoured hugely, how he would spit him; but the fellow escaped, if," as the diarist adds drily, "there were any such."<sup>138</sup>

In the meantime, the Protector, the Council and the officials were busy unraveling the plot and freeing the prisoners, but other matters pressed upon them. On the very evening set to burn Whitehall that the Protector was reported to have met with some of his officers to discuss the financial situation;<sup>139</sup> and on that same January 8 it was reported that Lockhart had been sent secretly and hurriedly back to Paris as ambassador extraordinary because an envoy from Sweden—Count Tot—was said to have arrived in France, and the English authorities did not want him to negotiate with the Cardinal without an English representative on the spot.<sup>140</sup> It had been rumored that the Protector had given France fifteen days to form a league, offensive and defensive, with Sweden and Portugal, or else he would make peace with Spain.<sup>141</sup> That does not seem wholly probable, though by no means impossible, but Giavarina's suggestion that Lockhart was empowered to offer to Mazarin an offensive and defensive alliance between England, Sweden and France, to which some of the Protestant princes of Germany might be admitted, may have had in it something of the truth.<sup>142</sup>

In any event, there was enough for the Council to discuss in its meetings on Monday and Tuesday, January 12th and 13th. They ordered Thursday to be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the Protector's preservation from assassination, heard the examinations of Toop and Cecil; and ordered a report of the affair to be prepared for Parliament.<sup>143</sup> They ordered the release of Rogers from his imprisonment in the Isle of Wight and of Judge David Jenkins from Windsor;<sup>144</sup> while Lord Sinclair was to be brought from Hurst Castle

<sup>138</sup> Burton, I, 335-37.

<sup>139</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 86n.

<sup>140</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 86n. (1657-9), p. 7.

<sup>141</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 86n. (1657-9), p. 7. cp Boreel to Ruysch, Jan.

<sup>142</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 7.

<sup>143</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. xxi, 239-41.

*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 238.

to Windsor<sup>145</sup> It was about this time also that George Fleetwood, long in the Swedish service and now on a mission to England in return for Whitelocke's embassy to Sweden, had a conversation with the Protector with respect to the relations between the two countries, especially in regard to affairs in Germany.

*The Protector's Discourse with Fleetwood*

Although, to be sure, the Lord Protector now as ever is happy about and

Majesty and to give him support, furthermore when His Majesty's present condition had been represented to the Parliament here in the best light, and also in the light of the pressing exigency the calculated reasonable assistance was clearly placed before them too—nevertheless they could now hardly be

means could be shown them whereby shipping and trade could continue on their free course, they might sooner be persuaded to some support Since the Protector himself had no such means but would have rather to ask others for them, on certain conditions, (and then he reflected and recalled that the duchy of Bremen was somewhat remote from His Majesty) His Lordship (Cromwell) would like to know whether His Majesty had thought of granting

and which were designed for his Majesty's own best interests, namely (1) not only could the garrisons there be transported elsewhere at his Majesty's orders, but especially the Protector would reinforce them as required with people, money and ships; (2) such an agreement (aside from the fact that the peace and traffic between England and Holland would not be in the least disturbed thereby) would rather occupy the Hollanders and would appreciably disturb the extent of their designs against the crown of Sweden, (3) Denmark, because of the danger of an invasion of Jutland if she should show herself hostile, would be less likely to attack England and hence less of a proximity of the English.

little encouraged to cooperate the more zealously for the common good and to withstand the more resolutely the Catholic menace<sup>146</sup>

This conversation, if it is genuine, as there is every reason to believe it is, takes Cromwell's foreign policy one step farther in its ambition, not merely to strengthen the Protestant interest on the Continent but to have an English bridgehead whence his influence could be felt more directly on the lines of that Protestant policy and of his general determination to play a part in foreign affairs Accepting the two extremely dubious principles of direct intervention in the affairs of central Europe and the desirability of an outpost on the Continent,

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 586

<sup>146</sup> Quot. in Michael, *Cromwell* (1807), II, 223-24, cp. *ibid.*, p. 169.

Bremen was an excellent choice for such an experiment. It was not only a great German port strategically situated and accessible to English sea-power, but it had accepted Protestantism nearly forty years earlier. On the other hand, it had been awarded to Sweden by the Peace of Westphalia, and it was not probable that Charles X Gustavus would easily surrender his claim to the territory; so that

This interview was closely related to a conversation with Nieupoort on Wednesday, January 15, which the Dutch ambassador reported. He went, he said, to protest the new duties laid by Parliament on Dutch members of the Merchant Adventurers, and presented the injustice of the new levies, and to discuss the Spanish situation. "In my last audience," he wrote,

"I told the Lord Protector what you had written to me concerning the reports from Madrid, how they figured there on the squadron of Vice-admiral de Ruyter, which pleased him very much; and he said he hoped that he would not give cause to the United Netherlands to assist the Spaniards against this nation with ships of war, and as many rumors were being circulated from both sides to create disturbances it would be best to warn each other directly; that he had confidence in the earnest regents of the Netherlands, and that they for their part ought not to doubt his honest friendship. And as I had

way and he assured me that if anything should be undertaken against either the State or the inhabitants of the United Netherlands, I should complain freely and that he would not fail to correct it."<sup>147</sup> To this Nieupoort added in another letter that "it was very strange to him to hear, that he was reported

lands. That he in truth never had any such thoughts, and that it would be very abominable, that he should advise any thing, which he always judged to be unjust and unreasonable, but that there were some people, who were not ashamed to do ill offices between friends, and to occasion disaffection. That he had lately

Lockhart) of nothing but good offices. And if so be he should do otherwise, that notwithstanding the particular relation he hath to him, he would highly resent it. And added hereunto, that he sought no other than to observe all good amity with all Protestant princes and states, and especially with their high and mighty lordships; that he very well knew, that there were bad people, that endeavored to make bad impressions on the one and the other side, but that he on his part would not easily receive it, and rather admonish their high and

<sup>147</sup> Nieupoort to de Witt, Jan. 16/26, De Witt, *Brieven*, III, 325-26.

mighty lordships thereof, and that he had long since recommended the same to me."<sup>148</sup>

Meanwhile on that same 15th of January Lockhart had an audience with Mazarin, where he perceived no great change in the Dunkirk business, though the particulars were not to be discussed until later. Mazarin seemed willing for Cromwell to employ 6,000 men; and if before their embarkation there should be any trouble in England, he would be ready to send a fleet at home by an invasion of Flanders.<sup>149</sup>

Such were some of the threads woven into the complicated fabric of European diplomacy in these days when Parliament was still busy with the problems of the militia, revenue, and the succession to the Protectorate, and while Protector and Council were endeavoring to unravel the web of conspiracy which had been woven about them. These were not all of their concerns. At this moment Brayne, having arrived in Jamaica to take Goodson's place, was observing that the state of the army and the fleet gave reason "of being humble before the Lord, who hath in such legible characters made known his displeasure."<sup>150</sup> On the other hand, Stokes, the governor of Nevis, wrote at the same time that some 1,600 poor inhabitants of that colony had been transplanted to Jamaica;<sup>151</sup> so that, what with the troops and the settlers sent from Scotland and Ireland, there was being built up in the new possession a nucleus of a colony. Meanwhile the government took care to publish a report from Dublin of the gratitude of the Irish for sending "so worthy a person as the Lord Chancellor Steel to supply the Chancery in particular, as well as the Affairs," and their thanks to Henry Cromwell for "his great service"—a message so obviously inspired by the government that it needs no comment. On the other hand—what was not published in the government journals—was information that the recent plot was contrived by the Levellers, that three-quarters of the lie-guard were accessory to it and most of the army sided with them,<sup>152</sup> and Sexby was reported receiving money from the "pagador" [paymaster] and would like to send a letter to make Cromwell jealous of Lambert, unless better use could be made of him.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Same to Ruysch, same date, Thurloe, v, 792. It is to be noted that Sweden had been given the secularized bishopric of Bremen in 1648, which carried with it a seat in the Imperial Diet.

<sup>149</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Jan. 17/27, Thurloe, v, 794.

<sup>150</sup> Brayne to Cromwell, Jan. 9, 1657, *ibid.*, pp. 770-71, Goodson to Thurloe, Jan. 9, *ibid.*, p. 771.

<sup>151</sup> Stokes to Cromwell, Jan. 7, *ibid.*, p. 769, cp. Cundall, *Governors of Jamaica in the 17th Century*, p. xl.

<sup>152</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Jan. 19-26.

<sup>153</sup> Sexby to Cromwell, Jan. 19-26, *ibid.*, p. 771.





reference to them by the Protector of a petition from two brothers, John and Thomas, sons of the late Sir John Light, their father, which, being presented to the Council, the members, who reported that the Lights were "Godfearing men . . . and fit objects of relief," was made up to them.<sup>160</sup> For its part, on January 22 the Council ordered that the Protector's letters of Privy Seal of the preceding day pass, and that the Treasury Commissioners pay a certain Anne Blunt 20s. a week "till other provision be made for relief."<sup>161</sup>

It is characteristic of the situation that such minor matters found their way not only to the Council but to the Protector himself even in the midst of such great affairs as the discussion of the succession, the militia and the plot. These questions were, in one sense, not unconnected. The issue of kingship had been brought to the floor of the House to meet with prompt opposition. The militia bill had been under discussion for some time; and in the view of Giavarina there was some connection between the two, and even between them and the plot.

"If they decide to levy the tenth," he wrote, "nothing will be done in favour of the major generals, seeing that they serve for their pay. But parliament would have to find some other source for their support unless they wish to abolish the office altogether, as the great authority they exercise gives the autocrat constant apprehension. . . . Whether the powers of these governors shall be increased or be abolished altogether is openly discussed. . . . The resolution upon this will disclose clearly the disposition of the members toward his Highness. . . . If the first should happen it would be highly detrimental to the Protector leaving him under constant apprehension as any slight offence he might give to one of them would suffice to overthrow him seeing that the major generals would doubtless unite, forming a formidable body of all the troops under their commands, with whom they are popular. . . . But in any case Cromwell will move cautiously and try to keep

pen, as is expected, the Protector would suffer no prejudice and he might feel more at ease. . . . However that may be Cromwell will never be at a loss for a way to reduce them whether in person or goods, when he wishes to do so."<sup>162</sup>

The Venetian envoy, with all his astuteness, perhaps did not fully understand the situation; but the debate in Parliament did something to indicate that all was not well with the system of major-generals. The Protector's nephew, Henry Cromwell, went so far as to intimate that "some of the major-generals have done amisse." Kelsey asked that they should be named and Henry offered to name them, but the

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248, *5th Rept. Dep. Keeper Pub. Records*, App II, p. 260.

<sup>162</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Jan. 23/Feb. 2, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), pp. 12-13.

quarrel was composed; and though the party of the major-generals threatened him with his uncle's displeasure, it appears that Henry went to him, and was in a measure—though jestingly—supported by the Protector.<sup>182</sup> On the other hand, even such a supporter of the Protectorate as Gookin feared the passage of the militia bill because “therby his Highness government will be more founded in force, and more removed from that natural foundation, which the people in parliament are desirous to give him; . . . If any others have pretensions to succeed him by their interest in the army, the more of force upholds his Highness living, the greater when hee is dead will be the hopes and advantages for such a one to effect his ayme, who desires to succeed him” And, he adds with apparent irrelevance though perhaps significantly, “Lamb[ert] is much for decimations.”<sup>183</sup> Giavarina admitted that “there was no longer room for doubt that something happened [in regard to the plot] If it was a pure fiction they would not imprison so many people” But he adds,

In conjunction with the royalists some officers of the Protector's own guard had a part in this affair . . . they have grown tired of the ill adjusted form of the present government, which is rather feared than loved, which pleases no one and offends all indifferently . . . and which cares for nothing except . . . itself.<sup>184</sup>

But the great business of the week was the formal congratulation offered to the Protector by the Parliament on January 23rd, to which he responded in kind though, in accordance with many of his utterances, the response was more or less formal generalities.

*Speech in answer to the congratulations of Parliament, Jan. 23, 1656-7*

MR. SPEAKER,

I confess with much respect that you have put this trouble on yourselves upon this occasion, but I perceive there be two things that fill me full of sense . . . the first is, that you are a poor unworthy creature, the second is, this great, and . . . kindness of Parliament in manifesting such a sense thereof, as this is which you have now expressed. I

. . . and unworthiness of the person that hath been the object and subject of this deliverance, to wit, myself I confess ingenuously to you, I do lie under the daily sense of my unworthiness and unprofitableness, as I have expressed to you. A . . . me, I . . .

<sup>182</sup> Gookin to (?), Thurloe, vi, 20-21

that is lengthened may be spent and improved to His honour that hath vouchsafed the mercy, and to the service of you and those you [re]present.

I do not know, nor did I think it would be very seasonable for me to say much to you upon this occasion, being a thing that ariseth from yourselves. Yet methinks the kindness you bear forth<sup>168</sup> should kindle a little desire in me even at this present to make a short return. And as you have been disposed hither by the providence of God to congratulate my mercy, so give me leave, in a very word or two, to congratulate with you. Congratulations are ever conversant about good bestowed upon men, or possessed by them. Truly I shall in a word or two congratulate you with good you are in possession of, and in some respect I also with you.

God hath bestowed upon you, (and you are in possession of it,) three nations and all that appertains to them, which in either a geographical [or] topical consideration are nations. In which also there are places of honour and consideration, not inferior to any in the known world,—without vanity it may be spoken. Truly God hath not made so much soil, furnished with so many blessings, in vain. But it is a goodly sight, if a man behold it *uno intuitu*, and therefore this is a possession of your worthy congratulation. This is furnished,—give me leave to say, for I believe it is true,—with the best people in the

And in this people, in the midst of this people, a people, (I know every one will hear it,) that are to God as the apple of his eye, and he says so of them, be they many or be they few. But they are many, a people of the blessing of God, a people under his safety and protection, a people calling upon the name of the Lord, which the heather is no parallel, no, not in all the world. You have in the midst of you glorious things.

Glorious things for you have laws and statutes and ordinances, which, though not so all of them conformable as were to be wished to the law of God, yet on all hands pretend not to be long rested-in, further than as they are conformable to the just and righteous laws of God. Therefore, I am persuaded, there is a heart and good men to wish they did all of them answer the pattern. will in due time break forth good things, with which

And you have a magistracy that in outward profession, in pretence, in endeavour, doth desire to put life into these laws. And I am confident that among you will rest nothing, but a desire to promote every desire in others and every endeavour that hath tended or shall tend to the putting of these laws in execution. I do for this congratulate you.

You have a gospel-ministry amongst you, that have you! Such a one as,—without vanity the favour at all for any favour or respect from them, say good words,—such an one as hath excelled itself, and I am persuaded, to speak with confidence before the Lord, one of them on the face of this nation. You have

<sup>168</sup> "For me" [?]

favours—a good God, a God that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath visited these nations with a stretched out arm and bore his witness

A God that hath not only withstood such to the face, but a God that hath abundantly<sup>166</sup> shown us His great goodness and mercy. And He “hath delivered us from all unrighteousness.”<sup>167</sup> He has visited us by wonderful things! In mercy and compassion hath He given us this day of freedom and liberty to speak this, one to another, and to speak of His mercies as He hath been pleased to put into our hearts

Truly, this word of conclusion. If this be so, give me leave to remember you but one word, which I offered to you with great love and affection the first day of meeting with you, this Parliament. It pleased God to put into my heart then to mention a Scripture to you, which would be a good conclusion of my speech now at this time to you. It was, that we being met to seek the glory of that God who is our Father, we should be thinking of such words as these, “that glory may dwell in our land”<sup>168</sup>

and let us more fear Him! If this mercy at all doth concern you, as I see it doth, let me, and I hope you will with me, labour more to fear Him than we have done, seeing such a blessing as his salvation “is nigh them that fear Him,”—seeing we are all of us the representatives of all the good of all these lands, “that glory may dwell in our land.” If this<sup>169</sup> be so, “Mercy and Truth shall meet together, Righteousness and Peace shall kiss each other.” We shall know, you and I, as the father of this family, how to dispose our mercies to God’s glory, how to dispose our severity, how to distinguish betwixt obedient and rebellious children, and not to do as Eli did, who told his sons he did not hear well of them, when perhaps he saw ill by them, and we know the severity of that. And therefore let me say that, though I would not descant upon the words, me

our duty. And truly, righteousness and peace must kiss each other. If we will have peace without a worm in it, lay we foundations of justice and righteousness. And if it shall please God so to move you, as that you marry this double couple together, mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, you will, if I may be free to say so, be blessed whether you will or no.

And that you and I may, for the time the Lord shall continue us together, set forth His glory by our prayer, and I heartily and humbly

The congratulation services did not go off without incident. As the two hundred members went up the staircase to the Banqueting Hall where the ceremony was to take place, the stairs broke, many mem-

<sup>166</sup> *Isaiah* xxvi, *Psalms* lxxv, 5

<sup>167</sup> *Psalms* lxxxv.

<sup>168</sup> “it” in Burton

<sup>169</sup> Stainer, no 36, Lomas-Carlyle, Sp vi, from Burton, II, 490-93. Pr in Lomas-Carlyle from Ms sent to Pell in Zurich by Hartlib. [Mrs Lomas’ note.]

bers fell and some were injured, notably Richard Cromwell who had a bruised shoulder, Solicitor-General Ellis, whose leg was broken, with others less seriously hurt.<sup>170</sup> Though it seems to have been merely an accident, under the circumstances it was only natural that there was talk of it being part of the "design," which was almost certainly not true. What was of far more importance was the proclamation, dated on the day of the ceremony and the accident, of the peace made between England and Portugal, in accordance with the instructions brought by the Portuguese envoy, Francisco Ferreira Rebello from Alfonso VI that he would confirm the treaty his late father, John IV, had made.

*By The Protector*

*A Proclamation Of the Peace made betwixt this Common-wealth and Portugal*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, &c. Whereas We have (by the blessing of God) with the advice of Our Council, made and concluded a good, true and firm Peace, betwixt this Common-wealth on the one part, and Portugal on the other, their Lands, Countries, Dominions, Territories, Places, and the People, Subjects and Inhabitants thereof, by Sea and Land, Rivers, Fresh-waters, and elsewhere By the which Peace, and the Preliminary Articles thereof, It is, among other things, agreed, That all War and Acts of Hostility betwixt the two Nations shall cease, and that the People and Inhabitants of each party respectively, shall treat each other . . . and that neither of them, their Subjec- . . . Place, by Sea or Land, or in the Ports or Rivers of either, to the prejudice of the other, nor adhere to, or entertain the Rebels or Fugitives of either, in any their Lands or Dominions And that betwixt this Common-wealth and Portugal and their People, Subjects and Inhabitants, there shall be had and . . . , by Land and Sea, in all and singular the . . . Territories, Provinces, Islands, Colonies, Cities, Towns and Ports of either, with freedom into the same to enter, and there to abide, and from thence to depart without interruption (they observing the Lawes and Customes of each Place respectively) as by the Articles of the said Peace is more fully declared and expressed We do therefore . . . Person and Persons, belonging to . . . and condition soever they, or any of them be, to take notice thereof, and to conform themselves accordingly

Given at Whitehall this 23 of January, 1656[-7].<sup>171</sup>

Finally, as an anti-climax to this exciting week, there was issued under the Protector's name a series of orders regarding the taking of

<sup>170</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 87.

<sup>171</sup> *Pr* by H. Hills and J. Field; *Crawford*, i, 372, no 3080, *Pub Intell*, Jan. 19-26



sate till candle light . . . The Major-generals were very loath to surrender. It was a serious debate, and not without sharpness and reflections."<sup>177</sup> It had been supposed, wrote Ludlow,

that Cromwel, who had erected their authority, and engaged them in those actions for which they were now become odious, would support them against all attempts, because there appeared now no way so probable to maintain his own power, as by keeping the army firmly united to him. But ambition had corrupted his understanding to that degree, that he made no scruple to sacrifice these men, who, to say no worse, had enlarged their consciences to an extraordinary size in the execution of his orders, to those who in requital of the favour had promised to make him King.<sup>178</sup>

Gookin reported that "many of the members of the House of Commons, how much the house thereby was benefited, and how much the godly; and that their ayme was to pass noething, that might tend to his accomodation, and that they would rayse no money, &c. To which hee answered, that hee hoped better things of them." He was soon rewarded and Gookin's report discredited, for on the next day the House voted £400,000 to be raised to carry on the war with Spain, and other affairs, "which his Highnesse tooke exceeding kindly, and exprest himself very affectionately to the committee of the parliament sent to him about that businesse. Those that were for the decimation-bill, it was plainly perceived, were exceeding cold in the debate for raising money, and seemed to repine, that the parliament did soe well." Gookin added that Pierrepont and St. John had been at Whitehall often, but secretly, to advise the Protector as to the question of kingship.<sup>179</sup> Giavarina's explanation of the situation was that Parliament had voted a subsidy "to mitigate in part the dissatisfaction given to his Highness about the decimation"<sup>180</sup>—which is not entirely in accord with his earlier interpretation of the relations between the major-generals and Cromwell.

It is, in fact, difficult to determine precisely the situation as regards the relations of the Protector to the major-generals. If one may judge by the votes against the extension of the decimation tax—on which the fate of the major-generals depended—it would seem that what may be called the Protectoral party was opposed to it. It is no less true that the Protectoral party itself had changed. Among the leaders of the country party, which seems to have inclined toward the offer of kingship, was Sir Richard Onslow of Surrey, while the major-generals were for the most part against it. This much, however, is true—whether the Protector desired the perpetuation of the system of

<sup>177</sup> Newsletter signed T. B., Feb. 4, *Clarke Papers*, III, 88n.

<sup>178</sup> Ludlow, II, 19-20.

<sup>179</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 88n.

<sup>180</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 88n.

*Ven* (1657-9), p. 16.



major-generals or was opposed to it, the vote of January 29 against the decimation tax was virtually the death-knell of the system. It was not formally abolished, it was permitted to disappear; and that Cromwell had made up his mind that it was more of a liability than an asset to his administration seems to be indicated not only by the decisive vote against the extension of the decimation tax, but by his speech a little later to the officers in which he asked them, "Who bid you go to the House with a Bill, and there receive a foil?"<sup>181</sup> With these words he virtually dissociated himself from all responsibility in the matter, but it is evident that he did not thus commend himself to the officers, least of all to Lambert, to whom the invention of the system of major-generals has sometimes been attributed, and who was charged with a plan to "cantonize" England under their direction.<sup>182</sup>

In any event, the Protector put the blame for the system on the officers, and its downfall was extremely popular. It seems not improbable that the defeat of the tax which would have continued the system was in part at least due to the advice of men like the "wise Pierrepont," St. John and Thurloe. It appears that the latter was with the Protector until ten o'clock at night on Thursday,<sup>183</sup> and though there is no record of their conversation, it is possible, if not probable, that it had to do with this question. On Friday, if Gookin is to be believed, the Protector

before Thurlo, Sir Pickering and R[ichard?] tooke occasion to speake of L. H[enry?], and gave him the highest and well grounded aplauses imaginable with tears of joy on his chekes, and concluded with this expression, which I must not forget, that H. H. might learn of him. I cannot but smile to thinke, what a simple owlish game your enemies have play'd, to make lyes to such a  
 L. D[esborough?], and therefore be assured it was spoken, that it might be noted.<sup>184</sup>

There was, then, something for the Protector to be grateful for, and for the House to be grateful to him. As to that, the House voted (on February 20, 1654) that the declaration should be observed on February 20, not on the 13th as originally decided, but that all ministers be requested to publish the declaration on the 15th, with the Protector's consent.<sup>185</sup> In addition to these minor matters, some time before

<sup>181</sup> Burton, I, 384.

<sup>182</sup> C. J., vii, 484. His part in framing the system see Dawson, *Cromwell*, 15, and Gardiner, *Comm. and Prot.*, III, 326.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 102.

<sup>184</sup> vi, 37; cp. Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Feb. 3,

*ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>185</sup> C. J., vii, 484, declaration dated Feb. 2 in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 258-59.



# THE ENGLISH ROBE DANCER

FROM A SATIRICAL DUTCH PRINT, *ca* 1653, REPRESENTING THE PROTECTOR ON THE  
 HIGHROPE, A COURIER AND JACOBIN ACTING AS CLOWNS, A DUTCH DEPUTY HOLD-  
 ING AN OLIVE BRANCH, THE ENRAGED KING OF HOLLAND IN DESCENDING FROM THE  
 PLATFORM AND TO ATTACK (9 1/2" x 11 1/4")



January 28, the Protector asked Attorney-General Pideaux, the treasurer of the Inner Temple, to recommend one Charles Heath to the rest of the bench as an "utter barrister";<sup>186</sup> and on the 29th he issued a permit to a Mr. White to come to London.

*License to Mr. Sampson White*

We doe hereby give leave and license to Mr. Sampson White of Our City of Oxford to repair unto Our Cittyes of London and Westminster and there to  
 . . . . . of Six weekes  
 Any of Our  
 Proclamacions or Orders to the contrary notwithstanding He acting noe-  
 thing prejudiciall to Our Selte or this present Government  
 Given att White Hall  
 the 29th day of January 1656

OLIVER P<sup>187</sup>

Besides these minutiae of administration, he issued a commission for the discovery of concealed property, which indicates, among other things, the extreme desire of the government to secure all possible sources of revenue:

*Commission to the Treasury Commissioners, Attorney General, and Barons and other officers of the Exchequer*

Whereas by patent of 26 May 1656, . . . . . Hall, Peter Elliston, John Griffith, Edw Carey, John . . . . . and Nath. Stirrup, to receive information concerning concealed rents, arrears, debts, money, plate, jewels, goods, &c, not pardoned, take examinations thereon, and certify their discoveries to you, the Treasury Commissioners, that they might issue process thereon in the Exchequer, this patent to last for one year, and all discoverers to be allowed 1/5 of the benefit of their discoveries, as entered on the Great Roll of the Pipe, or as much more as the Treasury Commissioners think fit to allow And whereas we allowed to all compounders who should themselves bring information of any part of their estate, concealed or not compounded for, leave to compound for the same at 1/4 of the value—Now for the due execution of the said patent, we require you, the Commissioners of our Treasury, Attorney General, and officers of the Exchequer, to cause all such discoveries to be put in charge in the Great Roll of . . . . . Auditors of Exchequer, and to allow the full 1/5 to the . . . . . warrants for its payment Voluntary discoverers to be allowed 1/5 from their discoveries, to be deducted from the value of leases to be granted to them of the said estates so discovered You are also to receive the petitions for under-valuation in compositions, and allow the petitioners to compound at 1/4, and give directions for speedy payment into the Exchequer.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>186</sup> F R Inderwick, *Inner Temple Records*, II (L., 1898), 323

<sup>187</sup> *Add Mss.*, C 132, f 77.

<sup>188</sup> *Cal. S P. Dom.* (1656-7), p 595; cp *ibid*, p. 242

Broghill on the decimation tax, which shed a certain light on that great controversy. After the bill was lost, it appears that Cromwell called Broghill to him and asked him why he had opposed the measure. Broghill replied that he had done Cromwell a great service by his opposition.

How? says Cromwell. How? says my lord [Broghill], by hindering your

and they were your enemies, not your friends, who brought it in. Cromwell was so far satisfied with this, that he began to distrust those, who had advised him to it, and lord Broghill gained great favour from all the loyal party, as well as from Cromwell, but the independents hated him to his death for it.<sup>189</sup>

It seems apparent from this, from the fact that it was the Presbyterian Ashe who first brought up the question of kingship in Parliament; and from the divisions among the Council, the people, and even the army, that there was coming, or had come, a certain breach between the Independents, who had previously been the Protector's chief support, and other elements, notably the Presbyterians, who had been at best lukewarm toward his government. This was a matter which was to be of more and more consequence in the ensuing weeks, when the question of kingship came to the fore. That problem was the background of all the political moves of the time, in comparison with which the administrative measures of the Council and Protector were insignificant. Of the Council meetings on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday during the first week of February, the Protector was present for only a part of the time on Thursday.<sup>190</sup> The only business was the approval of some augmentations;<sup>191</sup> the issue of a large number of passes, including one to Henry Seymour, then prisoner in the Tower;<sup>192</sup> orders to English, Irish and Scottish officials to announce the day of thanksgiving,<sup>193</sup> and, perhaps most important of all, an order on Mr Noel's motion to advise the Protector that the East India trade be carried on as before by one joint stock company, and strengthening the monopoly of the East India Company.

In comparison with the great political issues then in the making,

<sup>189</sup> *Collection of the State Letters of . . . Roger Boyle* (ed. Thos. Morrice, Dublin 1743), I, 50-52.

<sup>190</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 260-67.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 260-61, 586-87.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262 *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-60), p. 837.

<sup>194</sup>

even the activities of the House were of scarcely more importance than the administrative measures of the Council, with one considerable exception. This was the problem of raising the £400,000 which had been voted to carry on the war. This consumed the energies of the House for a week, and on Saturday it was finally decided that for three months, beginning March 25, England should pay £60,000 a month, Scotland £15,000, and Ireland £20,000, but, as Giavarina noted, all these did not come to £400,000 so that the tax would be continued three months longer thus "making ordinary a tax that was called extraordinary," which, he believed, would be "likely to inflame the people . . . and make them grumble," especially since "they have to find an equal sum for old impositions and new ones are expected to meet the other resolution . . . to raise 120,000*l.* a month from the *land tax* . . . which no method has yet been devised . . . the nation now, in fact, come back to the old rate of taxation which, it had been fondly hoped and even proclaimed by the authorities, had vanished with the burdens arising from the civil wars. In fact, during the latter part of 1656 the country was apparently already paying at the rate of £120,000 a month, and this, under guise of the Spanish war, was now in effect continued. Moreover though the receipts from the assessments went through the hands of the treasurers of the army and were paid out under the authority of the Army Committee, thus by-passing the Exchequer, much was diverted to other purposes, though how easy it was for the government to divert the money into whatever channels it chose is indicated by the fact that there was no audit of the accounts until after the Restoration. In effect, therefore, finances were under the more or less direct control of the Protector to use however and wherever he saw fit as commander-in-chief of the armed forces as well as head of the government.<sup>196</sup>

All this, however, yielded to the great problem of the succession, whether in the form of nomination, election or inheritance, and this last involved, naturally, the question of the title, which had been raised by Mr Ashe in the House. This was interrupted for the moment by lesser matters—the passage of a bill for confirming improvements in lands at Nasing in Essex and settling them on the Earl of Carlisle, for which the Protector's assent was asked,<sup>197</sup> his consent to the issue of the Declaration, which was published with the Narrative of the plot;<sup>198</sup> and, incidentally, the meeting of a grand jury at West-

under the Cromwellian Protectorate, ch. viii

<sup>197</sup> *C J*, vii, 486

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid*, p. 484, *Pub. Intell*, Feb. 2-9; *Merc Pol*, Jan 29-Feb. 5

minster to hear the evidence of the design.<sup>199</sup> To outside observers these were of small importance beside the question of the future of the Protectorate, which the state of Cromwell's health and the discovery of the plot had brought to life. According to Bordeaux, Lambert said that the question was no longer whether he or Richard Cromwell should succeed to the office, but whether they should retrace their steps or go forward to a commonwealth, the French ambassador adding that Lambert, actuated by personal ambition, was naturally in favor of an elective succession.<sup>200</sup> On the other hand, "the French ambassador" wrote that some revolt in the army was to be expected, and that Sir Richard Willis and John Russell advised against any attempt at invasion for the present.<sup>201</sup> It is evident, even from the beginning, that opinion on this question was divided, not only among the supporters of Cromwell but among those of Charles II, nor did the arguments vary much throughout the whole discussion. The officers were for the most part against it, especially since some of the chief among them had ambitions to become Protector. Some of the officials, like Thurloe, seem to have favored kingship; some, like Whitelocke, to have opposed it. What the rank and file of the army thought, it is difficult to determine, but there is some reason to believe that they were, on the whole, opposed. There is little or no evidence that the army was at large; but their representatives, who were closely supervised by the administration, may be properly called a representative of the people—were sharply divided, though the majority, as it proved, were favorable to the change of title. From the beginning, however, whether men were for or against offering Cromwell the title of king, one thing was apparent. It was that some revision of the *Instrument of Government*, or its replacement by another constitution, was not only desirable but necessary. The *Instrument* had no doubt served its purpose, but it had proved unequal to the demands made upon it with the development of the Protectoral system and it was necessary to revise it. The government next addressed itself

<sup>199</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, Jan. 29-Feb. 5. Sindercombe in Tower, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 586.

<sup>200</sup> Bordeaux to Mazarin, Feb. 5/15, quot. by Firth, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LVIII (1903), 53.

<sup>201</sup> Broderick to Hyde, Feb. 6, *Clar. State Papers*, III, 326.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE OFFER OF KINGSHIP

FEBRUARY-APRIL 1657

Amid the various problems with which Cromwell had to deal one of the most irritating and persistent, though not, perhaps the most important, was that of the situation of the Scottish church. Almost exactly seven years earlier, Charles II had accepted the offer of the Scottish commissioners to come to Scotland to head a rising in his favor. As the price of his acceptance of Scottish support he had agreed to a declaration admitting his father's guilt and his mother's idolatry; and he did penance for his own sins. But to many of the more extreme Presbyterians, especially the Covenanters of the west, even this was not enough and the Presbyterian part of the nation divided into the Resolutioners, prepared to accept even the aid of the "malignants," or Royalists of whatever faith, in the war against the English, and the Remonstrants, or Protesters, who signed a Remonstrance against all, even the new king, who were not unreservedly for the Covenant. They were, if possible, even more bitter against their theological opponents than they were against the Cromwellians, whom, in fact, they aided, consciously or unconsciously.

That the English were not the only ones who had seen the political and theological differences but by an ambition to control the machinery of the Presbyterian establishment. The Scottish church was still divided between these two parties, not so much on creed, but on the question of the king. The king was now vacant. The quarrel had kept Presbyterian Scotland in a turmoil, and the issue had now come up to the Protector, who summoned the champions of each party to London to compose it, if possible. In consequence there appeared for the Remonstrants, who were the smaller but more vocal party, some of Cromwell's old acquaintances, with whom he had earlier dealt in Scotland—Gillespie, Livingston and Menzies—and after consultation with them he had drawn up his ordinance of August 4, 1654. That divided Scotland into five districts and appointed fifty-seven men, ministers and laymen, to act as "Triers" and certify ministerial candidates to livings. This had merely served to shift the ground of the quarrel, for each side strove



to control these bodies and so the church. Both parties appealed to Cromwell. The Resolutioners had named James Sharp; the Protesters or Remonstrants sent Guthrie, Gillespie, Wariston and Simpson to plead their cause. In earlier years the Protector had striven to win the Remonstrants to his side and not without success, though Guthrie and Wariston were now so opposed to him that Broghill described them as "Fifth Monarchy Presbyterians." On the other hand Broghill had hopes of winning over a great part of the Resolutioners, whose ministers outnumbered those of the Protesters by five to one; exclude those who were Royalist at heart; and so build up a Scottish ministry more or less sympathetic with the Protectorate.

So in due course they all appeared in London, and Sharp has left an account of what happened to them there, especially to him. It appears that on February 9 the Protector sent one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber to summon Sharp to Whitehall, and though he went to request Colonel Jones to postpone the debate, because of such short notice, Sharp was "brought into a room where I found the whole caball of your protest and Dr. Owen, Messrs Lockyer, Manton and Caryl," all "partiall witnesses." It is evident from the company thus assembled that the Protector hoped to find some means of accommodation between the warring factions, with the advice of those on whom he had chiefly relied to find a settlement for religious affairs in England:

So being all of us called into the Protector's chamber a little before eleven of the clock, where were present the secretary, General Major Desborough, Colonel Jones, Sir Gilbert Pickern[ig], the Protector had a short speech, wherein first he spoke to these whom he designed as sent from the godly

choyse, so he would labour it should be such as might reach the end, and in time that should be made [to] appear, though he would not have them to judge him to be of the opinion that all who were godly were for the true interest of godly magistracy, some being 5th-Monarchy men, some turning Quakers; neither was godlinesse a qualification to fitt a man for everie trust or office. Then for the other proposition in reference to the ministry and Church, he not trusting to his own judgment, he had called the four whom he named there

me, thrice, and had spoke that to him about other matters which in profession were reasonable and plausible (These are his words, what sense may be putt upon them I know not, but I do disclaime anything that may import a further plausibility than your instructions did allow) He desired to fall upon that way which might tend to the good of the Gospell and encouragement of godly men in our nation, but for the way at this tyme he was to seek. Then

he said he had received papers from those gentlemen. He asked me if I had given him any.

Sharp replied that he had given him only one, summarizing their . . . had some prepared, that he considered himself at a disadvantage in debating with so many, and thought it might be more convenient if "the clearing he sought for . . . might be by papers." To this Cromwell answered,

"That way will draw to a greater length of time than I can allow. I have sett a part of this time for you. May you now speak that here which you did to myself." Then he rounded to Mr Secretary and said to me, "Speak on, then."

Sharp declared that since the Church of Scotland was oppressed in the use of her rights, his errand was to desire that liberty which they

"I think that which Mr Sharp hath spoke giveth an fair entry to the tabling of this bussines," whereupon Guthrie, Gillespie and Wariston took up the discussion on the part of the Remonstrants, the latter acknowledging that he had earlier consented to the treaty of Breda with Charles II, but had repented. "I know you doe," said the Protector, "but speak no more of this which doth not concerne your present bussiness." Sharp, evidently replying to his opponents on the old question of Resolutioners and Remonstrants, who respectively . . . with Charles II, the Protector, obviously annoyed by this taking up of an old dispute which no longer had even an academic interest save to the disputants,

bids us leave that and goe to the main business which ought to be driven to an issue at present, and that is whether such men as some of these were, seeking for a reformation, ought not to be heard, so as your Church in its present constitution not being in a capacity to reform itself, there should be an extraordinary remedy made use of.

To Sharp's suggestion that the rise and progress and true state of their differences be first discussed, Cromwell went on to say, "That will be a tedious bussines, and wherefore goe to that?" And when there were some further exchange of what seem to have been something less than amenities between Sharp and Wariston, he interrupted them with some irritation, "These things . . . I love not."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh*, ed Wm. Stephen, 1 (Edinburgh, 1921), 349-56

But Scottish theologians were not so easily put down. The Remonstrants or Protesters complained that by the Acts of the Assemblies, ministers and elders were barred from sitting in "judicatures," that is to say the boards of "Triers" which determined who should have the livings; godly young men of their party kept from the ministry because they would not renounce their judgment, thus giving rise to a "greivous persecution."<sup>2</sup> This Sharp thought impudent, but "His Highness, as in other particulars, so in this, backed their alleadgeances, saying this was strange." That Cromwell should incline toward the Remonstrants was not surprising. Directly and indirectly they had contributed to his defeat of the Scotch, and Wariston not least Sharp, as one of the leaders of the Resolutioners, who had supported Charles, was naturally at a disadvantage in the discussion. He later objected that the Acts of the Assembly should not be brought as an argument to prove that one of the Protesters would be debarred from sitting on the judicature, "since no use was made of them to the debarring any from exercising what their severall capacities led them to upon the account of our differences"; whereupon, as he says,

His Highness interposed, "That maks somewhat towards the prooffe that your Church is of such a constitution at present, and that there is need of an extraordinary remedy to promove purity and godliness, if it be made out that Acts were made and these Acts improved to the prejudice of godly men and obstruction of godliness This discovereth of what spirit you are"<sup>3</sup>

When Sharp expressed doubt that any one had been censured on account of public differences and one of his opponents, Guthrie, said he knew some who had been thus censured, another of the Remonstrant champions, Gillespie, broke in to say that the censures had been condemned by the people and would have been to no purpose, "but so long as you had the concurrence of the civill power you made use of them to bear us downe." To this Sharp answered that though the civil power had been made use of to wrong his group, they had not "that countenance as to make use of it for injuring them" "What," said his Highness, 'doe you not imploy the civill magistrat to back your censures?' I said," Sharp went on, "whatever the civill magistrat by the law of our land ought to do in reference to Church censures, yet sure I was it could not be averred since the Assemblie at St Andrews, that we had either craved or gottin help that way; and before there is none of these who stand here will say we did it. 'When was that Assembly?' said the Protector 'In the year '50' 'But goe on,' said the Protector, 'to the point' "<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 358

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 360

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp 361-62

It is easy to see why he was impatient. The . . . ever useful he had once found it. It is, indeed, difficult to untangle, still more difficult to sympathize with, and virtually impossible at this distance to understand the theological question at issue between two groups, which, with all their fine points of politics and theology, seem to strive merely for mastery over the Scottish church. Each was, no doubt, what is known as "sincere" in its contentions, but it is hard for a non-theological generation like our own to comprehend the depth of animosity revealed in a dispute which, even by 1657, seemed to have lost whatever force it had. It troubled, if it did not irritate, the Protector, to whom these differences between two sections of a church which agreed on creed and form of service in a distant land appeared trifling. Sharp begged it "of his Highness' justice" that the synods "be putt to it to condescend upon the particular instances . . . that they may be sent home . . . all replied "O . . . that is not enough. You have both heir appealed to me about your differences, and these men charge you with scandall and corruption, and you answer that it may be examined upon the place"

He was weary of the whole affair. His only idea in receiving the representatives of the warring factions in the Scottish church had been somehow to make peace between them and give that harassed country at least an interval of quiet between their contending theologians. He did not reckon with their pertinacity, nor, perhaps, realize that the Scots may even have enjoyed such disputes. The only result he had accomplished was to transfer the quarrel to his own lodgings, and he apparently was sick of it. The session had lasted, apparently, three hours, and, as Sharp relates:

"The time drawing to two of the clock, the door being opened, his Highness sayed to us, 'Gentlemen, it is tyme we had some refreshment. Dr Owen, Mr Caryll, etc., pray you take these gentlemen to dinner, and I shall after dinner be with you.' " Sharp was tired and wished to withdraw, but Thurloe told him to stay, "and the Protector hearing him, turned, calling to me, 'Pray, you, goe to dinner,' and bid one of his gentlemen take me into the rowm, upon which I stayed and dined with the five Protesters and Dr Owen, Manton and Caryll."

Such is the account of what must have been one of the most extraordinary discussions ever held in Whitehall at any time. The root of the matter was, in fact, the question of the livings and so of the church as a whole. The government had control of the churches, the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 362-63

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

manes and the stipend of the ministers. The "judicatures" appointed the ministers, and were, in turn, themselves appointed by the government. If the Protesters could secure the support of the Protector, it is evident that they would have an advantage over their more numerous opponents, the Resolutioners. But the Protector's whole idea was to contribute to the peace of the country which, in general, was opposed to his government and to the army by which he governed it. If he hoped for compromise or agreement between two such factions, he was disappointed, for the dispute went on with unabated fury, and, incidentally, led in later years to the assassination of this same James Sharp, then Archbishop of St Andrews, by some of the more extreme of the Covenanters.

Cromwell was no less concerned with Ireland. He had but lately expressed his approbation of the conduct of his son, Henry. He had sent some able lawyers to preside over the Irish courts, and he now wrote to Henry in behalf of a Colonel Simon Rugely, and at the same time issued a pass for him, for Colonel John Rugely and four servants,<sup>7</sup> on the day after the discussion with the Scottish theologians:

*[For my son, Harry Cromwell, in Ireland]*

SON HARRY,

Colonel Symon Rugely, the bearer hereof, having been very active in the cause of this Commonwealth, to the near ruin of his estates as we are informed, and being not so happy as to get the same satisfaction of a very considerable debt owing . . . personal services and disbursements, though the same hath been much endeavoured by him, and something determined in order thereunto by us and our Council, we do therefore recommend him to your knowledge and kindness (as a very deserving gentleman), for some employment in Ireland, which his former services and education (as we are also informed) do well qualify him for, whether in a military or civil way, and if it shall not be speedily in your power so to dispose of him, yet to procure him a lease of some convenient lands in Ireland, whereon he may be encouraged to sit down with his family, his condition not admitting of his long attendance without being put into a way of action. On which latter if you shall at present resolve, yet let it be no prejudice to him as to the other proposal for an employment, so soon as a vacancy shall give you the advantage. I pray be specially careful of him as to one to whom a very good respect is borne by

Your affectionate father,

OLIVER P.<sup>8</sup>

Whitehall

Feb 10, 1656[7]

<sup>7</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1656-7), p 587.

<sup>8</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl 124. Cp. *Cal S P Irel.* (1647-60), p 838, *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1656-60), p 586. A further example of the way in which Cromwell's policy was carried out is given in the next chapter.

Probably to this period belongs the story of Cromwell's attempt on the life of Samuel Morland, in connection with the so-called Willis plot to lure Charles II and his brothers to England and kill them.<sup>11</sup> As Welwood relates,

The Protector was not yet through with the Resolutioners and Protesters. It would seem from Wariston's diary that he had another interview with these contentious gentlemen, for, as Wariston records, "Greenhead" (Sir Andrew Ker) told him

<sup>9</sup> *Pub Intell*, Feb 9-16, Clarendon, *History*, xv, 144

<sup>10</sup> *Pub Intell*, Feb. 16-23

<sup>11</sup> Story from Eachard in Thurloe, 1, Introd. pp. xiv-xvi

<sup>12</sup> Welwood, *Memoirs* (1820), p. 98. Cp *Notes & Queries*, ser. 12, X (1921), 282-83, for another version by Welwood of the occasion of C.'s irritation.

of the Protector speaking to him that he should haive alsmuch a care of us and our interest as of the honest interest in England, and told, many would be illing in our eares, but forbad us to beleive any harsh things against him til wee saw the contrarye, and that he resolved after once hearing Mr Sharpe and us agayn to caite [show] that he would doe us good And then he told um how il satisfied he was with som of our number being too busye to speak is if he were to sett up his awen and our carnal interest, which should be ound urtherwyse; but he would beare with it becaus he was a minister.<sup>13</sup>

From Scotland Monk, like Lilburne and the English administration in Scotland generally, reported that things there were going better and that the Highlands in particular were in better order and more loyal to the Protector than at any time since the beginning of the war.<sup>14</sup> This was the only good news that came in. There was trouble in Portugal about the peace with England. Though it had been a long time since the English had been in Portugal, the English government in Lisbon, hoping that Cromwell might still make concessions,<sup>15</sup> especially in view of the protest of their envoy, Rebello, against the failure of Colonel Philip Jones, the arbitrator, to give them time to study the terms of the agreement, for which Rebello wanted six months.<sup>16</sup> The Count d'Odemira told Maynard, the English agent there, that if "mitigations" were not granted, "the Inquisition and the common people would ruin them, especially in this occasion, that if his High-

requisite it with a far greater benefit, "17 Meanwhile an intercepted letter from Antwerp noted that Cromwell pretended agreement with Parliament for his own ends, but as soon as sufficient money was voted, he would side with the major-generals, whose "high carriage" since their withdrawal pointed to a new revolution of affairs in England.<sup>18</sup> That opinion, obviously of a Royalist, had little value as an index to the Protector's ideas and plans, but gives some indication of what was at least an outsider's point of view as to the attitude of the major-generals since the defeat of the Militia Bill, upon which their hopes, and indeed their very existence, depended.

Into this situation Nieupoort injected an alien note when he reported

The Secretary of State, having taken the documents mentioned in the enclosed, told me that the Lord Protector, being willing to throw off all jealousy and mistrust against the State of the United Netherlands, had approved to

<sup>13</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 63

<sup>14</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 63

<sup>15</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 63

<sup>16</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 63

<sup>17</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 63

<sup>18</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 63

have communicated to me that he had received information that a very secret negotiation between the King of Spain and their High Mightinesses was going on, to form a defensive alliance for the conservation of free commerce and navigation *entre eux-mêmes*, that "they" intended to keep 400 vessels, 100 of which were to be used for this forty large ships of war would be maintained continuously near the coasts of Spain by this State [the Netherlands] in order forcibly to drive off all who would undertake to disturb free navigation and commerce. I asked him [Thurloe] whether any advantages were specifically mentioned in this information as promised by the king of Spain, upon which he answered that there were several, among others the cession of Dunkirk with the fort of Mardyke and Ostend. I told him that I could only consider it a faked information.<sup>19</sup>

The Protector attended, though briefly, the meetings of the Council on Tuesday and Thursday, February 17 and 19,<sup>20</sup> approving many orders, one for a pension of £100 a year for Menasseh ben Israel.<sup>21</sup> A significant protest from the Greenland Company objected to the infringement of the Act which prohibited the import of whale and fish oil in other than English ships, noting that in defiance of that Act various officials had "connived" in evading the regulations so that the Company was losing money—all of which was duly referred to a committee for investigation.<sup>22</sup> Besides this there was an order of February 17 that ships laden with beer be sent to Blake with letters to that effect, in response to Blake's bitter complaints of the difficulty of providing drink for his men.<sup>23</sup> On the 19th the Protector addressed an order of no great importance to the Admiralty Commissioners, but on that day also he sent warnings to militia officers of a new design of the Cavaliers against which they should be on their guard.

*To our right trustie and welbeloved the Coms of our Admiralty and Navy*

OIVER P

Our will and pleasure is, That you forthwith make and direct your warrant to John Glover of our Isle of Thanet in our Countie of Kent gent authorizing him to bee Master and Commander of our shallop called *The Welcome* of our Port of Margate in the said Isle, for our speciall and ymediate service at sea. Given at Whitehall the Nineteenth day of February 1656.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Nieuport to de Witt, Feb. 6/16, De Witt, *Brueven*, III, 332.

<sup>20</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1656-7), pp. 100, 285-86.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 284-85, *ibid.* (1657), p. 101.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* (1656-7), p. 280.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 280. On Feb. 20 of the plots against the Protector.

<sup>24</sup> Original in the Gratz Collection in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, now in the Dreer Collection of the society, cp. sale cat., I, 144.



*For Capt. John Pickring near Wakefeld; these Haste. Ferry Bridge*

SIR,

Whereas we have received intelligence, that there is a design of the Cavalier and Popish Party very shortly to make a new insurrection in several places of this Commonwealth, and also that the late King's with an army from Brannets, where he now is we have thought it necessary for the safety of the Commonwealth to take the following measures: That the aforesaid int. . . . them Wherefore these are to authorize and require you upon the receipt hereof to give notice unto all the officers and soldiers of your troop to provide themselves able and sufficient horses and arms for service, and to put themselves into such a condition that upon the first notice or appearing danger they may be ready to come to such rendezvous as shall be appointed, and that you be very vigilant, and careful least you be surprised, and in case you find any of the said party to ride armed, have frequent meetings, or in their carriage and deportment give just cause of suspicion, you are authorized and required to seize upon and apprehend all such persons, and in case of any . . . with whom we have spoken more at large, and to whom we refer you, And in . . . they . . . arms to be kept to the use of the State And you are to assure your troop for their better encouragement that fitting care will be taken for their pay according to the establishment.

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P<sup>25</sup>

Whitehall,

19 Febr. 1656

It is apparent from this letter and from other evidence that there was still fear of a Royalist outbreak and of an invasion which had long been threatened, for which the failure of the Militia Bill and the decline or disappearance of the major-generals seemed to provide an occasion. Though Clarendon wrote of this period that "the Spaniards so much despaired of his [Charles'] cause, that they had no mind to give him any assistance with which he might make an attempt upon England, and that, if they had . . . they were not able to do it,"<sup>26</sup> there . . . that there was danger from that direction. In January a correspondent

<sup>25</sup> The original is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. On the back is a notation, "This came to hand 24th Febr. at 8 in the morning J. P." Cp. copy in . . .

There is a son . . . -7), p. 287. This may be like the document referred to by Henfrey (*Numis Crom.*, p. 195), in P. R. O., with seal but without address and apparently intended for a major-general.

<sup>26</sup> Clarendon, *History*, xv, 132.

had written from Paris that there was a "great concourse" of English, Scotch and Irish about Charles, that assistance was promised by Austria and the German princes; and as late as February 1, Lockhart, whose warnings could not be disregarded, had written that Ormonde's letters to Henrietta Maria declared that Charles would land in England in March with 6,000 horse and foot and arms for 10,000 more.<sup>27</sup> The advice from so dependable a source as Lockhart was not to be overlooked, and it was probably due to it, rather than to the less trustworthy intelligence from other sources, that these orders were issued. There was, in fact, however, despite these warnings and orders, little danger. Charles was woefully short of money; the reports of his armed strength were greatly exaggerated; and there was small hope of his success. The situation was then hard put to it after the losses inflicted by Blake.

Nor was England, in fact, much better off. The main business of the House during this week, interrupted by bills for regulating Widdrington's conduct, was the consideration of the Duke of York's petition for a loan of £200,000 for the war with Spain, whose sources were still undetermined.<sup>28</sup> Widdrington was now well enough to reassume his office as Speaker, and as a reward for his services he was given a pension of £2,000 a year. The financial difficulties were still great, and the House was still on his mission to Sweden, and to give him in addition £2,000—which, according to Whitelocke, displeased the Protector.<sup>29</sup> Widdrington celebrated his return to the chair by presenting to the House an invitation from the Protector to dine with him on Friday, the day of the thanksgiving, after the sermon, in the Banqueting House.<sup>30</sup> "Many," wrote Giavarina, "think that on this occasion his Highness will be presented with the crown, since the question of the succession was brought up again some days ago."<sup>31</sup> In that he was mistaken. The sermons were preached at St. Margaret's by Warren and Gillespie, and thence the House adjourned to dinner, "a most sumptuous banquet with exquisite music while all the guns of the Tower were discharged several times as well as 50 pieces placed on purpose before the palace," after which they withdrew to the Cockpit and were there entertained "with rare Musick, both of Instruments and Voyces, till the evening."<sup>32</sup> The whole ceremony was, in fact, merely what it professed to be, a social occasion with only such political im-

<sup>27</sup> Thurloe, vi, 33.

<sup>28</sup> *C. J.*, 491-94.

<sup>29</sup> Whitelocke, p. 655, cp. *C. J.*, vii, 493.

<sup>30</sup> Burton, i, 377.

<sup>31</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 493.

<sup>32</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 493.

plications as were natural to the celebration of the Protector's escape from assassination; and, so far as one may judge, with no reference to the question of kingship, though that was doubtless in all men's minds.

It is perhaps worthy of note—but no more—that on the Monday of this week, the 16th, was published Walton's Polyglot Bible in which the Protector had earlier showed some interest,<sup>34</sup> and that on Saturday, the 21st, the House finally agreed that the officers of the Cheshire brigade at Worcester, whose claims the Protector had urged on Parliament, be included in the security of the present army and given the two months' pay which they had requested.<sup>35</sup> Of more importance was the progress of Lockhart's negotiations, concerning which he sent a memorandum of the articles agreed upon, which were to be signed on February 23, to the effect that Cromwell was to supply 6,000 men and his fleet, the French 20,000 men, the siege of Dunkirk to begin in April, and when the place was taken, Cromwell was to leave 3,000 men to hold it.<sup>36</sup> So far the arrangement seemed satisfactory to both parties, but when the time came to sign the agreement, another delay was caused by the fact that there were differences between the Latin and the French versions, some of which, according to Lockhart, were intentional.<sup>37</sup> The difficulties lay deeper than that. Mazarin was unwilling at first to promise the cession of Dunkirk in return for English aid. Cromwell was unwilling to promise the services of his forces for land operations between the French and the Spaniards, and even when he agreed to this, Turenne, who commanded the French army, was unwilling to begin his operations by attacking Dunkirk, on the ground that the Spaniards must first be defeated in the field and Gravelines taken before Dunkirk was invested. In addition to these grounds of difference, Cromwell and Thurloe urged a general league between England, France, Sweden, Denmark and the United Provinces, while Mazarin—who ultimately had his way—wished to confine the treaty to an alliance between France and England. Nor is it without some significance in connection with the Protector's designs in connection with the activities of Pell and Dury—Cassel wrote Cromwell at this time that a closer correspondence between them would benefit the Protestant interest.<sup>37</sup> Not only was Cassel of the Reformed faith, but its new Landgrave, Charles, had given refuge to many Huguenots fleeing from France and was thus more or less involved in the affairs of the two countries now coming to terms; and this was

<sup>34</sup> Whitelocke, p. 654.

<sup>35</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 494-95.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, vii, 495.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*

some evidence that the activities of Cromwell's agents in the line of Protestant states along the Rhine from Holland to Switzerland along the eastern frontier of France were beginning to bear fruit.

The Council met only once during the last week of February and, with the Protector present, devoted itself chiefly to routine measures. The instructions given privately by Thurloe to Thomas Woodrone, deputy postmaster at Leeds, which may be regarded as typical of such instructions, throw some light on the methods of controlling the country. Woodrone was told to interrupt all suspicious letters, keep an eye on any disaffected persons in his district, and generally despatch the Protector's business.<sup>38</sup> Of more general interest was the appointment of Philip Meadows as envoy to Frederick III of Denmark.<sup>39</sup> Meadows had succeeded Milton as Latin secretary of the Council and had just returned from representing England at Lisbon in the matter of the Portuguese treaty. He proved himself a shrewd

situation in the Baltic area. Besides this there was not much of importance in the proceedings of the Council,<sup>40</sup> and the only document which seems to remain from this period is one for the appointment of a certain Dr. Barksdale as physician for hospitals at Ely House and the Savoy.

*To the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Soldiers in Ely House*

TRUSTY AND WELBELOVED

Whereas Doctor French physician to the sick and wounded Soldiers in the Hospitals of Ely house in Holborne and the Savoy in the Strand hath voluntarily come before us and expressed his desire and willingness to resign and relinquish his said charge, And We having received very good testimony of the integrity abilities and fitness of Doctor Francis Barksdeale for the discharging of the duty of the said place, It is our will and pleasure and We do hereby will and require you to entertain and settle the said Doctor Barksdeale as physician to the said Hospitals in the room and stead of the said Dr. French, And to allow him the like salary as was allowed unto Doctor French having not else We rest

Whitehall Febr  
23rd 1656

Your loving Friend,  
OLIVER P.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Thurloe, vi, 85-86

<sup>39</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 290-91

<sup>40</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 290-91

<sup>41</sup> "This is a true copy of the original  
July 1657

Ex<sup>d</sup> by me Jo Wogan Clerk to the said Committee" Summary in Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 126, cal. in *Cal S P Dom.* (1658-9), p. 256



Astonishing as this proposal was, it was neither new nor a surprise to many members of the House. Major-General Packer had already seen it,<sup>46</sup> as had Whitelocke, who had "declined the first delivery . . . to Parliament, not liking several things in it," so, as he adds, "Sir Christopher . . ." It seems evident that others were in the secret—in secret it can be called—among them Lambert, who was its bitterest opponent. As Giavarina wrote, Lambert

opposed it vigorously, arguing that to set up a king again was entirely contrary to all the oaths and protestations made by every one and to the motives for which they had taken up arms and shed so much blood, and it was not in reason or justice to make any change. This was not the question of the succession. . . . It seems evident that others were in the secret—in secret it can be called—among them Lambert, who was its bitterest opponent. As Giavarina wrote, Lambert

content . . . proceed after the Protector's death. Some others also expressed themselves against it, especially a member of Lambert's party named Robinson. Unmindful of the respect due to the Protector he was not content to say that the proposal ought to be rejected but more audaciously suggested that it ought to be torn up and burned by the common hangman, a suggestion that evoked no applause.<sup>47</sup>

Though the House had voted by three to one to have the paper read, the debates which followed revealed a powerful opposition to its main proposal—to make Cromwell king. The major-generals were against it, almost to a man. Next to Lambert, its most vehement opponent was Sydenham, despite the fact that he had long been a member of the Council and was reckoned one of the founders of the Protectorate. The Protector's relatives, Desborough and Fleetwood, were opposed, as were the officers in general. Most of the lawyers, the civilian members of the Council, and a considerable body of country gentlemen, with all but three officers of the Irish representatives—Cooper, Hewson and Sankey<sup>48</sup>—were for this so-called "Remonstrance," which was debated all of Monday. The debate was resumed the next day, "the whole morning spent in debate upon the businesse in generall,"<sup>49</sup> and every device of opposition and obstruction was brought into play "whether the said bill should be debated in parts,"<sup>50</sup> and a motion to bring it into a grand committee was defeated 118 to 63.<sup>51</sup> Tempers rose, charges were hurled against first one, then

<sup>46</sup> Burton, III, 160.

<sup>47</sup> Whitelocke, p. 656.

the Crown,"

<sup>51</sup> Burton, I, 379.

another, of the disputants Bordeaux wrote to Mazarin that Lambert declared "the issue was not whether Richard [Cromwell] or John [Lambert] should succeed, but whether they should retrace their steps or go forward."<sup>52</sup> Clarendon noted that in the second day's debate, "it was observed that they who the day before had undertaken that he [Cromwell] himself would never endure it . . . urged that argument no more, but inveighed against it as a monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him."<sup>53</sup> That raises the question as to how much Cromwell knew of the situation. According to Major Anthony Morgan, on the evening of the day of the first debate,

Some of the Major-Generalls were with his Highness, tarried a quarter of an hower in the roome before one word passed from either. At length they began and complained of the parliament His Highness . . . would you have me doe? Are not they of your own garbling? Did not you admit whom you pleased and keep out whom you pleased? And now doe you complain to me? Did I meddle with it? And so withdrew.<sup>54</sup>

Whether or not Morgan's report was correct in details, this is precisely the line the Protector took when the matter was formally presented to him. The foreign envoys—for whatever their opinion is worth—all agreed that he was privy to the whole proceeding; and Bordeaux wrote to Mazarin that Richard Cromwell had seen the document several days before it was introduced into the House.<sup>55</sup> Ludlow, with his usual animosity, declared the whole thing was a device of Cromwell "who was vehemently desirous to be a King"; and that it was "prepared by his creatures."<sup>56</sup> The most that can be said, however, is that it is all but inconceivable that he did not know of such an important project; and he may even have approved of it, if only as a trial balloon.

In any event, so far as may be judged, many of those closest to him favored it, with a reservation which was of importance thereafter; for it was finally determined by 100 to 44 to debate it in the House part by part,<sup>57</sup> which, in effect, separated the question of kingship from that of revision or replacement of the *Instrument*. That decision was not arrived at until Wednesday, by which time it was decided not to sit on Thursday and to appoint Friday as a day "to seek the Lord," Thursday being given up to a prayer-meeting of the officers, and, presumably, to discussion among the members. Those meetings, as the experience of past years had proved, were admirably adapted

<sup>52</sup> "Cromwell's Speech," *Understudy*, p. 259.

<sup>53</sup> "Cromwell's Speech," *Understudy*, p. 259.

<sup>54</sup> Ludlow, II, 21.

<sup>57</sup> Burton, I, 379.

to such crises as these. Each man could confide to the Almighty what he might have hesitated to entrust to his colleagues. In any event, it appeared that the meeting not only was "the busines of Kingshupp . . . debated," but afterwards,

hearing the Majour Generalls were met at the Lord Desborough's lodgings . . . of the bill for Kingshupp, and that done towld them, altho' they were Members of Parliament, yet they were fellow members of the army with them, and . . . hee invited . . . waite upon the eye of Providence therein. After severall officers had particularly delivered their judgements in dislicke of the thung, the meting brooke upp<sup>28</sup>

The discussion was not confined to officers or members of Parliament. The fast-day sermons were preached on Friday morning by Philip Nye and Patrick C<sup>29</sup>. Nye moderately, Gillespie bi . . . Protector play in all this? Ostensibly he took no part in the matter, and, as it happened, he found an excellent reason for withdrawing from the whole affair, in a fashion peculiarly suited to the time, the circumstances, and his own character. Gillespie had met with him at least once since the disputation between the Resolutioners and the Protesters, possibly on the day the *Remonstrance* was introduced, and Cromwell had asked the Scottish representatives to attend on the next day while the *Remonstrance* was so bitterly debated, and while the fate of the nation hung, as it were, in the balance, the Protector held another session with the ministers, of which the industrious Sharp left an account:

At our . . . with the Protesters is lookt upon by . . . Mr Alexander Inglis? When came you huther? Have you any bussines with me?

After Inglis had presented a petition and then withdrawn,

the Protector asked one of his waiters if Mr Caryll was in the house, and rownds to another of them to go for M. Manton, and another to call for Lock[y]er. All being removed, he speaks to us, that having heard us the other day, he had set apart this tyme to hear us againe that he might be cleared to fall upon that expedient which might reach the end, the glory of

<sup>28</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 91-92.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.



God and the purity of the exercise of religion, and then speake to his sense of what he had heard the last day, yet so as that no expression past him which should bear the determination of his judgment to either of us. I observe that

expression), he adds some what in favour of us, so to guard his expressions

a known liar, does all the time of our debate take notes of what passeth, especially for spreading of these lyes

The Protector addit that he desired to know whether we would goe on where we left the other day, or take an other way. [To this he added presently] that if our Church Constitution was strange, and should not but justly complaine of it

When Guthrie claimed that even when the plurality had been on the side of the Protesters, some had been appointed to the presbyteries by the Resolutioners, the Protector said, "If it be so, you violate your own Constitutions which you plead for, which if you do, there can follow nothing but arbitrarines." Finally, after Wariston had spoken

in such an impetuous confused way as the Protector, to M. Manton's sense, was troubled to hear him . . . it drawing towards two a clock, the Protector sayd he wished this bussiness were putt to some issue. They had alleadged thus and thus, and I had answered what upon information, what by reason and my knowledge, I well could, yea, all that could be expected of me (these were his words). If they had any more to offer he would be ready to hear them

Guthrie had the names of . . . replied that many of the charges had been disproved, and that any instance they could bring, I desired it might be referred to the severall places to be tryed"

The Protector asked what I meant by referring the instances to tryall upon the place, if I would have him send a Commission thither to cognosce upon them. I sayed . . . that they might be tryed by the competent judicatures, and I thought they . . . any that they were not such as were alleadged. Thursday come again in the forenoon, and let me hear what further you have to say<sup>60</sup>

Such was the way in which the Protector spent his time while the question of the *Remonstrance* was being debated in the House. On

<sup>60</sup> Sharp to Robt. Douglas, Feb. 1657, *Register of Consultations*, II, 5-17, *passim*, cp. Wariston, *Diary*, III, 65-66.

Friday, in addition to sermons by Nye and Gillespie, Caryll and Manton also preached; and "when the duty of the day was over at Whitehall," about a hundred of the officers, having also kept a day of humiliation, presented to the Protector a copy of the *Remonstrance*, and expressed through Colonel Mills their displeasure with it.<sup>61</sup> To this

lars. The first is that recorded by Burton, the second is the account sent to Henry Cromwell by Major Anthony Morgan.

*Speech to the Army Officers, Feb 27, 1656-7*

That the first man that told him of it was he, the mouth of the officers then present (meaning Col. Mills), that for his part, he had never been at any cabal about the same (hinting by that the frequent cabals that were against kingship by certain officers). He said the time was when they boggled not at the word (king) for the Instrument by which the Government now stands was presented to be accepted. But now it comes to pass that they now startle at that title, they best know in a hat, as little as the occasions; to dissolve the Long Parliament, who had contracted evil enough by long sitting, to call a Parliament or convention of their naming, who met, and what did they? Fly at liberty and property, insomuch as if one man had twelve cows, they held another that wanted cows ought to take a share with his neighbour. Who could have said any thing was their own, if they had gone on? After their dissolution how was I pressed by you (said he) for the rooting out of the Parliament heard of them in all that time. They took the Instrument into debate and they must needs be dissolved, and yet stood not the Instrument in need of mending. Was not the case hard with me, to be put upon to swear to that which was so hard to be kept? Some time after that you thought it was necessary to have Major-Generals, and the first rise to that motion then was the late general insurrections and was justifiable, and you Major-Generals did your parts well. You might have gone on. Who bid you go to the House with a bill and there receive a foil?

After you had exercised this power awhile, impatient were you till a Parliament was called. I gave my vote against it, but you [were] confident by your own strength and interest, to get men chosen to your heart's desire. How you have failed therein, and how much the country hath been disobliged, is well known. That it is time to come to a settlement and lay aside arbitrary proceedings, so unacceptable to the nation. And by the proceedings of this Parliament, you see they stand in need of a check or balancing power (meaning the House of Lords or a House so constituted) for the Case of James Naylor might happen to be your own case. By their judicial power, they fall

<sup>61</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 92, which has also a short summary of the speech.



will grow upon your liberty in Religion I abhor James Naier's principle, yet interposed. You see what my letter signified This Instrument of Government will not doe your worke. Choose 6 or 7 out of your number to come and speake with me and [I will] give them further satisfaction, and so good night."<sup>53</sup>

From the accounts of this event and of the situation which had produced it, two things are evident. The first is that the Protector found himself in a peculiarly difficult situation, urged on the one side to accept another title, specifically that of king, and urged on the other by those who had followed him through the wars to renounce any thought of a title which was so obnoxious to them. The second is that he was prepared to put the blame of recent events upon others. And to these might be added a third consideration. It was that he was not prepared either to accept or to renounce the proposals made to him. Giavarina's opinion was that his "conference" was rather a threat than a friendly conference, in that opinion, unfavorable as it is. Morgan added to his report of the speech that Sydenham, who had been "most furious" against the *Remonstrance*, had absented himself from the House after the conference, but that "many others comply, and wee go soberly but slowly on."<sup>54</sup> Such an important question naturally deserved, and received, the fullest consideration. It had been ordered on Tuesday the 24th that the judges and lawyers who were members of the House, as well as all others, should attend constantly and not depart without leave,<sup>55</sup> but it hardly needed such an order under the circumstances.

On the 25th of March, 1657, Sir John Dungan, "in an eloquent and learned speech, argued that the articles should be discussed separately, giving at least one day to each, that the first article—that concerning the title—should be discussed last, and that their decisions on the separate articles should not bind them until everything had been definitely settled."<sup>56</sup> He carried the House with him, and thus the great debate began. It was not confined to the House. On the first of March there appeared from the pen of the indefatigable pamphleteer, William Prynne, a pamphlet, *King Richard the Third Revived*, which, though it avoided all direct reference to Oliver and the proposal to make him king, added fuel to the flame. It adduced the classic instance of usurpation in English history. His conclusion held a warning not to be disregarded:

<sup>53</sup> Mar. 3, 1657, from *Lansdowne Mss.*, 821, f. 100. <sup>54</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xviii, 60-61. <sup>55</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xviii, 60-61.

<sup>56</sup> Burton, i, 379.

<sup>57</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Mar. 6/16, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 27.

Yet it is both solid Piety, Policy, Prudence, in such an age as thus, for all considerate, conscientious Englishmen, advisedly to remember, read, consider the Tragical ends, as well as the successfull Beginnings, Proceedings of

It was a warning no less to the Protector's supporters and to the people of England than it was to Cromwell himself; and it did not stand alone. It was not to be expected that such a startling proposition as that to make Cromwell king should escape the pens of the members of that House may be called representatives of the people.

Of matters outside the center of affairs which were brought to the Protector's notice, Monk transmitted a report from Colonel Timothy Wilkes, now in command of Fenwick's regiment, concerning the progress of the fortification of Leith, on which the English had spent much time and effort in 1650. Monk also reported that it was possible, though Wilkes had estimated that only £2,800 more was necessary. Later in the week Monk wrote asking for another foot-regiment and announcing the escape from Edinburgh Castle of Major-General Robert Montgomery and the Earl of Kinnoull.<sup>70</sup> From the Continent the States General voted compliance with Cromwell's request for the release of Dutch ships bound for England with supplies of hemp and tar.<sup>71</sup> Lockhart was advised by Thurloe of the presence in Paris of "an able gentleman" from York, Lord Falconbridge, whom Cromwell much respected and desired Lockhart to notice.<sup>72</sup> The Protector respected Falconbridge the more, perhaps, in that he was to become the husband of Cromwell's daughter later in that year and the Protector's favorite son-in-law, a young man who, in Lockhart's opinion, was "a person of extraordinary parts," and came to be pres-

<sup>70</sup> [Prynne], *King Richard the Third Revived*, p. 9, cp. Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, no. 905.

<sup>71</sup> See, among others, *The Serious Attestation* (*ibid.*, no. 908), *English Liberty and the States in Choosing a King* (*ibid.*, no. 880), *An Address to the*

<sup>72</sup> Monk to Cromwell, Feb. 26 and 28, Thurloe, vi, 79-81, Wilkes to Cromwell, Feb. 23, *ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>73</sup> Resolutions of States General, Feb. 26/Mar. 8, *ibid.*, p. 79, cp. Nieupoort, *ibid.*, p. 292.

ent at all audiences to foreign envoys.<sup>73</sup> It was reported also that, through the intercession of Bordeaux, Mazarin had been granted his request for 5,000 men, "but with some misgivings that when they reach France they will desert and proceed to Bruges to enrol under the banner of King Charles."<sup>74</sup> The latter's plans had, however, been delayed somewhat by the failure of Spain to keep her promises to send supplies,<sup>75</sup> though every report of the royal activities noted a design for invasion.<sup>76</sup>

Meanwhile Dury had been at the Diet of Ratis-  
 15 and had gone directly to the Elector of the Palatinate,  
 ter of state, from one of the Electors of the Empire"—possibly  
 Schlerzer—"who makes his application to his Highness the Lord  
 Bishop of Cologne for immediate success." Dury was  
 "highly pleased" by the letter which he received with a very great display of affection and good will,  
 telling me," wrote Dury, "that he would call me (because it was very  
 late in the evening) to discourse with me about my negotiation."<sup>80</sup>  
 With the return of Morland and Dury the principal part of the design  
 of drawing the Protestant states of Germany and Switzerland into  
 some kind of an alliance came to an end, save for the continued pres-  
 ence of Pell in Switzerland, though the negotiations with the Baltic  
 powers still went on. To these were added moves in still more remote  
 regions. During the first week of March, the Council, in its two meet-  
 ings on Tuesday the 3rd and Thursday the 5th, was chiefly concerned  
 with recommendations to the Protector to advise him to appoint  
 Thurloe to speak with George Fleetwood, the envoy from Sweden,  
 in regard to sending an envoy to the Emperor of Muscovy, and that  
 Nathaniel Luke be sent as English representative to the fleet at  
 Tetuan, with instructions to be prepared by the Admiralty Commis-  
 sioners.<sup>81</sup> It was probably shortly after this that an authorization to  
 that effect was issued.

<sup>75</sup>Thurloe, vi, 125, 134, and Bordeaux's letter, quot. in Lomas-Carlyle, III, 147 and

<sup>74</sup> C. J. ... (1999), p. 25.

2 (L, 1657), p. 46.

<sup>78</sup> Erdmannsdorffer says he returned Feb. 18/28 (p. 758)

<sup>79</sup> *Summary Account*, p. 46.

<sup>80</sup> K. Brauer, *Letter from Dury*.

<sup>51</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), pp. xxi, 300, 302, 305.

*Instrument for creating Nathaniel Luke consul at Salle, Arsilla, etc.*

Whereas it is found necessary and advantageous to our merchants and people trading into the Levant seas that a consul be appointed to reside at the ports of Salle, Arsilla, Tetuan, Safia, Santa-Cruz, on the coasts of Africa, to assist and direct them in those affaires from time to time, as occasion shall offer or require,<sup>82</sup> know yee that wee, reposcing trust and confidence in the faithfulness, prudence and experience of our well-beloved Nathaniel Luke to undertake the same charge and imployment, have of our speciall grace and favor nominated, constituted and appointed, as wee doe hereby nominate, the said Nathaniel Luke, to be our consul in the an, Safia, Santa Cruz aforesaid, authorising and requiring him, either in person or by deputy, to direct and assist our merchants and people aforesaid in their commerce and businesse and all other things appertaining to the duty of consul to doe and performe

And wee doe hereby grant unto him, the said Nathaniel Luke, our consul as aforesaid, or any of his deputyes, two per cent upon all goods which shall  
consul lawfully due, insident and belonging

And wee desire all persons whom it may concerne to be ayding, counselling

Finally, on Thursday, March 5, attention was given to the preparations for Meadows' journey to Denmark,<sup>84</sup> which, for the moment, cleared up the business of foreign affairs, which had now stretched far beyond the earlier negotiations with Holland, France, Spain and the Protestant states of Germany and Switzerland. On this same Thursday, the Council also advised the Protector to issue a warrant for preparing a new charter for Glasgow University, recommended by the committee on the petition of its Principal, Patrick Gillespie,<sup>85</sup> and in accordance with an order of January 22, 1656-7, a letter was drafted to the Commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland.

*To the Commissioners for Administration of Justice in Scotland*

Trusty and Welbeloved, Wee greet you well; Whereas on the 15 of April 1656, Wee did w[ith] the advise of our Counsell, pass an Ord[e]r for the releife

<sup>82</sup> The editors note that "this affirmation is completely inaccurate and the nomination of an English consul at Tetuan was motivated solely by reasons of political and maritime order"

<sup>83</sup> *Les Sources Inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1<sup>e</sup> ser. (Paris 1936), III, 586-87. The date is not given more closely than between Mar. 3/13 and Oct. 31/Nov. 10, 1657, but it must have been before the latter date because Cap. John Stokes wrote to Thurloe then "of the peace confirmed by Mr. Nathaniel Luke as also of the residence of Mr. Luke" (*ibid.*, pp. 588-89n).

<sup>84</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. 304.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 304-5, the charter bears the date of July 8, 1657, see *infra*.

of Debtors in Scotland, moderating the Rigour  
 Cred[it]ors ag[ain]st Debtors there, and referred it to you to put the same  
 in execucon, And now finding by the peticon of some persons therein con-  
 cerned that little or noe progress hath been made therein, Whereby the  
 s[ai]d Debtors are or may be very much damnified, And the rather for th[at]  
 we have therefore thought fitt  
 to recōmend it to you, to  
 cause a speedy and effectuall execucon to be had by th[at] Order according to  
 the tenor and purport thereof  
 [March 3, 1656-7] O. P.<sup>88</sup>

Amid these various and widely separated concerns of the Protector and his Council, the question of the *Remonstrance* was not neglected. "Three major-generals," it was reported, "are come about for a second house and a successor,"<sup>87</sup> and Bridge wrote, "Wee have had a notable contending both in publique and private, but having spent our powder wee now growe very calme, and growe towards a reconcillemente."<sup>88</sup> On Monday, March 2, the debate was only on the first paragraph of the *Remonstrance*, it being voted by the Protector's "consent"—perhaps more properly his request—as a concession to Fleetwood and Desborough, that the proposal to exchange the title of Protector for that of King be postponed to the end of the discussion.<sup>89</sup> On Tuesday it was decided that Cromwell should name his successor.<sup>90</sup> Wednesday, Thursday and Friday were spent, in part at least, in debate on the question of the "Other House." Meanwhile on Wednesday several of the officers who had met at Whitehall on Tuesday appointed a committee from among their number

to represent their thoughts and desires in some better composure then could be done by soe many together, which was presented both modestly and freely, and as acceptably received, tender and plaine discovery of his antient cause of the honnest people under his government, and gave such Christian assurance thereof that amounted to a large satisfaccion both to them and to the Councill, to whom those officers did yesterday [March 9] make their reports.<sup>91</sup>

The Protector did not, apparently, commit himself to any particular line of action, but the committee assured him of "their satisfaction in his Highnes, and of their resolutions to acquiesce in what hee should

<sup>88</sup> *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, vi, pt. II, 762b, cp. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 246, 301.

<sup>87</sup> "The Officers of the Army" Burton, I, 385.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Jephson to Henry Cromwell, Mar. 3, 1656, p. 50, *ibid.*, 423.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 498.

<sup>91</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 95-96.



thinke to bee for the good of these nations."<sup>92</sup> It is no wonder that Morland wrote to Pell that Thurloe "is hardly at leisure either to  
 . . . and  
 have declared to live and die with him"<sup>93</sup>

The Protector, indeed, walked a slippery path, full of pitfalls, and, as always, he walked warily. The major-generals were going or had gone, and though he had put . . . for their creation on the officers, that maneuver had done little to conciliate either the major-generals, the officers or the people generally. The decimation tax had failed with the defeat of the Militia Bill; it had been necessary to find money for the war and at this embarrassing moment there had risen the tempest over the new constitution and the new title. Nor was this all. . . . He advised the House that the Protector . . . to raise new forces for the war; and though the House consented,<sup>94</sup> of necessity, this additional demand did nothing to calm the storm, especially since some of Cromwell's own followers, notably Lambert, had opposed the enterprise from the beginning. Moreover the French negotiation was meeting with difficulties. Lockhart had not yet taken up his duties as ambassador because of the disagreement as to the terms of the alliance, which the Protector seemed to desire of longer duration than did Mazari.<sup>95</sup> . . . the financial troubles at home . . . ambassador, on March 4, he had been startled at the presence of the retinues of the other envoys, among them a hundred horse of Savoy besides a large number of lackeys. On the other hand, the Venetian ambassador in Paris, Giustinian, reported, "in the end it all redounded to his honour and glory, as it made his company more noble and imposing. . . . they treated Cromwell's ambassador as a prince's although a little while ago they refused to do the same for the minister of our republic."<sup>96</sup>

Intelligence from Utrecht indicated that there was little faith there in the Protector, and that his treaty with France had been more help to him than to the French Protestants, whom it was supposed to benefit.<sup>97</sup> An intelligencer in the Hague wrote that he was suspected of being opposed to the Danes,<sup>98</sup> but Giavarina's opinion was that in reality he was apprehensive . . . move with the support of . . .

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>93</sup> March 19/29, Vaughan, II, 127, and Buiton, I, 385n, from *Lansdowne MS.* 755, no. 61.

<sup>94</sup> *C. J.*, VII, 499-500.

<sup>95</sup> *Giustinian to the Doge, Venice, Mar. 16/26, Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 26.

<sup>96</sup> . . .

<sup>97</sup> Mar. 6/16, Thurloe, VI, 99.

<sup>98</sup> Mar. 6/16, *ibid.*, p. 101.

son Meadows was being sent to Denmark to ask that power to refrain from intervention in behalf of Poland, "protesting that in such case England will be obliged to take the side of Sweden more vigorously defending her everywhere and against everybody without any reserve."<sup>99</sup> England's foreign affairs were growing more numerous

all was not well with the programme of uniting the Protestant states of C- The second is the usual letter of protest, this time to the Duke of Savoy, in regard to the treatment of English ships:

*To the most Serene and Illustrious Prince and Lord, the Lord William, Landgrave of Hesse, Prince of Herfeldt, Count in Cutzenellebogen, Decia Ligenham, Widda, and Schaunburg, etc*

MOST SERENE PRINCE,

We had returned an answer to your letters sent us now near a twelve-month since, for which we beg your highness's pardon, had not many, and those the most important affairs of the republic under our care, the consideration of which we could not postpone, constrained us to this unwilling silence. For what letters could be more grateful to us, than those which are written from a most religious prince, descended from religious ancestors, in order to settle the peace of religion, and the harmony of the church? which letters attribute to us the same inclinations, the same zeal to promote the peace of Christendom not only in your own but in the opinion we are most highly glad to find so universally ascribed to ourselves. And how far our endeavours have been signal formerly throughout these three kingdoms, and what we have effected by our exhortations, by our sufferings, by our conduct, but chiefly by divine assistance, the greatest part of our people both well know, and are sensible of, in a deep tranquillity of their consciences. The same peace we have wished to the churches of Germany, whose dissensions have been too sharp, and of too long endurance; and by our agent Dury for many years in vain endeavouring the same reconciliation, we have cordially offered whatever might conduce on our part to the same purpose. We still persevere in the same determinations, and wish the same fraternal charity one among another, to those churches. But how difficult a task it is to settle peace among those sons of peace, as they give out themselves to be, to our extreme grief we more than abundantly understand. For that the reformed, and those of the Augustan confession, should cement together in a communion of one church, is hardly ever to be expected: it is impossible by force to prohibit either from defending their opinions, whether in private disputes, or by public writings, for force can never consist with ecclesiastical tranquillity. This only were to be wished, that they who differ, would suffer themselves to be entreated, that

<sup>99</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Mar. 6/16, *Cal S P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 28

they would disagree more civilly, and with more moderation; and notwithstanding their disputes, love one another, not embittered against each other as enemies, but as brethren dissenting only in trifles, though in the fundamentals of faith most cordially agreeing. With inculcating and persuading these things, we shall never be wearied, beyond that, there is nothing allowed to human force or counsels. God will accomplish his own work in his own time. In the mean while, you, most serene prince, have left behind you a noble testimony of your affection to the churches, an eternal monument becoming the virtue of ye . . . by all princes. It only

God to crown your highness with all the prosperity in other things which you can wish for, but not to change your mind, than which you cannot have a better since a better cannot be, nor more piously devoted to his glory.<sup>100</sup>

Westminster, March—, 1656-7

*To the Duke of Savoy*

The owners of a certain ship, called the *Welcome* of London, Henry Martin, master, have made complaint to us, that this ship laden with various goods, to the value of £25,000 while making her way to Genoa and Leghorn, was captured by a French ship, which carried forty-six guns, and three hundred and fifty men, with letters of marque granted by your Royal Highness, and carried by force into your port, which is commonly called Villafranca, and there detained, since such deeds ill befit the friendship and hitherto usual intercourse which has prevailed between England and your domains, we have thought it most just and proper to inform your Highness of the affair, on their behalf who have interest in this, since they are citizens of this Commonwealth, wherefore we demand that you instruct your people immediately that this ship with all its goods and merchandise be returned without inter-

is a most just and equitable demand, we doubt not but that your Royal Highness is ready most willingly to assent to it, and will persuade yourself, that if there should be occasion on your part of this kind, you will find like equity on the part of this Commonwealth and good will toward yourself. Westminster, [1656 or 1657]<sup>101</sup>

The letters to the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Savoy were not the only evidence of English activity in foreign affairs. Of that the presence of Blake's fleet off the coasts of Spain and northern Africa was a still more concrete testimony, not lost, it may be certain, on the Duke of Savoy. In June, 1655, Blake had set ashore the new agent, Browne, at Algiers to replace the former incumbent of that undesirable post, and he had since written at various times in regard to him, and presently to inform his government that, since Browne

<sup>100</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 427-28, Columbia *Milton*, no. 88, Hamilton, *Milton Papers*.

had not been well treated, he was sending two ships into the Mediterranean to "range the coast of Spain there"<sup>102</sup> Blake's expedition was, in fact, a new thing in diplomacy as well as in naval warfare. To

not merely a tri- was an evidence of the power of the English revolutionary government, a striking and concrete evidence of the influence of sea-power in international affairs. It made a profound impression on all continental powers possessing sea-coasts. Unfortunately for the so-called Protestant Interest, it was not effective on many of the Protestant states, nor their neighbors. The mission of Dury, designed to combine those states, or at least their churches, had not succeeded in repressing theological differences, much less the political and economic rivalries which proved

been with the greatest difficulty that peace had been kept with the United Netherlands. It had seemed that at any moment that peace might be broken, partly on account of the strained situation in the Baltic; partly on account of Dutch assistance to Spain by carrying contraband, the English claim to the right of search and seizure and the Dutch counter-claim that neutral ships made neutral goods; and partly on account of the natural, world-wide rivalry between the two principal carrying powers in Europe. In the meantime the Protector aspired to appear as a champion of continental Protestants, to keep in touch with the states of the Reformed communions, and to offer a certain check on French ambitions while joining with Mazarin to oppose Spain. There was no great danger of an English invasion of the Continent, after the manner of Gustavus Adolphus, though the Protector's eagerness to have a bridge-head there, whether at Bordeaux, at Dunkirk, or even at Bremen, indicated that the idea of some kind of a rôle in continental politics was never absent from his mind.

## II

which the revolutionary government was about to take. That discussion had long been under in the form of action on and in the proposals for the formation of an "Other" or "Upper" House of "Lords." During the week of March 9 the House was chiefly employed in discussion of the *Remonstrance*, especially as to

<sup>102</sup> Blake, pp. 297, 362, 402, 405

the qualifications of the members of the "Other House" and their number, which was set finally, though not very decisively, at from forty to seventy, of which twenty-one was to be a quorum.<sup>103</sup> No less important was the eternal problem of finance. It was resolved that £1,300,000 be settled as a yearly revenue on the Protector and his successors, of which £300,000 was voted "for the support of the government," which a contemporary interpreted as being for "his family's expence", £1,000,000 for the army and navy, in the proportion respectively of four and six hundred thousand pounds. To raise this sum it was estimated that the excise and customs would produce £900,000; the Exchequer £200,000; "the remainder upon particular offices," but none from a land-tax.<sup>104</sup> Those estimates were highly optimistic. It has been reckoned that the actual receipts from the excise commissioners paid into the Exchequer in 1656 and 1657 never reached £200,000 and the most favorable estimates of the amounts due, including arrears and rebates, were never much over £500,000, excluding the separate "farm" of London, which, though it was let by itself for more than £250,000 a year, the Protector, at this moment so hard pressed for money, compounded for £10,000 cash.<sup>105</sup> It was, in fact, almost as difficult then as it is now to calculate receipts and expenditures under the Protectorate. Only one thing was certain: there was never enough money to meet the demands on the government. It operated continually at a deficit. Even adding the customs duties to the excise, it is apparent that the House overestimated the income from those sources by a substantial amount, for it does not appear that either then or thereafter did receipts come up to estimates, while expenditures in general exceeded them.

None of this disturbed the officers. It was noted, indeed, as remarkable that their former discontent had disappeared.<sup>106</sup> That may, indeed, have been due to the report that the Protector was "giveing out Commissions for the rayseing of 6000 foot; they are given out to be for forreigne service, some say to joyne with the Portugall against the Spanyard, others affirme that they are to joyne with the French against the Spanyard, but their designe is not yet certainly knowne."<sup>107</sup> Monk reported that the soldiers in Scotland were ready to accept any decision arrived at by Protector and Parliament in regard to the *Remonstrance*, adding, as usual, that he needed money to pay his men.<sup>108</sup> In the meantime, possibly on Sunday, March 8, but

<sup>103</sup> C. J., vii, 501-2.

<sup>104</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 97-98.

<sup>105</sup>

<sup>106</sup>

Henry

p. 106

<sup>107</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 97-98.

<sup>108</sup> Monk to Thurloe, Mar. 10, Thurloe, vi, 106

certainly before the 14th, in connection with Scotch affairs, Sharp appeared again some time after six in the evening, as he records, in the office chamber of the Council, to be told by the doorkeeper that he had been called for, apparently in regard to a petition presented by Guthrie with respect to the congregation of Stirling. He found there Ker, Gillespie, and James Simpson in addition to various Council members—Fleetwood, Lambert, Pickering, Broghill, Wolseley, and others. After the arrival of the last four, which, as Sharp noted, "did a little damp the countenances of the Protesters," the Protector "looks in on a sudden at the door, and viewing us all, sayd, 'Gentlemen it were good we had a Council to night. I see there are but 5 of you there. I will send for the President', and turning him about, sayed, 'How doe you, my L Broghill?' who followed him to the door . . ." In such casual fashion the Council was called—and the Scottish petition put off until the 18th.<sup>109</sup>

It is not surprising that the prospect of active service after such a long period of garrison and patrol duty raised the spirits of the officers, and that there was such a prospect was evident. The Council, indeed, in its two meetings in this week, with the Protector present at one<sup>110</sup> and approving some twelve orders,<sup>111</sup> directed its attention largely to foreign affairs. Meadows had been named to go to Denmark and was now voted £1,000 a year as envoy,<sup>112</sup> and the Protector was advised to send the resident at Hamburg, Richard Bradshaw, as envoy to the Grand Duke of Muscovy.<sup>113</sup> The chief duty of each man was to endeavor to incline the rulers of Denmark and Muscovy to Sweden.<sup>114</sup> That was natural, not only in view of the Protector's relations with Charles X Gustavus, but especially if, as Lockhart believed, he had advanced Sweden some 200,000 crowns—which, incidentally, was the amount Mazarin now planned to send in addition to what he had already contributed.<sup>115</sup> Meanwhile in Paris on March 13, Lockhart achieved the final form of the treaty between France and England,<sup>116</sup> Brienne and de Lionne agreeing for France that neither country should make a separate peace with Spain for a period of one year.<sup>117</sup> In preparation for carrying out his part of the agreement, which involved an attack on Dunkirk, the Protector was reported

<sup>109</sup> Sharp to [David Dickson, Robt Douglas, Geo Hutchinson], Mar. 14, *Register of the Council*, 1656, p. 227, p. 228, p. 229, p. 230, p. 231, p. 232, p. 233, p. 234, p. 235, p. 236, p. 237, p. 238, p. 239, p. 240, p. 241, p. 242, p. 243, p. 244, p. 245, p. 246, p. 247, p. 248, p. 249, p. 250, p. 251, p. 252, p. 253, p. 254, p. 255, p. 256, p. 257, p. 258, p. 259, p. 260, p. 261, p. 262, p. 263, p. 264, p. 265, p. 266, p. 267, p. 268, p. 269, p. 270, p. 271, p. 272, p. 273, p. 274, p. 275, p. 276, p. 277, p. 278, p. 279, p. 280, p. 281, p. 282, p. 283, p. 284, p. 285, p. 286, p. 287, p. 288, p. 289, p. 290, p. 291, p. 292, p. 293, p. 294, p. 295, p. 296, p. 297, p. 298, p. 299, p. 300, p. 301, p. 302, p. 303, p. 304, p. 305, p. 306, p. 307, p. 308, p. 309, p. 310, p. 311, p. 312, p. 313, p. 314, p. 315, p. 316, p. 317, p. 318, p. 319, p. 320, p. 321, p. 322, p. 323, p. 324, p. 325, p. 326, p. 327, p. 328, p. 329, p. 330, p. 331, p. 332, p. 333, p. 334, p. 335, p. 336, p. 337, 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<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.

<sup>112</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Mar. 11/21, *ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>113</sup> *Register of the Council*, 1656, p. 227, p. 228, p. 229, p. 230, p. 231, p. 232, p. 233, p. 234, p. 235, p. 236, p. 237, p. 238, p. 239, p. 240, p. 241, p. 242, p. 243, p. 244, p. 245, p. 246, p. 247, p. 248, p. 249, p. 250, p. 251, p. 252, p. 253, p. 254, p. 255, p. 256, p. 257, p. 258, p. 259, p. 260, p. 261, p. 262, p. 263, p. 264, p. 265, p. 266, p. 267, p. 268, p. 269, p. 270, p. 271, p. 272, p. 273, p. 274, p. 275, p. 276, p. 277, p. 278, p. 279, p. 280, p. 281, p. 282, p. 283, p. 284, p. 285, p. 286, p. 287, p. 288, p. 289, p. 290, p. 291, p. 292, p. 293, p. 294, p. 295, p. 296, p. 297, p. 298, p. 299, p. 300, p. 301, p. 302, p. 303, p. 304, p. 305, p. 306, p. 307, p. 308, p. 309, p. 310, p. 311, p. 312, p. 313, p. 314, p. 315, p. 316, p. 317, p. 318, p. 319, p. 320, p. 321, p. 322, p. 323, p. 324, p. 325, p. 326, p. 327, p. 328, p. 329, p. 330, p. 331, p. 332, p. 333, p. 334, p. 335, p. 336, p. 337, p. 338, p. 339, p. 340, p. 341, p. 342, p. 343, p. 344, p. 345, 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<sup>117</sup> *Register of the Council*, 1656, p. 227, p. 228, p. 229, p. 230, p. 231, p. 232, p. 233, p. 234, p. 235, p. 236, p. 237, p. 238, p. 239, p. 240, p. 241, p. 242, p. 243, p. 244, p. 245, p. 246, p. 247, p. 248, p. 249, p. 250, p. 251, p. 252, p. 253, p. 254, p. 255, p. 256, p. 257, p. 258, p. 259, p. 260, p. 261, p. 262, p. 263, p. 264, p. 265, p. 266, p. 267, p. 268, p. 269, p. 270, p. 271, p. 272, p. 273, p. 274, p. 275, p. 276, p. 277, p. 278, p. 279, p. 280, p. 281, p. 282, p. 283, p. 284, p. 285, p. 286, p. 287, p. 288, p. 289, p. 290, p. 291, p. 292, p. 293, p. 294, p

to have sent 500 men to Yarmouth, 800 to Norwich, and the remainder of 5,000 which he was to provide for the Flanders expedition, to port towns in Norfolk, Suffolk and the west <sup>118</sup>

The Protector's West Indian expedition was not going as well as his ventures in European diplomacy. Brayne had now to report that by the end of February Colonel Stokes and his wife, two-thirds of the planters and a third of the soldiers who had gone out with him to Jamaica were dead and the rest were sickly; while provisions were so urgently needed that he had given orders that the cattle were to be killed to keep the settlers alive <sup>119</sup>. Moreover there was trouble in the Mediterranean. Some time in these days Bernardi attended the Protector to present a remonstrance in regard to the treatment of two ships belonging to two gentlemen of Genoa, Stefano Pallavicini and Giuseppe Maria Grimaldo, whose cargoes had been seized on their way to Seville by Blake, despite the Genoese protests. Bernardi declared that though Blake had been shown the evidence that the Genoese merchants were the owners of the property, he had persisted in the seizure, advising them to seek justice—presumably from the Protector—which they now did. The matter touched Cromwell perhaps more closely than Blake could have known, as the Protector's reply to Bernardi indicated:

*Answer of his Highness to remonstrance presented March 13/23, 1656-7*

... we have ever and most cordially esteem the gentle demonstrations of  
of  
all occasions, and particularly in this congratulatory office that you make to us in their name, wherefore we beg you to give them in our name many thanks, and also assure them that we shall never neglect the occasion to serve them and manifest the esteem we hold for such a sincere and cordial friendship.

Touching is the lamentation that you make to us in the name of those worthy persons (one of them it is convenient for me to call a relative, having derived from the family of Chevalier Oratio Pallavicino who married a daughter of ours),<sup>120</sup> the particulars of which we may suppose to be contained in this paper. You may rest assured that we ourselves shall see you again in particular and shall grant you all justice, of this you will receive an early answer, the affection and  
that the least of its  
subjects will always receive from us every favour and justice.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Mr Robinson [Rumbold] to [Ormonde], Mar. 16/26, Macray, III, 264, no 792.

<sup>119</sup> Brayne to Cromwell, Mar. 15, Thurloe, VI, 110.

<sup>120</sup> The Cromwell-Pallavicini relationship was complicated and, though close, was not, as might be supposed from the Protector's statement, in his own immediate family. Cp. vol. I, ch. I of this work and Mark Noble, *Memoirs* (Birmingham, 1787), II, 173-80, also *Atti della Soc. Ligure di St. Patria*, XVI, 405-6.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 406-7.

In the midst of these negotiations and activities in the foreign and colonial field, Council, Parliament and press continued with the business of the *Remonstrance* and incidentally with that of the title of kingship. That this proposal received some government support seems to be suggested by the fact that for the week of March 12-19 *Mercurius Politicus* began a series of letters from the pen of that accomplished—and mercenary—journalist, Marchamont Nedham, then in government employ. Dated "Utopia" they were obviously intended to prepare the public mind for the restoration of kingship,

immediately,<sup>125</sup> the House continued its revision of the *Instrument of Government* or the drawing up of a new system, for the moment avoiding the controversial question of the title to be conferred on Cromwell. It increased the number of the Council from fifteen to twenty-one, resolved that the "chief magistrate" have the disposal of the armed forces with the consent of Parliament, or in its absence that of the Council, and it determined the limitation of the "Other House" with respect to criminal as well as civil cases. Finally, to end the endless dispute over religion, it stipulated that the "true and constant Christian Religion" was that "contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament," recommending that a confession of faith be drawn up and agreed to by Protector and Parliament, providing for those who "differ in doctrine, worship, or discipline, from the public profession held forth, endeavours shall be used to convince them, by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation." They promised toleration and protection to all ministers or public preachers and all others "who shall agree with the public profession in matters of faith, although in their judgment and practice they differ in matters of worship and discipline," but those who would not conform to the principles they laid down were not to be capable of receiving public maintenance in the ministry or any civil employment.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Cp. Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, nos 880, 910, etc.

<sup>126</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), nos 310-17. The chief item of public interest among the letters of Cromwell to the *C* from the inhabitants of York, Kittery, Saco, Wells etc. to confirm their jurisdiction under Massachusetts (*Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., Doc. Hist.*, ser. 2, iv, 137-42). March 20 seems to have been the date of a "Ratificatione and Confirmatione" by the inhabitants of a small town in England in favour of our unity for seven years.

which the University is titular, to be used for the library, fabric and buildings (confirmation July 8, 1657, *Munimenta Alme Univ. Glasg.* (1854), i, 336, 340).

<sup>124</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 316-17.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317.

<sup>126</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 505-9.



On its face this seemed to obviously did not apply to R the next day, March 21, there was referred to a committee the question of providing measures against Popery in Scotland and Ireland such as existed in England and to consider "how the people of this Commonwealth may be restrained from going to mass at the houses of the ambassadors, or other places"<sup>127</sup> In this connection, it was apparently on the night of the 18th that the journalist Marchamont Nedham was in Dr Goodwin's lodgings in Whitehall and there met the Protector who "asked him the news" Nedham told him that "*vox populi* said Mr Nye should be Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Owen of York."<sup>128</sup> This, however humorously expressed, taken in connection with the vote of the House in regard to religion and the controversy over conferring the title of king on the Protector, had in it a certain element of irony In the five years of its existence, between 1643 and 1648, with its additional meetings until 1652, the Westminster Assembly had finally produced its Confession of Faith and its Catechisms for the use of the Presbyterians. These were not in all respects satisfactory to the Independents or Congregationalists, who issued their Savoy Declaration or Confession in 1658, and neither of these, in turn, was agreeable to the other denominations or sects, like the Baptists and the Quakers Even the Scottish Presbyterian Resolutioners and Remonstrants were at odds with each other; and if, as was said, it was "the business of a Dissenter to dissent," it is apparent that Parliament's religious resolutions were rather the evidence of things hoped for than the substance of things seen. It was this question, among others, which complicated the issue of the acceptance of the title of king by Cromwell He had acted, in fact, in the capacity of the head of Nonconformity, as a king in the appointment of Triers and Ejectors, in the conferring and augmentation of livings, but were he king, was he to be the head of a new Established Nonconformist church, as the Stuart monarchs had been the head of the Anglican establishment; and did the House propose to set up a new organization as—in fact, if not in theory—the Tudor parliaments had set up the Anglican system? These were difficult problems, as no one realized better than Cromwell himself, and the jest of his journalist had in it a sharp barb of truth

Apart from these greater issues, the House resolved to recommend to the Protector a pardon for the conspirator Cecil, who, like Toop, had apparently saved his life by confession<sup>129</sup> And to complicate the religious problem still further, Monk wrote from Scotland to complain

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, p. 509

<sup>128</sup> Robinson to Williamson, Mar 19, *Cal S P Dom* (1656-7), p 318

<sup>129</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 509

of the increasing number of Quakers there and to beg that the quorum of the Council there be made up, not forgetting to add that £5,000 was still needed for the fortification of Leith.<sup>130</sup> Reports from other directions were still more unfavorable. Maynard wrote from Lisbon that Don Francisco de Mello had been selected by the Queen of Portugal as ambassador to England; but though he was expected to go about the middle of May,<sup>131</sup> his arrival was delayed until mid-August,<sup>132</sup> and meanwhile Anglo-Portuguese relations were more or less at a stand. Still more disturbing was intelligence to the effect that the prevailing opinion in Denmark and Italy was that the States General would declare war on England within a month.<sup>133</sup> On the other hand, it was reported from Rome that the King of Spain had offered, or would offer, Cromwell free trade in the West Indies and toleration for all Englishmen in his territories in return for a breach with France and Sweden and a treaty with Spain.<sup>134</sup> In the meantime it seems that Lord Falconbridge called on Lockhart, who approved of him, and gave Lockhart a letter for the Protector, to whom he professed great loyalty. Lockhart insisted that Falconbridge was not a Catholic, as had been charged, and wrote Thurloe to urge the Protector to look for himself into Falconbridge's reputation.<sup>135</sup> In itself the incident seems to have little or no significance—but Falconbridge was a suitor for the hand of Mary Cromwell, and it would appear that his reputation was satisfactory, for he and the Protector's daughter were married in the following autumn.

The Council, on the other hand, was very busy, and it may be that the members of the Council were absorbed in their duties there. It would not be surprising if this were the case, for the business of the formation of a new scheme for the government was coming to a head. The Council, in the qualifications for members for a new Parliament were outlined and forty-one commissioners were ordered appointed to determine "whether the members to be elected for the House of Commons, in future Parliaments, be capable to sit, according to the qualifications mentioned in this Remonstrance,"<sup>136</sup> which indicated that Protector and Council intended to control later parliaments as they controlled this one. To

<sup>130</sup> Monk to Cromwell, Mar. 21, Thurloe, vi, 136

<sup>131</sup> Maynard to Thurloe, Mar. 16, *ibid.*, p. 118

<sup>132</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 103

<sup>133</sup> Thurloe, vi, 121, 127

<sup>134</sup> Longland to Thurloe, Leghorn, Mar. 20/30, *ibid.*, p. 127

<sup>135</sup> Lockhart to Cromwell, Mar. 18/28, *ibid.*, p. 125, same to Thurloe, Mar. 21/31, *ibid.*, p. 134

<sup>136</sup> Burton, I, 391.



of the Protector, in spite of this connection, separated from their party on this occasion and being members of parliament exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent this decision. It is a matter of public conversation that Flitod was so moved that he did not hold back his resolution carried by the supporters of his Highness who from the first meeting of parliament have shown their determination to confer this high rank upon him<sup>141</sup>

Fleetwood, in fact, wrote to Henry Cromwell that he feared the question would pass in the affirmative, "which will be a sadde greife to the hearts of good people whose hopes are only in his Highness"<sup>142</sup> Lambert's opposition had been evident from the beginning With Strickland he had been a teller against bringing the *Remonstrance* into the House; and Thurloe had written Henry Cromwell at that time that "The great man [Lambert] and some other considerable officers are against it. . . . I do verily beleeeve, that Lambert will, if it can be done, put the army into a distemper"<sup>143</sup> Lambert, Sydenham and Desborough "still stand out upon the sullen posture," wrote Jephson "Whaley, Butler, Goffe and divers others grow good-natur"<sup>144</sup>

What the nation at large thought, and especially what the Protector thought, can only be surmised There were some pamphlets, but it there is nothing to be gained from the news-sheets, which were under the control of Thurloe's office and expressed only such opinions as were permitted by the government As to Cromwell himself there is no evidence, for, as usual in such cases, he was silent It is probable that if the offer of the title of king would have received such a majority in the House as it did, especially when all the information we have indicates that it was the Cromwellians who were in the majority That same information, scanty as it is, seems to indicate, as well, that army opinion was, in the main, against such a proposal, especially in the lower ranks At the end of March, Thurloe wrote that he was not "able to foresee what issue it will please God to bringe this great buissines to,"<sup>145</sup> and Richard Cromwell wrote that "those things that might be whispered ought not to be committed to paper"<sup>146</sup> On March 27 a committee of the House was appointed<sup>147</sup>

<sup>141</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlviii (1903), p. 35.

<sup>142</sup> *Id.*

<sup>143</sup> *Id.*

<sup>144</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlviii (1903), 67.

<sup>145</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlviii (1903), 67.

<sup>146</sup> *Id.*

<sup>147</sup> Richard Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Mar. 7, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlviii (1903), 79.

<sup>148</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 514.

and attended the Protector on the next day,<sup>149</sup> agreeing with him that he should meet the House at 11 in the morning of Tuesday, March 31 in the Banqueting House. The committee was a large and representative body of some sixty members, including men of all shades of opinion, Lisle, Broghill, Onslow, Whalley, Whitelocke, Desborough, Thurloe and Fleetwood.<sup>150</sup> On that same 27th of March Giavarina wrote that Cromwell was

certain to display his customary astuteness and profess his inability to support so great a burden, begging them not to lay it on him and he will find . . . in the meantime to win the consent of the military, who display such opposition to his desires. If he does not succeed in this he will try at least to divide them and draw over a part to his side, and this, joined with the supreme authority of parliament will raise him to the highest point without hindrance and render him powerful and invincible. . . . it is further asserted by one in a position to know that the crown is almost ready which is to serve for his coronation.<sup>151</sup>

So far as his prediction as to what the Protector would say is concerned, the shrewd Venetian might almost have written the speeches which Cromwell later delivered, and as to his story of the crown—which he did not, finally, accept—it is perhaps worthy of note, as a curious circumstance if nothing more, that when Cromwell died and lay in state, it was said that an "imperial" crown was placed on a pillow above his head.<sup>152</sup> Other foreign representatives received the same impression as that expressed by Giavarina. Schlezer predicted that he would assume the dignity of kingship,<sup>153</sup> and Bordeaux wrote to Mazarin that

people do not believe that he will give his answer on the spot, but it is the public belief that he will accept the offer of the crown, notwithstanding a new remonstrance which the officers of the army made to him at the end of last . . . title, and not against the power which . . . em more gently than in the other con- . . . intention to continue. Although this general discourse does not signify anything, some believed that he would yield to their desires and would certainly not take the title of king, but that rests on little basis.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>149</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, Mar. 26-Apr. 2; *Pub. Intell.*, Mar. 23-30.

<sup>150</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 514.

<sup>151</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Mar. 27/Apr. 6, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 36.

<sup>152</sup> *Rapport* n. 617.

761.

<sup>154</sup> Bordeaux to Mazarin, Mar. 30/Apr. 9, quot. by Firth in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlviii (1903), 66-67.

In the meantime the title of the *Remonstrance* was altered to that of *The Humble Petition and Advice* and various changes were made in its provisions and conditions. It was resolved that nothing in the document should be construed as a dissolution of the existing Parliament, but that it should continue to sit until the Protector saw fit to dissolve it; that unless the whole of the *Humble Petition and Advice* were accepted by him, no part of it should come into force, and that all laws already passed and accepted by Cromwell, whether as Lord Protector or as King, should remain in force.<sup>155</sup> To this period also belongs a letter in behalf of the grandson of the poet, Edmund Spenser, who had lived some time in Ireland as secretary to Lord Grey

On account of his mother's conversion to a Roman Catholic, who brought up her children in that faith; though William Spenser, according to Cromwell, renounced that faith, he was threatened with transplantation and his estate or part of it was given to Capt Peter Courthope and his troop. Despite Cromwell's letter, Spenser was transplanted, but he had his estate of Kilcolman given back to him after the Restoration,<sup>156</sup> when, incidentally, Courthope was knighted.<sup>157</sup>

*To the Lord Deputy and Council*

RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED,

A petition hath been exhibited unto us by William Spenser, setting forth that being but seven years old at the beginning of the Rebellion in Ireland, he repaired with his mother, his father being then dead,

that his grandfather Edmund Spenser and his father were both Protestants, from whom an estate of lands in the Barony of Fermoy and County of Cork descended on him, which during the Rebellion yielded him little or nothing towards his relief, that the said estate hath been lately given out to the soldiers in satisfaction of their arrears, only upon the account of his professing the Popish religion, which since his coming to years of discretion he hath, as

<sup>155</sup> Burton, 1, 395-396. Bills were passed for presentation to the Protector for the price of wine (C J, vii, 511-14, cp Whitelocke, p. 955) there is a 1111y Decal order of Mar 23 confirming the Council recommendation of Feb 19 for an allowance

Barbados, but as he had held that post since Aug., 1652, this may merely be another copy

<sup>156</sup> Cp Grosart, *Works of Edmund Spenser*, 1, App, p. 561, for a fuller account of the case

<sup>157</sup> Firth-Davies, ii, 589.

he professes, utterly renounced, that his grandfather was that Spencer, who by his writings, touching the reduction of the Irish to civility, brought on

now claims. We have also been informed that the gentleman is of a civil conversation and that the extremity his wants have brought him to have not prevailed over him to put him upon indirect<sup>158</sup> or evil practices for a livelihood, and if, upon inquiry, you shall find his case to be such, we judge it just and reasonable, and do therefore desire and authorise you that he be forthwith restored to his estate, and that reprisal lands be given to the soldiers elsewhere, in the doing whereof our satisfaction will be the greater by the continuance of that estate to the issue of his grandfather, for whose eminent deserts and services to the Commonwealth that estate was first given him.

We rest, your loving friend,

Whitehall  
27th March, 1657.

OLIVER P.<sup>159</sup>

It was apparently about this time that another and extraordinary Cromwell, apparently after the "great and terrible blow" of the Anglo-French treaty and the subsequent offering of the crown to Cromwell, Henrietta Maria requested Mazarin to write on behalf of the king to the Protector to ask for the recall of the French embassy to relieve her to Madame de Motteville, less to gratify her than to save the French treasury her pension. It could hardly be hoped that the Protector would grant such a request, but according to this story, he rejected it "insolently," because "she had never been recognized as queen in England."<sup>160</sup> That, certainly, was not true, and there seem to be no documents to confirm or deny the truth of the rest of Madame de Motteville's story, which on its face, however, is not improbable. This was not the only complication which arose from the proposal to make Cromwell king. Among the bits of information that were being passed around in England and on the Continent, Humphrey Robinson wrote to Williamson that "there was likely to have been a match between the Earl of Warwick's grandchild [Robert Rich] and the Protector's daughter, but this new dignity has altered it. It is reported that a match may be found" abroad.<sup>161</sup> Whatever its other

<sup>158</sup> "Indiscreet" in Lomas-Carlyle

<sup>159</sup> The "P" indicates that the letter was a private one. "to the Commissioners for Affairs in Ireland"

<sup>160</sup> Cp. "Mémoires de Madame de Motteville," in Petitot, *Coll. des Mémoires etc.*, xxxix (1824), iv, 414-15, Taylor, *Henrietta Maria* (1905), ii, 493, and Haynes, *Henrietta Maria* (1912), p. 274.

<sup>161</sup> Mar. 28, *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. 322.

results, the final refusal of the Protector to accept the crown worked at least to the advantage of this young couple, who were apparently greatly attached to each other, and when all the many difficulties which beset the match had been cleared away, were finally married in the following autumn, when the Protector's objections had been withdrawn.<sup>162</sup>

From various directions, meanwhile, came many pieces of rumor, spread information, some of them . . .  
a Major Jones for dishonesty, urged a scheme for establishing a militia without charge, in view of the renewed stories of Royalist activities;<sup>163</sup> and announced that Lieut.-col. Warren, an opponent of Ludlow, was the bearer of a petition for arrears due the army in Ireland.<sup>164</sup> In Hamburg, Bradshaw had heard through George Fleetwood that he . . . requested, if that was the . . . be permitted to go with him.<sup>165</sup> The rumor of Bradshaw's appointment was presently confirmed by Thurloe,<sup>166</sup> but it does not appear that either Dury or Marsh was permitted to go with him, and Dury remained in England. The treaty with Portugal was proclaimed in Lisbon on March 25,<sup>167</sup> thus settling affairs in that quarter for the moment; but from Paris Lockhart inquired what he was to do in regard to the breach between France and Holland, and in particular how he was to conduct himself toward the Dutch minister, Boreel<sup>168</sup>—which seems to indicate that the relations between England and the Netherlands were not as amicable as might be judged from other evidence, and that the Anglo-French treaty had not improved them. De Ruyter's activities in the Mediterranean had included the seizure of two French privateers and the blockading of a French squadron in the harbor of Spezzia, so that for some months it appeared that France and the Netherlands were on the brink of war. Thus in addition to his other activities, the Protector found it necessary to mediate between the French and the Dutch, which he was not slow to do, for such a breach would seriously affect his other plans.<sup>169</sup> Most of all was it necessary not to permit de Ruyter to carry the Spanish silver from the Canaries to Spain or to bring it thence to the Spanish Netherlands, where it was greatly needed. It was, therefore a delicate situation to keep on

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Dury to . . .  
vi, 142-43.

<sup>164</sup> Same to same Mar 28 *ibid.* p. 140.

<sup>165</sup>

<sup>166</sup>

<sup>167</sup>

<sup>168</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Mar 28, *ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Firth, *Last Years*, I, 263; Chéruel, *Mazarin*, III, 58-61.



good terms with both France and the Netherlands and to keep them on at least peaceful terms with each other.

Apparently George Fox, the Quaker, saw the Protector twice during the week of March 23, and, like every one else, took a hand in the question of the crown. On Wednesday, as he wrote,

I was moved again to go and speak to O. P. . . . and I met him in the Park, and told him that they . . . would take away his life, and he asked me, . . . They that sought to put him on a crown would take away his life, and bid him mind the crown that was immortal, and he thanked me and bid me go to his house. And then I was moved to write to him and told him how he would ruin his family and posterity and bring darkness upon the nation if he did so, and several papers I was moved to write to him.<sup>170</sup>

It seems that Fox saw Cromwell the next day and gave him a warning.<sup>171</sup> In this he expressed the opinion of the Quakers in general. They were among those most bitterly opposed to the assumption of the crown and, like Fox, were not slow to express that opposition. It was not confined to the Quakers. The title of the *Remonstrance* having been altered, a revised version of that document, now known as *The Humble Petition and Advice* was presented to Cromwell by the House. On behalf of the committee appointed by it, Lasle reported on Monday morning that the Protector would meet the members in the Banqueting House in Whitehall on the following morning at 11 o'clock.<sup>172</sup> It was reported that on Monday evening six officers went to Cromwell to protest that though they had opposed kingship in the debates, they were not satisfied and considered it his duty to accept the crown.<sup>173</sup> Their position was expressed in a letter from Colonel Thomas Cooper to Henry Cromwell. "Though this matter," he wrote,

soe longe as it was in debat, was against my mynde, yet beinge now convinced that the Lord hath called us to this, I am bound to follow his will, and soe much for the thinge in the first promoteinge of it; and this I doe not upon a politick but Christian account, well knowinge that if a haire of a man's head fall not to the ground . . . it shall be by the providence of God. . . .

<sup>170</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 438-39, from Fox's *Journal* (1911), 1, 267.

<sup>171</sup> Braithwaite, *ut supra*, p. 438, n. 2, and p. 439.

<sup>172</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 514.

<sup>173</sup> Bridges to Henry Cromwell, Mar. 31, quot. by Firth, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xviii (1903), 66, from *Lansdowne Mss.* 822, f. 11.

<sup>174</sup> Cooper to Henry Cromwell, Mar. 31, Thurloe, vi, 157.

There were cynical spirits who reflected that worldly motives were sometimes interpreted as divine inspiration even by the Protector himself, and it was not surprising that his followers should be confused. They were, in fact, in scarcely less difficult position than Cromwell himself. They waited on a sign and a sign was not given them, unless the vote of the army. The fact was that, so far as could be ascertained, the majority of the rank and file of the army, with most of the lesser officers, were opposed to kingship, the higher officers were divided among themselves, those who, like Lambert, or even Fleetwood and Desborough, had hopes or ambitions of succeeding to the "supreme authority," being in some cases lukewarm to the idea, in other cases definitely opposed to it. The assumption that these men were all bound together unselfishly in one great cause before which all personal ambitions and rivalries were laid aside, however pleasing a theory, did not stand the test of the facts within the next eighteen months; and in some measure the situation at this moment may be seen in the light of the violent rivalries which broke out afterwards. Then Fleetwood and Desborough with their followers seized power and drove Richard Cromwell out only to find themselves opposed first by Lambert, then by Monk, to say nothing of other elements like the Republicans and the Parliamentarians. Those rivalries already existed and played their part in this question of the crown, serving to complicate not only that issue but the ordinary processes of administration. It was in the midst of this situation that the Protector turned aside to write to the Irish authorities in regard to petitions from Cork as to the disposition of forfeited lands.

*To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved our Deputy of Ireland and Council there*

RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED,

The Mayor, Sheriffs and Commonalty of the City of Corke have presented unto Us two petitions wherein they desire that the forfeited houses in Corke and the forfeited lands lying within the Liberties of that City may be set unto them for such term and under such rents and Conditions as by a Commission and Instructions from us and our Council here you are impowered to set the forfeited houses and lands in Ireland, and that the Cathedral Church of Finbarrves with the Liberties thereof, situate within the Suburbs of the said City, as also the several Islands within the Harbour to that City belonging, may be under their jurisdiction, And that St Stephen's Hospital within the Suburbs of that City with the lands thereto belonging may be at their dispose and Government for the maintenance and education of the children of decayed Citizens and orphans

And whereas the said City of Corke is a City of the Sovereign and Princes of Kings and Queens of England, and the said City of Corke is a City of the

and Acres of the next adjoining forfeited lands, that such houses and lands  
best suit with the accommodation of

We are very sensible of the Petitioners' eminent and faithful service to this Commonwealth in the rescue and recovery of the Towns of Corke and Kinsale from the power of the Enemy and the surrender of them and the Country thereabouts unto Us at such a time when our Army stood in need of that relief and refreshment, which could not be seasonably had elsewhere We also very willingly remember, that in our concessions to them upon the

office for them as might be a reward and memorial of their faithfulness and public affection showed by them in that action, wherein they could not have engaged without the manifest hazard of their lives We are likewise inclin-

impowering you to do therein as you upon examination and enquiry into the nature and merit of  
you will allow them  
possibly require or admit of.

Your loving friend,

Whitehall,  
30th March, 1657.

OLIVER P.<sup>176</sup>

So, having disposed of this property, he turned to dispose of the problem of the crown. He met the House as he had agreed, accompanied by the usual panoply of office, Montagu bearing the sword of state before him instead of Lambert, who remained at Wimbledon.<sup>176</sup> In reply to a long and flowery speech by Widdrington,<sup>177</sup> who presented him with the draft of the *Humble Petition and Advice*, the Protector delivered himself of one of those pious and evasive utterances with which the members had by this time become familiar. It revealed two things: the first was that he had not made up his mind whether to accept or reject the title of king, the second was that he waited on the event—or, as he expressed it, on God—to decide which course he should take.

*Speech to the Parliament on their presenting The Humble Petition and Advice*

MR. SPEAKER,

This frame of government, that it hath pleased the Parliament by your hand to offer to me, truly I should have a very brazen

<sup>176</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 129, from P. R. O. Dublin (Letters from the Lord Protector, 1654-8, A28, p. 122), cp. R. Caulfield *Council Book of Kinsale* (Guildford, 1879), p. 55.

<sup>177</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 99.

<sup>178</sup> Burton, I, 397-413.

forehead, if it should not beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit, your opening of it, and by the welfare, the peace, the settlement of three nations, and all that rich treasure of the best people in the ought to beget in me a distressed man in this world.

I rather truly study to say no more at this time than is necessary to give a brief and short answer, suitable to the nature of the thing. The thing is of And doth, (in each of which much more than my life is concerned,) truly I think I have no more to desire of you at this time, but that you will give me time to deliberate and consider what particular answer I may return to so great a business as this is.

I have lived the latter part of life in (if I may say so) the fire, in the midst of trouble. And all things, all the things that hath befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, truly if they could be supposed to be brought into a narrow compass that I could take a view of them at once, I do not think they would, nor do I think they ought to, move my heart and spirit with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, as this thing that hath been now offered by you to me. And truly my comfort in all my life hath been, that the burdens that have lain heavy upon me, they have been laid upon me by the hand of God. And I have not known, and [have] been many times at a loss, which way to stand under the weight of what he laid on me, but by looking at the conduct and pleasure of God in it, which hitherto I have found to be a good pleasure towards me.

And should I give any resolution in this suddenly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by him that hath been my God and my guide hitherto, it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice, as you have made in such a business as this is, because it would savour more to be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, to arise from arguments of self. And if, whatsoever the issue of this business be, it should have such motives in me, and such a rise in me, it may prove even a curse to you and to these three nations, which I verily believe have intended well in this business, and have had those honest and sincere aims at the glory of God, the any dishonesty or indirectness on my part. For although in the affairs that are in the world things may be intended well,—as they are always, or for the most part, by such as love God and fear God and make him their aim (and such honest ends yet if these considerations that are of this world shall run upon such a rock as this is without due consideration of the heart the person to be used to answer these noble and worthy and honest intentions

of . . . . . and perfected this work it would be . . . . .  
 wh . . . . .  
 makes love to, and, as it often proves, prove a curse to the man and to the family, through mistake. And if this should be so to you, and to these nations, (whose good I cannot be persuaded but you have in your thoughts aimed at) why then it had been better, I am sure of it, that I had never been born.

I have therefore but this one word to say to you. That seeing you have made this progress in this business, and completed the work on your part, I may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart. And I hope that neither the honour of any weak or unwise people, nor yet the desires of any that may have lusting after things that are not good, shall steer me to give other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thankful, thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity, and such an answer as shall be for the good of those, that I presume you and I serve, and are ready to serve.

And truly I may say this also: That as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as I can.<sup>178</sup>

It is not surprising that he hesitated and desired more time for consideration. On the one hand those who urged him on this course argued that his acceptance of the crown would solve many problems which greatly troubled the revolutionary government. It would put him—and them—in accord with the traditional system of law and government, based fundamentally on monarchy; it would relieve him—and them—from the anomalous situation in which they found themselves. It would, in a sense, legalize their power. On the other hand there was great opposition to it among the armed forces on which that power rested. Many, if not most, of those forces would feel that they had been betrayed; that they had fought against Stuart monarchy only to establish Cromwellian kingship. It would define the issue not as between king and commonwealth but as between the house of Stuart and the house of Cromwell. There is no doubt but that Cromwell might have become king, there was great doubt whether that might not precipitate another civil disturbance. On the other hand there was a third choice. It was to keep or even increase the power of the Protectorate under this new constitution, and transmit the title and the power to his family, thus retaining the benefits and evading the difficulties inherent in his acceptance of the crown.

The situation was at once cleared and made more difficult by the next move of the House. In a letter to the Speaker, Widdrington, on April 3, the Protector intimated that he had something to communi-

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 413-16, from *Add Mss.* 6125, ff. 74-75 (*Ayscough Mss.*), used also in . . . . . in *Stainer*, no. 38. Both Mrs. Lomas and *Stainer* give . . . . .  
 . . . . . *Summaries in Pub. Intell. and Merc. Pol.*

cate to a committee to be appointed to hear him.<sup>179</sup> The committee was promptly appointed and as promptly waited on the Protector who addressed it in a vein much like that of his preceding speech, and to little more definite effect

*Speech to Lord Whitelocke and the Committee, appointed to attend His Highness, April 3*

MY LORDS,

I am very heartily sorry that I did not make this desire of mine known to the Parliament sooner; that which I acquainted them with, by letter, this day. The reason was, because some infirmity of body hath seized upon me these two last days, yesterday and Wednesday

I have, as well as I could, taken consideration of the things contained in the Paper which was presented to me by the Parliament in the Banqueting-House, on Tuesday last, and sought of God that I might return such an answer as might become me and be worthy of the Parliament. I must needs bear this testimony to you that you have been zealous of the two greatest concerns that God hath in the world. The one is that of Religion, and of the

refer it to be done more fully by yourselves and me hereafter. And as to the Liberty of men professing Godliness under a variety of forms amongst us, you have done that which never was done before, and I pray God it may not fall upon the people of God, or any sort of them, as a fault if they do not put such a value upon what is done as never was put upon anything since Christ's time for such a Catholic interest for the people of God. The other thing cared for is, the Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation. Which though it is,—and indeed I think ought to be, subordinate to a more peculiar interest of God,—yet it is the next best God hath given men in this world, and if well [cared for], it is better than any rock to fence men in their own interests. Then if any one whatsoever think the Interest of Christians and the Interest of the Nation inconsistent, I wish my soul may never enter into his or their secrets!

These are things, I must acknowledge, Christian and honourable, and are provided for by you like Christians, even men of honour, and Englishmen. And to this I must and shall bear my testimony, while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon these Two Interests I shall, if God account me worthy, live and die. And I must say, that if I were to give an account before a greater tribunal than any that's earthly, why I engaged in the late wars, I could give no account but it would be wicked, if it did not comprehend these two ends. Only give me leave to say, and to say it seriously (the issue will prove it so), that you have one or two considerations that do stick with me. The one is, You have named me by another Title than that I now bear.

You do necessitate my answer to be categorical, and you leave me without a liberty of choice save as to all. I question not your wisdom of doing it; but think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determination. Knowing you are

<sup>179</sup> Read the same day in the House and a committee appointed (*C. J.*, vii, 519, *Merc. Pol.*, Apr. 2-9, *Pub. Intell.*, Mar. 30-Apr. 6).

men of wisdom, and considering the trust you are under, it is a duty not to question the reason of anything you have done.

I should be very brutish should I not acknowledge the exceeding high

my person, as high as you could; for more you could not do! I shall always keep a grateful memory of this in my heart, and by you I give the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgment. Whatever other men's thought may be, I shall not own ingratitude. But I must needs say, that what may be fit for you to offer, may not be fit for me to undertake. As I should reckon it a very

few things the Instrument bears testimony to it—  
it unkindly if I ask of you this addition of the  
Parliament's favour, love and indulgence unto me, that it be taken in tender part if I give such an answer as I find in my heart to give in this business, without urging many reasons for it, save such as are most obvious and most for my advantage in answering, to wit, that I am not able for such a trust and charge

And if the answer of the tongue, as well as the preparation of the heart, be from God, I must say my heart and thought ever since I heard the Parliament were upon this business—though I could not take notice of your proceedings therein without breach of your privileges, yet as a common person I confess I heard of it, as in common with others. I must say I have been able to attain no farther than this, that seeing that the way is hedged up so as it is for me, (I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all), I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake this charge under that title.

The most I said in commendation of this Instrument may be returned upon me thus, Are there such good things so well provided for; will you refuse to accept them because of such an ingredient? Nothing must make a man's conscience his servant; and really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to this answer. And if Parliament be so resolved [to necessitate my answer to be categorical] it will not be fit for me to use any inducements by you to alter their resolutions.

This is all I have to say. I desire it may, and do not doubt but it will, be with candour and ingenuity represented unto them by you.<sup>180</sup>

Of this same date is a presentation of a Welsh living.

#### *Presentation to Mr. Ellis Rowlands*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Common Wealth of England Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging To all whome these presents may concerne Greeting Whereas the Donative or Rectory of Llynogvawer Llanonda and Llanvaylon in the County of Carnarvon stands sequestered

<sup>180</sup> Thurloe, I, 756-57, Burton, I, 417-20, *Parl Hist*, xxii, 161, Lomas-Carlyle, Speech VIII, from *Add. Mss.* 6125, f. 314, Stainer, no. 38, chiefly from *Carte Papers*, box, ff. 755-56. Both Mrs. Lomas and Stainer point out variations in text, the present version follows no one source more closely than another.

from Dr White the Incumbent. And whereas we have received good information that the said Mr Rowlands is a person of good fame, able and ready in his answers, and of good conversation, we do hereby nominate & recommend the said Mr Rowlands to the Comision authorized by a late Ordinance for Approbacon of Publique Preachers To the end he may be approved of by them or any ffive of them according to the Tenor of the aforesaid Ordinance In order to his being admitted and appointed as Publique Preacher there—and to officiate and take upon him the cure of the said Donative or Rectory And to receive posesse and enjoy the Houses glebes tythes profits and dues thereunto belonging and apperteyning

OLIVER P.<sup>181</sup>

Given at Whitehall the Third day of Aprill 1657.

On the next day, April 4, Whitelocke reported the result of the conference to the House. There, as elsewhere, it produced mixed opinions. One newsletter reported that it made "many joyful and others sad." Another wrote that "there are various coments put upon it . . . some declaring it possitive, others interre roome for a farther adresse."<sup>182</sup> The astute Giavarina interpreted the "paper" as a refusal of the title, the arguments for it not having convinced Cromwell that he should accept it.<sup>183</sup> It is not surprising that there were such different interpretations of his message; and it is apparent that it left the members in something of a quandary. Many of them had obviously begun to wonder what would happen to them if Cromwell accepted the crown. Apart from the principles, the legal, constitutional and even ethical issues involved, it was natural that they should consider the effect on their own personal fortunes as well as on those of the nation. In any event, whether owing to this or to weariness of the long discussions, the first fine flush of enthusiasm seems to have faded. On the motion as to whether or not the question should be put to adhere to the *Petition and Advice*—including, presumably, the provision for kingship—the vote was 77 to 65; and on the question itself it was 78 to 65.<sup>184</sup> Thus the "court party" still mustered enough strength to carry the proposal, but it was short by some fifty votes of its numbers on the original division. Had not some of the champions of kingship, like Broghill and Wolseley, absented themselves, the vote might have been more favorable. On the other hand it was noted that some of the original opponents of the measure who had stayed away from the House during the debates had returned.<sup>185</sup> In any

<sup>181</sup> Endorsed "to Mr Rowland to ye Donative or Rec of Llŷnwgwawer &c in the county of Carnarvon May 22-57" Communicated by F. J. Varley, Esq., from the

<sup>182</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Apr. 10/20, *Cal S P. Ven* (1657-9), pp. 41-42

<sup>183</sup> *C J*, vii, 520. Firth, *Last Years*, i, 168, says the opposition hoped for a "surprise."

<sup>184</sup> Bridges to Henry Cromwell, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xviii (1903), pp. 67-68, cp. *Clarke Papers*, iii, 102, 104.



event, so far as can be judged from the comments and the divisions, the "kinglings," as they were called contemptuously by their opponents, appear to have lost ground, and if the Protector waited on a "sign," this seems to have been something of that nature. Pressure was being brought upon the matter from all sides. Some believed that the Protector was waiting until the City of London petitioned him to accept the kingship.<sup>186</sup> His physician reported that,

Many lawyers, the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges and some officers of the army, intreat, urge, and earnestly importune him to assume the royal title. On the other hand, the Anabaptists, Sectaries and Democrats, weary him with letters, conferences, and monitory petitions. He dismisses them all, alike dubious and ignorant of his real intention.<sup>187</sup>

It is evident from his own words that Cromwell was a tired old man in bad health in this great crisis. It could not have made a great deal of difference to him personally whether or not he put this "feather" on his brow. The less it is obvious that he hesitated either to accept or to reject the crown, and it is scarcely less obvious that every day he put off the decision made it harder for him to take it, for the delay enabled the opposition to express its strength more and more. Dr. Bate's analysis was correct. Officials, lawyers and some officers stood on the one side, the great bulk of the party which had supported Cromwell during the civil wars and the Commonwealth stood on the other. One of them had written him in March a letter which expressed the sentiments of many. "My Lord," he wrote,

though I am not a Doctor, yet those that loved you, my Lord, let not your own wisdom, nor the counsel of a few, persuade you beyond the practice of truth, the hazard will be more than their remedy can help, there will be more safety to yourself and nation, for you to disown the vote, I am of that number, my Lord, that still loves you, and greatly desires to do so, I having gone along with you from Edgehill to Dunbar. The experiences that you have had of the power of God at these two places, and betwixt them, methinks, should often make you shrink, and be at a stand in this thwarting, threatened change.<sup>188</sup>

It was one of those "russet-coated captains" whom Cromwell had earlier praised, men who knew what they fought

<sup>186</sup> Steph. Charlton to Sir R. Leveson, Apr. 4, *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* 5, App. p. 162 (*Sutherland MSS.*)

<sup>187</sup> *Bartholomew's Letters*, ed. by R. B. R. Barton, 1920, p. 141, quot.

<sup>188</sup> *ibid.* p. 141, quot. in Firth, *Last Years*, I, 163.

for, and who were, in the last resolution of events, of more importance not only than the "tapsters and serving-men" with whom Cromwell had compared them, but even than the "courtiers" by whom he was now surrounded. Amid these bills<sup>189</sup> he took occasion to write to the Russian prince, Romanoff, a letter, which, if it revealed little else than that he was sending Bradshaw to that prince, showed an extraordinary knowledge of the almost innumerable titles of Alexius.

*To the most Serene and Potent Prince and Lord, Emperor and Great Duke of all Russia; sole Lord of Volodomaria, Moscow and Novograge; King of Cazan, Astracan, and Siberia; Lord of Vobscow, Great Duke of Smolensko, Tuerascoy, and other Places, Lord and Great Duke of Novogrod, and the Lower Provinces of Chernigoy, Rezansco, and others, Lord of all the Northern Climes; also Lord of Eversco, Catalinsca, and many other Places*

All men know how ancient the friendship, and how vast the trade has been for a long train of years between the English nation and the people of your empire but that singular virtue, most August Emperor, which in your majesty far outshines the glory of your ancestors, and the high opinion which all men have of you, has made us more desirous to impart to you more things to your consideration, which may conduce not a little to the good of Christendom and your own interests, and no less to serve the glory of your name. Wherefore, we have sent the most accomplished Richard Bradshaw, a person of whose fidelity, integrity, prudence and experience in affairs, we are well assured, as having been employed by us in several other negotiations, under the character of our agent to your majesty, to the end he may more at large make known to your majesty our singular goodwill and high respect toward so puissant a monarch, and transact with your majesty concerning the matters abovementioned. Him therefore we request your majesty favourably to receive in our name, and as often as shall be requisite to grant him free access to your person, and no less gracious audience, and lastly, to give the same credit to him in all things which he shall propose or negotiate, as to ourselves, if we were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty and the Russian empire with all prosperity.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our court at Westminster,  
April 7, 1657

OLIVER, P.<sup>190</sup>

It was probably at or about the same time that he sent his instructions to Bradshaw.

<sup>189</sup> C. J., vii, 516—Cromwell's letters to the Russian prince, 22-23, 327, 329.

<sup>190</sup> Symmons, *Mss.*, no 91, Masson, v, 292-94 (summary and circumstances of letter), pr also in Vischer's ed. Leti's *Cromwell*, ii, 304, dated Apr 26, 1656.

*Instructions unto Richard Bradshaw, esq, our resident with the great duke of Muscovy*

1. Upon receipt of these instructions and letters credentials, you shall forthwith repair to such place, where you shall understand the great duke to be

2. And being arrived with him, and presented your credential letter, you shall signify unto him the offer of amity and friendship, which we have made from this part of the world by the northern sea.

3. You shall let him know, that we should account it a great happiness, if he would be any way instrumental to make peace amongst neighbouring princes, and thereby to prevent the miseries, which do great and potent

4 And that we having heard of an overture of peace between him and the king of Sweden, both thereunto, we could not but express our well-wishing to so good a work, and to offer our mediation to the furthering thereof

5. To which end it is, that we have sent you unto the said duke; and you shall in our name make tender to him of our best offices to promote the establishment of peace between him and the king of Sweden

vantages, which will accrue to the said duke by a peace with the king of Sweden; as that he having so many port-towns at the bottom of the Baltic-sea, will let in great trade and riches into his land by a much shorter way than from Archangel.

7. That the northern and western parts of his empire will be secure, by having so potent a prince to be his friend and ally

8 That as he shall leave hereby all his countries on that side safe from invasion, and in a way of much enriching, so likewise no less secure from the fear of force or innovation on the Russian religion, it being no principle of that religion, to suffer any such innovations.

9. Whereas you are by the first article of these instructions to repair to such place as you shall understand the said duke to be, notwithstanding we shall judge it necessary, that upon your arrival at Riga, before you proceed further, you do certify to the said duke, or some of his principal ministers of state, that you are come thither to signify unto him the offer of amity and friendship, which we have made from this part of the world by the northern sea, and to that you desire a safe conduct for your repair to the court, and in case you find, that this our friendly offer is accepted by him, you shall proceed as aforesaid, otherwise you shall remain at Riga, and give us an account of such answer, as you shall receive, and of all your other proceedings, and expect our further answer thereupon.

10 You shall likewise signify to the king of Sweden your arrival at Riga, and what commands you have received from us as to the offer of a friendly

mediation between him and the great duke, that in case of any treaty between them, he may give (if it hath so thought fit) suitable instructions to his ambassador, who shall be upon the place.

You shall retain a good correspondence with the publick ministers of any of our friends and allies, who shall be in the court of the great duke, or where else you may happen to meet with them, and shall give unto us frequent accounts of all the negotiations

11. Whereas the dukes or emperors of Muscovy have heretofore, in consideration of the great benefit and advantage in trade and commerce, which hath accrued to them and their dominions by the English, who first discovered and found out the navigation through the White-Sea to Archangel, justly granted unto the people of this common-wealth many privileges and immunities in trade in all his countries, and that they are forbid

dominions, save only at Archangel, and were banished from their houses, and deprived of their debts: And whereas his highness did lately represent these things by a letter to the said great duke by an agent, whom his highness sent thither, but received no satisfactory answer thereunto, you are, as you

contrary to the former grants and capitulations, and to desire in our name, that the people of this commonwealth may be re-admitted to their former residence and settlement in his dominions, and to enjoy their privileges formerly granted to them, a copy whereof you shall herewith receive, as also, that they may be admitted to enjoy their houses, from which they have been banished, and to get in their debts, which they have been deprived of.

12 If it can be obtained, that they may enjoy all their former privileges, that yet at least they may have the freedom of commerce and residence at the city of Moscow, and other places within his dominions<sup>121</sup>

Even the all-important business of the crown, and foreign affairs however, could not wholly interrupt the conduct of administration of the Protector's more private concerns. The negotiations of the marriage between Lord Falconbridge and Lady Kath How[ard] was still in train, and one of Falconbridge's correspondents wrote him at this time,

The scruple of religion being over, his Highness wrote to him [Lockhart] to treat with you about the particulars of your estate. There was a report of your intending to marry Lady Kath How[ard] but it was not mentioned by his Highness, and on the whole he seems satisfied. He speaks with much respect of you, and I believe really intends to match with you, if satisfied in your estate, he did not except against the general account I gave him of it<sup>122</sup>

<sup>121</sup> 2-8-79 Acknowledgment to the Protector's Instructions for actions to "him"

<sup>122</sup> -), pp 324-25

ties in connection with the relations between the Dutch and the French.<sup>193</sup> He had written to Thurloe of his statement to Brienne that a rupture between those powers "would not prove very seasonable, and could have wished his Highness had been consulted," adding that he "was withall careful to give hopes, that nothing of that nature will alienatt his highnes inclinations from the interests of France."<sup>194</sup> This veiled warning was countered by Mazarin in a long-delayed interview with Lockhart by an intimation that the design on Dunkirk might prove more difficult than the English expected<sup>195</sup>—a prediction which was justified by the event.

The question of the crown had meanwhile made its influence felt in other directions. Monk acknowledged the arrival in Scotland of Scotland's member of the Council, and his anticipation of the arrival of intelligence from the Scottish agents in Scotland.<sup>196</sup> The discussion over kingship had roused the Royalists to new activity. Titus wrote Hyde that he had lately been in Holland with Sexby, who was confident and ready to embark on the invasion of England, which Wildman advised should be undertaken—*which* Titus was inclined to doubt.<sup>197</sup>

The discussion over kingship still raged, and though the party opposed to approaching the Protector again was outnumbered and outvoted, it was not out-talked and the debate grew acrimonious. "This Parliament," said Hewson, "is worse than the Devil, for he offered the kingdoms of the world to Christ but once, and we must offer it . . . twice, and for it give reasons to destroy not only ourselves but all the three nations with us."<sup>198</sup> "Cobbler" as he was, according to the Royalist satirists, Hewson, like Bradford, more nearly represented the sentiments of the bulk of the army than men like Broghill or Wolseley, and what such a group lacked in votes in Parliament it made up by vehemence there and by its numbers outside of Parliament and Council. On Tuesday, April 7, after some study of Cromwell's speech of the 3rd which revealed that he had

<sup>193</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, Apr 2/12, *Macray*, III, 270, no 816.

<sup>194</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Mar 28/Apr 7, *Thurloc*, VI, 149-50.

<sup>195</sup> See also Lockhart to Thurloe, Apr 10/12, *Macray*, III, 270.

<sup>196</sup> See also Lockhart to Thurloe, Apr 10/12, *Macray*, III, 270.

<sup>197</sup> Titus to Hyde, Mar 28/12.

*tory*, XV, 32-33, 42.

<sup>198</sup> Sexby to Talbot, Apr 26, *Clar. State Papers*, III, 338.

made no absolutely definite refusal, it was resolved to approach him again and a committee was named for the purpose of presenting another address, declaring that the Parliament "have not as yet received satisfaction" and urging him be "in mind of the great Obligation" which rested upon him and assent to their plea.<sup>199</sup>

In consequence an appointment was made for 3 P M Wednesday, April 8, for the committee to hear the Protector's reply to this latest appeal. At that appointed hour the members, headed by Speaker Widdrington, presented to the Protector by Widdrington, to which Cromwell replied in what Morland described as "a speech so dark that none knows whether he will accept it or no, but some think he will accept it."<sup>200</sup> If any one did understand what the Protector's intentions were from this utterance, much less derive from it any definite answer as to what he would accept the crown, he must have been more astute than those who heard it or than those who have commented on it since.

*Speech to the House of Commons in the Banqueting-House, Wednesday, April 8, 1657*

MR. SPEAKER,

heart aggravate, both concerning the persons advising and concerning the advice, readily acknowledging that it is the advice of the Parliament of these three nations. And if a man could suppose it were not a Parliament to some, yet doubtless it should be so to me, and to us all that are engaged in this common cause, wherein we have been engaged. I say, surely it ought to be a Parliament to us, because it arises as a result of those issues and determination of settlement that we have laboured to arrive at. And therefore I do most readily acknowledge the authority advising these things

the notion of the things advised to, the chiefest things that can fall into the hearts of men to desire or to endeavour after. And this at such a time when truly, I may say, that I have had of this Instrument, and, I hope, so I have already expressed myself. And what I have expressed hath been, if I flatter not myself, from a very honest heart towards the Parliament and the public. I say not these things to comfort you, but to let you know that I have said of that kind.

Howbeit, your title and name you give to this paper makes me to think you intended advice, and I should transgress against all reason should I make

<sup>199</sup> C J, vii, 520-21

<sup>200</sup> Morland to Pell, Apr 9/19, Vaughan, II, 144.

any other construction than that you did intend advice. I would not lay a burden upon any beast but I would consider his strength to bear it: and if you will lay a burden upon a man that is conscious of his own infirmities and disabilities, and doth make some measure of counsel that may seem to come from Heaven,—counsel in the word of God, who leaves a room for charity, and for men to consider their own strength,—I hope it will be no evil to measure your advice and mine own infirmity together. And truly those will have some influence upon conscience, conscience in him that receives talents to know how he may answer the trust of them and such a conscience have I had, and still have. And therefore when I thought I had opportunity to make answer, I made that answer, and am a person, and have been, before and then and since, lifting up my heart to God, to know what might be my duty at such a time as this, and upon such an occasion and trial as this was to me.

Truly, Mr Speaker, it has been heretofore a matter of, I think, but philosophical discourse, to know it is so. And

nothing less will enable him to the discharge of it than assistance from above, that it may very well require in such a subject, so convinced and so persuaded, to be right with the Lord in such undertaking. And therefore, to speak very clearly and plainly to you, I had, and I have, my hesitations to that individual thing. If I undertake anything not in faith, I shall serve you in my own unbelief, and I shall then be the unprofitablest servant that ever a people or nation had.

Give me leave, therefore, to ask counsel. I am ready to render a reason of my apprehensions, which haply may be over-swayed by better apprehensions. I think so far I have deserved no blame, nor do I take it that you will lay any

sideration have I as to duty another way. I would not urge to you the point of liberty. Surely you have provided for liberty. I have borne my witness to that. The liberty I ask is to vent

haply, I think, conscience ought to know no scruples. Surely mine doth, and I dare not dissemble. And therefore, they that are knowing in the ground of their own actions will be best able to measure advice to others.

There are many things in this Government, besides that one of the name and title, that deserve very much information, to my judgment. It is you and none but you who can capacitate me to receive satisfaction in them. Otherwise, I say truly, I must say that I am not persuaded to the performance of this as my trust and duty, nor informed, and not actuated as I know you intend I should be, and every man in the nation should be. You have provided for them as a free man, as a man that doth [act] possibly, rationally, and conscientiously. And therefore I cannot tell what other return to make to you than this. I am ready to give you a reason if you will, I say, capacitate me to give it, and yourselves to receive it, and to do in the other things that that may inform me a little more particularly than this. Vote that you have expressed yesterday, and hath been now read by you to me.

And truly I hope when I understand the ground of these things, the whole being neither for your good nor mine, but for the good of the Nations, there will be no doubt but we may, even in these particulars, find out those things that may answer our duty, mine and all our duties, to those nations whom we serve. And this is that that I do, with a great deal of affection and honour and respect, offer now to you.<sup>201</sup>

Charles X Gustavus, the Protector intervened in behalf of an eminent Swedish commander who had been captured and was held prisoner in Danzig.

*To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the Republic of Dantzick*

MOST NOBLE AND MAGNIFICENT, OUR DEAREST FRIENDS

We have always esteemed your city flourishing in industry, wealth, and at days gone by renowned all over Europe for its

in this war, that has been long hovering about your confines, you have rather chosen to side with the Polanders, than with the Swedes, we are most heartily

ship which has been long established between yourselves and the English nation, and if our reputation have obtained any favour or esteem among ye, to set at liberty Count Conismark, conspicuous among the principal of the Swedish captains, and a person singularly famed for his conduct in war, but by the treachery of his own people surprised at sea, wherein you will do no more than what the laws of war, not yet exasperated to the height, allow, or if you think this is not so agreeable to your interests, that you will however deem him at least worthy a more easy and less severe confinement. Which of these two favours soever you shall determine to grant us, you will certainly perform an act becoming the reputation of your city, and highly oblige besides the most famous warriors of all parties. and lastly, lay upon ourselves an obligation not the meanest, and perhaps it may be worth your interest to gratify us.

Your lordships' affectionate,

From our court at Westminster,  
April 10, 1657

OLIVER, P<sup>202</sup>

<sup>201</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Speech IX, from pamphlet repr. in *Parl. Hist.*, viii, App. pp. 164-66. See also *Clarke Papers*, iii, 104, *Merc. Pol.* and *Pub. Intell.* etc. in Mrs. Lomas'

der Stadt Danzig. Cf. Mosson v. 202 (commence). *Interf. Aff.* v (1922), 315, says (error) Count in the Thirty Years' War and had apparently been taken in connection with some design directed by Charles X. Gustavus against Danzig.



Still the House persisted in spite of all obstacles in its design of presenting, or forcing, the crown upon the Protector. It is not possible to learn what went on behind the scenes of this extraordinary drama, but it seems evident that, apart from Cromwell's cryptic utterances, its proponents had some reason to believe that their cause was not hopeless, for a committee of seven was nominated a group to attend him again for further discussion.<sup>302</sup> At first Friday, April 10, was appointed for the conference, but the revelation of a new plot caused a postponement to the day following.<sup>303</sup> In distinction from the previous meetings, this took more or less the form of a discussion, the Protector insisting on the "reasons" for the vote of the House and certain of the members of the committee repeating the arguments which must have been as well known to the Protector as to them. There is, indeed, a certain air of unreality about the whole proceeding, not least in the fact that Cromwell was as evasive in the face of the "reasons" as he had previously been in his more formal speeches. There seems to be something here, in fact, which escapes not only the evidence we have but even the "penetration of genius," which has been directed upon the whole proceeding.

*Speeches to the Committee, Saturday, April 11, 1657*

*Lord Whisteloche.* 'I only understand, that by order of the Parliament, this Committee are tied up to receive what your Highness shall be pleased to offer, *according to the words of the Order are,*  
*to receive from your*  
 Highness your doubts and scruples, *in answer to the*  
 humble Petition and Advice, forme  
 offer to your Highness reasons for your satisfaction, and for the maintenance of  
 the Resolutions of the House; and such particulars as we cannot satisfy your  
 Highness in,

Highness shall  
 government, as it now is, and [it] seems to some of our apprehensions as if  
 your Highness did make that an objection, *If the government be well, why do*  
*you change it?* If that be intended by your Highness as an objection in the  
 general, I suppose the Committee will give you satisfaction'

*Lord Protector.* 'Sir, I think that neither you nor I, but meet with a very  
 good heart to come to some issue of this great business. And truly that is, that  
 I cannot assure you I have all the reason and argument in the world to move  
 me to it, and am exceeding ready to be ordered by you in the way of pro-  
 ceeding. Only I confess, according to those thoughts I have, as I have an-  
 swered my own thoughts in preparing for such a work as this is, I have made  
 this notion of it to myself, that having met you twice,—at the Committee  
 first, and returned you that answer that I gave you then, and the House a  
 second time,—I do perceive that the favour and the indulgence that the

<sup>302</sup> C J, vii, 521.

<sup>303</sup> See *infra*.

House shews me in this, is, that I might receive satisfaction. I know they might have been positive in the thing, and said they had done enough. If they had only made such an address to me, they might have insisted upon it, only to offer it. Yet I could plainly see it was my satisfaction they aimed at. I think really and sincerely it is my satisfaction that they intend, and truly I think there is one clause in the Paper that doth a little warrant that, 'to offer such reasons for his satisfaction, and for the maintenance of the Resolutions of the House.'

Now Sir, it is true the occasion of all this is the answer that I made. That occasions a Committee to come hither in order to my satisfaction. And truly, Sir, I doubt,—if you will draw out those reasons from me, I will offer them to you,—but I doubt on my own part if you should proceed that way. It would put me a little out of the method of my own thoughts, and it being mutual satisfaction that is endeavoured, if you will do me the favour, it will more agree with my method. I shall take it as a favour, [and] if it please you, I will leave you to consider together your own thoughts of it.

*Lord Whitelocke* 'The Committee that are commanded by the Parliament, and are here present to wait upon your Highness, I do suppose cannot undertake to give the Reasons of the Parliament, for that they have done, but any

to require a satisfaction from  
do the best we can to give you  
satisfaction'

*Lord Protector* I think if this be so, then I suppose nothing can be said by you, but what the Parliament hath dictated to you, and I think that is clearly expressed, that the Parliament intends satisfaction. then is it as clear, that there must be reasons and arguments, that have light and conviction in them, in order to satisfaction.

I speak for myself in this, I hope you will think it not otherwise. I say it doth appear so to me, that you have the liberty of your own reasons. I think if I should write any of them, I cannot call this the "reason" of the Parliament. The Parliament in determinations and conclusions, by Votes of the several particulars of the government, that reason is dilated and diffused, and every man hath a share of it. And therefore when they have determined such a thing, certainly it was reason that led them up into it; and if you shall be pleased to make me partaker of some of that reason, I do very respectfully

that I have a general dissatisfaction at the thing. And I do  
you, whom I presume  
are all satisfied persons to the thing and every part of it. And if you will be pleased to think so fit, I will not farther urge it upon you. To proceed that way, it will be a favour to me, otherwise, I shall deal plainly with you, it doth put me out of the method of my own conceptions, and then I shall beg that I may have an hour's deliberation, [and] that we might meet again in the afternoon.

*Lord Chief Justice* 'The Parliament sent us to wait upon your Highness, to give your Highness any satisfaction that is in our understandings to give. The whole paper consists of many heads, and if your Highness intend satisfaction, the propositions being general, we can give but general satisfaction,

and therein we are ready. If that be your Highness' meaning, I think we shall be ready to give satisfaction as far as our understandings.'

*Lord Protector* If you will please to give me leave, I do agree. Truly the thing is general as it is; either falling under the notion of settlement, that is a general that consists of many particulars, and truly if you call it by that that it is titled, there it is general, it is advice, desires and advice. And that (the truth is) that I have made my objection in, is but to one thing as yet, only the last time I had the honour to meet the Parliament, I did offer to them that th. . . particulars

if I thought

yours is the same, that is, to bring things to an issue one way or other, that we may know where we are, that we may attain that general end, that is, settlement. The end is in us both, and I durst contend with any one person in the world, that it is not more in his heart than in mine. I could go to some particulars to ask a question, or ask a reason of the alteration, which would well enough let you into the business (that it might), yet I say, it doth not answer me. I confess I did not so strictly examine that Order of Reference, or whether I read it or no I cannot tell you. If you will have it that way, I shall (as well as I can,) make such an objection as may occasion some answer to it,—though perhaps I shall object weak enough, I shall very freely submit [it] to you.

*Lord Chief Justice* 'The Parliament hath commanded us for that end, to give your Highness satisfaction.'

*Lord Commissioner Fines* 'May it please your Highness, looking upon the Order, I find that . . . to offer any reasons that we think fit, either for the satisfaction of your Highness, or maintenance of what the Parliament hath given you their advice in, and I think we are rather to offer to your Highness the Reasons of the Parliament, if your Highness' dissatisfaction be to the alteration of the government in general, or in particular.'

*Lord Protector* I am very ready to say I have no dissatisfaction that it hath pleased the Parliament to find out a way, though it be of alteration, to bring these nations into a good settlement; and perhaps you may have judged the settlement we were in, was not so much for the great end of government, the liberty and good of the nations, and the preservation of all those honest interests that have been engaged in this cause. I say I have no objection to the general, that the Parliament hath thought fit to take consideration of a new settlement or government. But you having done it as you have, and made me so far interested in [the business] as to make such an overture to

ment for inte . . . is Truly I tl  
procedure]

to you, that [it] may be either the better to clear, or to help me at least to a

shall offer somewhat to every particular.

If you please As to the first of the thing, I am clear as to the ground of the thing, being so put to me as it hath been put I think that some of the grounds upon which I have doubts as I may have me [discuss] this, or that, or the other doubt that may arise methodically, I shall do it.

*Lord Whitelocke*, in giving the reason for the alteration of the present settlement, says 'that it will not be so clear a settlement and foundation for the preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, as if we came to a settlement by the Supreme Legislative power; upon that ground it was taken into consideration,

Referring to the alteration of title, he remarks, 'it was thought that the

might be of more certainty and clear establishment, and more conformable to the laws of the nation, that that title should be that of *King*, rather than that other of *Protector*.

you shall find that the whole body of the Law is carried upon this wheel . . . the Kingship The title of Protector was based on the Instrument only, and 'it hath no limit at all', there was a great prejudice against change of names, witness the failure of the King to call himself King of Great Britain instead of King of England, and the unwillingness of Parliament to be called 'The Representative of the People' The Parliament having voted to restore the title of King, 'this is vox populi,' and he hoped his Highness would agree to it.

*Lord Protector*. I cannot deny but the things that have been spoken have

But if it had been so [your] pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me in, according to the method and way I have conceived to myself, to the more preparedness to have returned some answer And if it had not been to you a trouble, I am sure the business requires it from any man in the world if he were,—in any case much more from me,—to make serious and true answers I mean such as are not feigned in my own thoughts, but such wherein I express the truth and honesty of my heart I mean that by true answers.

your pleasure to speak . . . as I did, have been in a condition this afternoon, if it had not been a trouble to you, to have returned my answer upon a little advisement with myself But seeing you have

to it, lest your debates should end on my part with a very vain discourse and with lightness, which it is very like to do I say therefore, if you think to proceed farther to speak to these things, I should have made my own short animadversions on the whole this afternoon, and made some short reply, and this would have ushered me in, not only to have given the best answer I could, but to have made my own objections

The *Lord Chief Justice* then spoke, 'since it is your Highness' pleasure, that

... those that have anything to say.' It was approved of by the word of God, ancient, and well known to the Law; whereas the other title was not. 'If so be your Highness should do any act, and one should come and say, *My Lord Protector, why are you sworn to govern by the Law, and you do thus and thus, as you are Lord Protector?* Do I? Why, how am I bound to do? *Why, the King could not have done so!* Why, but I am not

case, . . . Sir Charles Wolseley repeated the argument, 'that the Law knows not a Protector', 'this nation hath ever been a lover of Monarchy, and of Monarchy under the title of King', 'your Highness hath been pleased to call yourself, as when you speak to the Parliament, a servant, you are so indeed to the people, and 'tis your greatest honour so to be. I hope then, Sir, you will give the people leave to name their own servant; that is a due you cannot, you will not certainly deny them.' Lord Commissioner Fines, Lord Commissioner Lisle, and Lord Broghill made similar speeches.

Broghill, indeed, urged another argument which was of some importance, viewed from a purely legal and political point of view. As he expressed it,

"By an Act already existing (the 11th of Henry VII.) all persons that obey a 'King *de facto*' are to be held guiltless, not so if they serve a Protector *de facto*" and he further pointed out "The Imperial Crown of this country and the Pretended King are indeed divorced, nevertheless persons divorced may come together again, but if the person divorced be married to another, there is no chance left of that."

This argument, designed to meet the objections of those who feared for their own positions—or heads—in an effort to make it appear they would actually be safer if the Protector became king than if he remained in his existing office, seems to indicate, among other things that this question had arisen, privately if not publicly. To the arguments of Glyn, Fiennes and Broghill, Cromwell replied in turn

I have very little to say to you at this time. I confess I shall never be willing to deny or defer those things that come from the Parliament to the supreme Magistrate, if they come in the bare and naked authority of such an assent. . . . many . . . ought to have its weight, and it hath so, and ever will have with me. In all things a man is free to answer desires as coming from Parliaments. I may say that, but in as much as the Parliament hath been pleased to condescend to me so far, to do me this honour, a very . . . the advantage of so many Members on grounds of t . . . I confess, I . . .

man to do, in giving an answer to these things, according to the desire, that either I have, or God shall give me, or I may be helped by reasoning with you unto And I did not indeed in vain allege conscience in the first answer I gave, but I must say, I must be a very unworthy person to receive such favour, if I

to-day, with a great deal of judgment and ability and knowledge And I think the things, or the arguments or reasonings that have been used, have been upon these three accounts, to speak to the thing simply, or in the abstract notion of the title, and the positive reasons upon which it stands; and then comparatively both in the thing and in the foundation of it, which,—what it is to shew the goodness of it comparatively,—it is alleged to be so much better than what is, and that is so much short of doing the work that this will do; and thirdly, some things have been said by way of precaution, upon arguments that are a little of as also by way of anticipation of me in my answer, by speaking to some objections that others have made against this thing. These are things, in themselves, each of them considerable To answer to objections, I know it is a very weighty thing, and to make objections is very easy, and that will fall to my part And I am sure I shall, if I make them to men that know so well how to answer them, because debates already had

taken these things that have been spoken,—which truly are to be acknow-

for me to return to you to meet you again I shall leave that to your consideration

*Lord Whistelocke.*

*Lord Protector.* O upon you<sup>206</sup>

Such was the situation of affairs on the evening of Saturday, April 11, 1657 In many ways it had not advanced much since the beginning of the discussion weeks earlier. The same arguments advanced at first were still being put forward by the proponents of kingship; the same evasions by the Protector were still in evidence Every one who has had any connection with the affairs of this world, especially in the realm of politics, is well aware that the external appearances of events and the formal documents seldom, if ever, represent all, or even the most important, factors in the case Despite the efforts of Cromwell's apologists to discover meanings in his speeches in this complicated and obscure episode in his career, it seems apparent from careful study of all the evidence and all the elements involved that

<sup>206</sup> Stainer, no 41, Lomas-Carlyle, Speech X; from the pamphlet *Monarchy Asserted* (1660), repr in *Somers Tracts*, v meant by "Lord Chief Justice,"

neither the arguments of those who urged him to accept the crown, nor his own replies, touched very closely on the real issues at stake. Behind all the legal and constitutional arguments which served rather to obscure than to illuminate the discussion, behind all Cromwell's ingenious evasion of the issue, lay fundamental questions. They were

whether the acceptance of the crown would strengthen or weaken his

er, in the last resolution of events, It is apparent from every little piece of evidence we have—and evidence is even more scanty than usual in this crisis—there was a great argument and much activity going on behind the scenes of which we have little or no account. In later years Whitelocke recorded that Cromwell would often shut himself up for two or three hours with Broghill, Thurloe, Wolseley, Pierrepoint and others close to him, including Whitelocke himself, "and laying aside his greatness, he would be exceeding familiar with us, and by way of diversion, would make verses with us, and every one must try his fancy; then he would fall again to his serious and great business, and advise with us in those affairs."<sup>206</sup>

There is one other element involved in this situation, which has received perhaps too little attention. It is that any small group of men, like Parliament and the Council, in full control of affairs, has a tendency to become insulated from popular opinion especially when there is no flow of national opinion as a whole into that narrow circle. All the evidence we have seems to indicate that even some of the highest officers in the army— included in Cromwell's more ship. The more extreme sect

silence of the City of London was almost as significant as if its authorities had openly expressed their disapproval. Whether the Protector's effort to stave off a definite decision was due to his uncertainty as to the effect on the public and the army; or whether there were efforts being made—as seems at least possible—to secure support for that proposal, the result was the same. Not until it was tolerably certain that enough support for it could be obtained, would

In general, it was not Cromwell's way to leave no line of retreat open. In fact, as this situation developed, it became apparent that he and his advisers were preparing just such a maneuver in accepting all the provisions of the *Humble Petition* except that of the title.

Such, then, was the situation at the beginning of April, 1657, the Parliament and some of the Protector's advisers urging the acceptance of the title of king, the bulk of the army and of the people opposing it, and the higher officers divided in their opinion as their sentiments or

<sup>206</sup> Whitelocke, p. 656.

their interests inclined them. For his part it seems evident that Cromwell had no particular objection to assuming the title of king. If it seemed safe, he might well have accepted the new title, if it seemed unsafe or . . . . . From a purely legalistic standpoint . . . . . position, as the lawyers pointed out, from the general standpoint of his supporters it seems probable that it would have greatly weakened his position. The men who fought to overthrow the Stuart monarchy would not be likely to support a Cromwellian kingship, and it seems apparent that what he might gain in one direction he might well lose—with more—in another.

Finally there is one thing more: Cromwell's quality as a speaker. He made a good speech, at all times forcible, sometimes eloquent. It was his great gift, cultivated and consolidated by long experience especially in conventicles, too Scriptural for these unscriptural days but peculiarly adapted to his times and audiences. Yet, in a sense, it was nearly always the same speech, with variations due to time and circumstance. It often began with an historical introduction. It denounced his opponents and defended his course and that of his party, so interpreting events that whatever course they took seemed natural, necessary, even inevitable. He attacked the actions and especially the motives of his opponents vigorously, even violently, attributing to them the very ambitions and activities which, as the event demonstrated, were those which his own party put into effect, that is to say autocratic, or as he expressed it "arbitrary" government. He deprecated his own share in it. He seldom missed an opportunity to flatter his hearers. Especially after becoming Protector, he added another element, that of fear. He avoided reference to the execution of the King. He elaborated on the designs of his opponents. He painted a dark picture of conspiracy, rebellion and new civil war, contrasting it with the peace which his own rule conferred upon his country, and offering his hearers in effect a choice between these two alternatives. He leaned heavily on the incontrovertible argument of the "outward dispensation." He tended to revert to exhortation and at times even turned to his old conventicle phraseology. This was the pattern of his public utterances, the formula which he used again and again until it became almost stereotyped. It was, in general, effective. It did not much move the legal profession, even those who followed his fortunes. It did not convince a considerable section even of the nonconformist clergy, but it apparently . . . . . to many among the soldiers and perhaps in less degree . . . . . who made up his following. It was highly emotional. He had tears at will and every evidence of profound sincerity even when to an unprejudiced observer he was most illogical and unconvincing. It was, in sum, one of the great sources of his strength, and long after he was dead it contributed to his fame and reinforced his cause.



## FIFTH MONARCHISTS AND KINGSHIP

While the great debate over the kingship went on, another circumstance had at once stimulated and delayed the discussions on the *Humble Petition and Advice*, as it was now called. This was the revelation of a new plot, or rather a re-arranged one, which it seems to have been given to the king by the Duke of Devonshire, postponing the conference set for that day—and to the House on Saturday.<sup>1</sup> It appeared from the evidence submitted that the Fifth Monarchists had been meeting throughout the first three months of 1657, and on March 23 had set April 7 as the date for their rising.<sup>2</sup> They were not, however, unanimous in the matter. They had been troubled with internal dissensions, especially from the direction of the "baptized brethren," including Portman and Cornet Day, who complained that the plans had been laid without consulting them.<sup>3</sup> Those plans had pitched on Epping Forest as a rendezvous, there being, apparently, no guards or troops in that vicinity; and they had prepared a declaration which was read, approved and signed on April 6, and ordered to be published and distributed on and after April 10.<sup>4</sup> They had, besides, agreed on a standard and a public seal described as "a lyon couching with this motto round it 'Who shall rouse him up'."<sup>5</sup> It appeared that one Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper, sometime a resident of Boston in Massachusetts, was one of the ringleaders, and that Harrison, John Rogers and Carew were implicated.<sup>6</sup> The news of the design seems to have come to Thurloe about seven o'clock on the night of Thursday the 9th, when a number of men were reported as having assembled in Bishopsgate Street, prepared to leave for Mile End Green or Epping Forest. Some twenty or thirty of these were seized at once with their arms and ammunition and a copy of the declaration "A Standard set up," signed by Wm. Medley, Venner's

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<sup>1</sup> Insurrections," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxv (1910),

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 733-36

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 726.

<sup>8</sup> C E Banks, "Thomas Venner," in *New Eng Hist and Gen Register*, xlvii (1893), 477ff, *Eng Hist. Rev.*, xxv, 729, 732.

son-in-law.<sup>7</sup> According to the Commons' *Journals* it was already printed at this time,<sup>8</sup> but it may have been still only in manuscript.<sup>9</sup>

No time was lost. Cromwell was reported as having spent at least two nights until two or three o'clock in the morning examining the conspirators.<sup>10</sup> Venner was said to have spoken and "behaved himself with . . . great impudence, insolence, pride and railing."<sup>11</sup> One reporter of the affair connected the design with "the faction of Sindercombe," but there seems to be no other evidence to that effect. On the other hand he said further—doubtless with exaggeration—that the conspirators had some £5,000 or £6,000 in gold about them. The Protector, he went on to say, had sent some to the Tower, some to Lambeth House, and kept some in Whitehall; and, he added, "they say they are all very obstinate and resolute fellows, and will not put off their hats to the Protector, and *thou* him at every word that they speak to him." The report goes that there are "at least 10 or 15,000 of this gang, and this has bred as great a distraction at Whitehall as the business of kingly government . . ." He associated with the design the names of Sir Henry Vane, Col. Rich, Col. Lawson;<sup>12</sup> and another writer reported that Harrison, Rich, Courtney, Colonel [Henry?] Danvers and Admiral Lawson were already secured and Colonel Okey and others sent for.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand the only warrants in connection with the affair which seem to have survived are for Venner and five others, including Venner's son-in-law, Medley, none of them of any importance.

*To sir John Barkstead, knight, lieutenant of our Tower of London*

OLIVER, P

These are to will and require you to receive into your custody the bodies of the five persons herewith sent you, and them detain under safe imprisonment in our Tower of London until further order from us. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at Whitehall the 9th of April 1657.

The names of the persons sent

William Medley

Richard Martin

William Kerby

Samuel Moris

Thomas Barnard

} These 3 are already  
discharged by  
former warrant

1. . . . . 335, Thurloe to Lockhart,  
184-87

<sup>7</sup> C. J., vii, 521

<sup>8</sup> Thomason (ii, 180) entered it on [May 17]

<sup>9</sup> S. Charlton to Sir R. Leveson, Apr. 11, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 5, App. p. 163

<sup>10</sup> Wm. Hooke to John Winthrop Jr., Apr. 13, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ser. 3, i, 183-84.

<sup>11</sup> S. Charlton to Sir R. Leveson, Apr. 11 and 17, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 5, p. 163.

<sup>12</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 103-4



proceedings, "I do not think the thing necessary," which, again, might be regarded as merely the opening of another argument:

*Speech to the Committee, Monday, April 13, 1657*

MY LORD,

I think I have a very hard task upon my hand. Though it be but to give an account of myself, yet I see I am beset on all hands here

been pleased to make it, of all the interests of these three nations.

I confess I consider two things. First, to return some very weak answer to the things that were so ably and well said the other day on behalf of the Parliament's putting that title in the Instrument of Settlement. I hope it will not be expected that I should answer to everything that was then said, because I suppose the main things that were spoken were arguments from ancient constitutions and settlements by the laws, of which I am sure I could never be well skill'd, and therefore must ask the more pardon in what I have transgressed in my practice, or shall now transgress through my ignorance of them in my answer to you.

upon the law, seem to carry with them a great deal of necessary conclusion to enforce that one thing of Kingship; and if the argument come upon me to enforce upon the ground of necessity, why then I have no room to answer, for what must be, must be. And therefore I did reckon it much of my business to consider, whether there were such a necessity, or would arise such a necessity from those arguments.

It was said, that Kingship was not a title but an office, so interwoven with the fundamental laws of this nation, as if they could not, or well could not, be executed and exercised without [it]: partly, (if I may say so,) upon a supposed ignorance of the law that it hath of any other title; it knows no other, neither does any other know it, the reciprocation is such. This title or name, or office as you pleased to say, is understood in the dimensions of it, in the power and prerogatives of it, which are by the law made certain. And the law can tell when it keeps within compass, and when it exceeds it[s] limits.

love

ifety,  
to obtrude upon them names that they do not nor cannot understand." It is said also, that the people have been always, by their representatives in Parliament, [un-]willing to vary names, forasmuch as hath been said before, they love settlement. And there were two good instances given of that. The one, in King James his time, about his desire to alter somewhat of the title; and another, in the Long Parliament, wherein they being otherwise rationally moved to admit of the word "Representative" instead of "Parliament," they refused it for the same reason. It hath been said also, that the holding to this word<sup>19</sup> doth strengthen the settlement, because it doth not do anything *de novo* but resolves things into their old current. It is said, it is the security of the chief magistrate, and that it secures all that act under him. Truly these

<sup>19</sup> King.

are the principal of those grounds that were offered the last day, so far as I do recollect

I cannot take upon me to repel those grounds, for they are strong and rational, but if I shall be able to make any answer unto them, I must not

they are not inevitable grounds And if not necessary and concluding, why

not absolute and necessary conclusions, nor that they are,—nor that it is, I should say,—so interwoven in the laws, but that the laws may not possibly be administered and executed to equal justice and equal satisfaction of the people, and equally to answer all objections, as well without it, as with it And then, when I have done that, I shall only take the liberty to say a word or two for my own grounds, and when I have said what I can say as to that, I hope you will think a great deal more than I say

Truly the law, what is signified. It is a name of office plainly implying the supreme authority; it is no more, nor can it be stretched to more. I say it is a name of office plainly implying the supreme authority, and if it be so, why then I

I say, if it had been these four or five letters, or whatsoever else it had been, that signification goes to the thing and not to the name, certainly it does, and not the name. Why then there can be no more said but this Why, this hath been said, This hath been the name fixed, under which the supreme authority has been known. Happily as it hath been fixed, so it may be unfixed And certainly [if fixed] in the right of authority, I mean as a legislative power, in the right of a legislative power, I think the authority that could christen it with such a name could have called it by another name And therefore [if] it was but derved from that, and certainly they had the disposal of it and might have had it, they might have detracted or changed And I hope it will be no offence to you to say, as the case now stands, so may you And if it be so that you may, why then, I say there is nothing of necessity in the argument, but consideration of the expedience of it

I had rather if I were to choose, if it were the natural question, which I hope is altogether out of the question, but I had rather have any name from this Parliament, than any name without it, so much do I value the authority of the Parliament And I believe all men are of my mind in that, I believe the nation is very much of that n

ing, what mind they are of way to know what the e pleased to give me a liberty to reason for myself, and that that be made one argument, I hope I may urge against that, else I cannot freely give a reason for my own mind.

But I say undoubtedly, let us think what we will, what the Parliament settles is that which will run through the law, and will lead the thread of government through the land, as well as what hath been, considering that what hath been, hath been but upon the same account, save that there hath been some long continuance of the thing. It is but upon the same account; it had its original somewhere, and it was in consent, in consent of the whole,—there was the original of it. And consent of the whole will, I say, be the needle that will lead the thread through all, and I think no man will pretend right

And if so, men, under favour to me, I think all those arguments from the

said otherwise I say my mouth is stopt

There are many enforcements to carry on this thing. I supposing it will stand upon a way of expediency and fitness, truly I should have urged one consideration more that I had forgotten, and that is, not only to urge from reason but from experience. Perhaps it is a short one, but it is a true one, under favour, and is known to you all in the fact of it, although there has been no Parliamentary declaration. That the supreme authority going in another name and under another title than King, why it has been complied with twice without it: that is, under the *Custodes Libertatis Angliae*, and it has since I exercised the place. And truly I may say that almost universal obedience has been given from all ranks and sort of men to both. And to begin with the highest degree of magistracy. At the first alteration, and when that was the name, though it was the name of an invisible thing, yet the very name, (though a new name), was obeyed, did pass for current and was received, and did carry on the justice of the nation. I do very well remember that my Lords the Judges were somewhat startled, and yet upon consideration, if I mistake not, I believe so,—there being of them without reflection as able and as learned as have sat there,—though they did I confess at first demur a little, yet they did receive satisfaction and did act as I said before. I profess it, for my own part I think I may say it, since the beginning of that change, I would be loth to speak anything vainly, but since the beginning of that change unto this day I do not think that in so many years, [in] those that were called, and worthily so accounted, "Halcyon Days of Peace," in James', and King Charles' time, I do not think with as much freedom and justice, with less private solicitation, either from that [time] that was called then so, or since I came to the government. I do not think (under favour) that the laws have had a more free exercise, more uninterrupted by any hand of power, the judges less solicited by letters or private interpositions either of my own or other men's, in double so many years, in all those times of peace.

And if more of my Lords the Judges were here, than now are, they could tell what to say to what has been done since. And therefore I say, (under favour,) these two experiences do manifestly shew, that it is not a title,

though so interwoven with the laws, that makes the law to have its free passage and do its office without interruption (as we think,) but that if a Parliament shall determine that another name shall run through the laws, I believe it may run with as free a passage as this; which is all that I have to say upon that head. And if this be so, then truly other things may fall under

And all this while nothing that I shall say does anyway determine anything against any resolution or thoughts of the Parliament. But really and honestly and plainly considering what is fit for me to answer; the Parliament desires me to have this title, it hath stuck with me, and yet doth stick. And truly although I hinted the other day that I thought that your arguments to me did partly give positive grounds for what was to be done, and comparative grounds,—saying that which you were pleased to do, and I gave no cause for

understood that I do contend for the name, or any name, or anything. But

But I would be understood in this

I am a man standing in the place I am in, which place I undertook not so

now I have. I say, not so much out of the hope of doing good,—which a man may lawfully, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience,—a man may lawfully, as the case may be, though the case is very fickle, desire a great place to do good. But I profess I had not that apprehension when I undertook this place, that I could do much good, but I did think I might prevent imminent evil. And therefore I am not contending for one name compared with another, and therefore have not been able to bring forward arguments

almost think that any name were better than my name, and I should altogether think any person fitter than I am for any such business, and I compliment not, God knows it! But thus I would say, that I think from my very heart that in your settling of the peace and liberties of this nation, which cries as loud upon you as ever nation did, [you should labour] for somewhat that may beget a consistency, otherwise the nation will fall to pieces. And in that, as far as I can, I am ready to serve not as a King, but as a constable. For truly I have as before God thought it often, that I could not tell what my business was, nor what I was in the place I stood, save [by] comparing it with a good constable to keep the peace of the parish. And truly this hath been my content and satisfaction in the troubles that I have undergone, that yet you have peace

Why now truly, if I may advise, I wish to God you may but be so happy as

to keep peace still, if you cannot attain to those perfections as to do this I wish to God we may have peace, that I do But the fruits of righteousness are more precious than any other thing in the world, therefore,—the other I think I have somewhat of conscience to answer as to this matter,—why I cannot undertake this name Why truly, truly I must go a little out of the way to come to my reasons, and you will be able to judge of them when I have told you

you do, and it behoves me to say, I know my calling from the first to this day I was a person that from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from me as it pleased him And I did truly and plainly,—and then in the way of a foolish simplicity, as it was judged by many great and wise men, and good men too,—desire to make use of my instruments to help in this work And I will deal plainly with you, I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is grateful to you all, Mr John Hampden. At my first going out to the engagement I saw those men were beaten, and at every hand, I did indeed And I desired him too, that he would make some addition to my Lord of Essex's army of some new regiments, and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men [in] as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work This is very true that I tell you,

decayed troopers are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, persons of quality do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, courage and resolution in them? Truly I pressed him in this manner conscientiously, and truly I did tell him, You must get men of a spirit,—and take it not ill what I say, I know you will not,—of a spirit that

you,—impute it to what you please,—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did And from that day forward I must say to you they were never beaten, wherever they engaged the enemy they beat them continually And truly this is a matter of praise to God, and it has some instruction in it,—to own men that are religious and godly, and so many of them as are honestly and peaceably and quietly disposed to live within government, as will be subject to those gospel rules of obeying magistrates and living under authority I reckon no godliness without this circle, but of this spirit. Let it pretend what it will, it is diabolical, it is devilish, it is from a diabolical spirit, from the height of Satan's wickedness Why, truly I need not say more than to apply it thus I will be bold to apply it thus to this purpose, because it is my all. I could say as all the world says and run headily upon anything, [but] I must tender this unto you as a thing that sways with my conscience, or else I were a knave



and a deceiver I tell you there are such men in this nation that are godly, men of the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down with a carnal or worldly spirit while they keep their integrity I deal plainly and faithfully with you, I cannot think that God would bless me in the undertaking of anything, that would justly and with cause grieve them That they will be troubled without cause, I must be a slave if I should comply with any such humours I say, that [there] are honest men and faithful men and true to the people, giving them I think verily God will bless you for what you have done in that, and what you have a desire to do in that, and they that are truly honest will bless you for it But if that I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good men do not swallow this title, though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them, yet I must say that it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you, that there may be no hard thing put upon me, things I mean hard to them, that they cannot swallow. If the nation may as well be provided for without these things, by some of these things I have hunted unto you,—as according to my poor apprehension it may,—I think truly it will be no sin to you to seek their favour, as it was to David in another case, no grief of heart to you, that you have a tenderness, even possibly if it be [to] their weakness, to the weakness of those that have integrity and uprightness, and are not carried away with the hurries that I see some are, who think that their virtue lies in despising authority, opposing of it I think you will be better able to root out of this nation that spirit and principle,—and it is as desirable as anything in the world,—by complying, indulging, and being patient unto the weaknesses and infirmities of men that have been faithful, and have bled all along in this cause, and are faithful and will oppose all oppositions, I am confident of it, to the things that are fundamental in your government, in your settlement for civil and gospel liberties I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess I would say,—I hope I may be understood in this, for indeed I must be tender in what I say to such an audience as this is,—I say I would be understood, that in this argument I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind and the Parliament, which shall have their desires, I know there is no comparison, nor can it be urged upon me That my words have the least colour that way may be because the Parliament seems to give liberty to me to say anything to you as that that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgements and opinions unto you And if I think they are such and will be such to them, and [that they] are faithful servants and will be so to the supreme authority and the legislative whatsoever it is, if I say I should not tell you, knowing their mind to be so, I should not be faithful, if I should not tell you so, to the end you may

And truly in my own mind. I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words or names or such things, I am not: but as I have the Word of God, and I hope I shall ever have, for the rule of my conscience, for my information, so truly men that have been led in the dark paths through the providence and dispensations of God. Why surely it is not to be objected to a man, for who can love to walk in the dark? But providence does oftentimes so dispose, and though a man may impute his own

folly and blindness to providence sinfully, yet that must be at my peril. The case may be, that it is the providence of God that does lead men in darkness. I must needs say I have had a great deal of experience of providence, and Word, yet it is a very good exposi-

Truly the providence of God has laid this title aside providentially. *De facto* it is laid as aside and this not by sudden humour or passion, but it has been the issue of a great deliberation as ever was in a nation. It has been the issue of ten or twelve years' civil war, wherein much blood has been shed. I will not dispute the justice of it when it was done, nor need I now tell you

best known to himself, [but] has made the issue and close of it to be the very eradication of a name or title, which *de facto* is [the case],—it was not done by me, nor by them that tendered me the government I now act in. It was done by the Long Parliament, that was it. And God has seemed providentially not only to strike at the family but at the name. And as I said before, *de facto* it is blotted out, it is a thing cast out by Act of Parliament, it's a thing has been kept out to this day. And as Jude saith in another case, speaking of abominable sins that should be in the latter times, he doth likewise when he comes to exhort the saints tell them they should *hate even the garment spotted with the flesh*. I beseech you think not I bring it as an argument to prove anything, or to make any comparison. I have no such thoughts. God hath seemed to deal so. He hath not only dealt so with the persons and the family, but he hath blasted the title. And you know, when a man comes *a parte post* to reflect and to see that this is done and laid in the dust, I can make no conclusion but this,—they may have strong impressions upon such weak men as I am, and perhaps (if there be any such) upon weaker men it will be stronger,—I and to my judgement and conscience that it is truly. It is that which hath an

are very fickle, very uncertain. Nay, God knows, you had need have a great deal of faith to strengthen you in your work, and all assistance. You had need to look at settlement. I would rather I were in my grave than hinder you in anything that may be for settlement, for the nation needs it and never needed it more. And therefore out of the love and honour I bear you,—which I am for ever bound to do whatever becomes of me—I am for ever bound to acknowledge that you have dealt most honourably and worthily with me, and lovingly, and have had respect for one that deserves nothing. Indeed out of the love and faithfulness I bear you, and out of the sense I have of the difficulty of your work, I would not have you lose any help that might serve you, that may stand in stead to you, but would be a sacrifice that there might be, so long as God shall please to let the Parliament sit, a harmony, a better understanding and good understanding between all of you. And, whatsoever any man thinks, it equally concerns one man as another to go on to a settlement. and where I meet any that is of another mind, indeed I could almost curse him in my heart. And therefore, to

the end I might deal faithfully and freely, I would have you lose nothing that might stand you in stead this way I would not that you should lose any

necessary I would not that you should lose a friend for it If I could help you to many and multiply myself into many that would be to serve you in settlement, and therefore would not that any,—especially any of those that indeed perhaps are men, that do think themselves engaged to continue to you and to serve you,—should be anyway disoblged from you.

The truth is I did make that my conclusion to you at first, when I told you what method I would speak to you in. I may say that I cannot with conveniency to myself, nor good to this service that I wish so well to, speak out all my arguments in order to safety, and in order to tendency to an effectual carrying on of the work. I say I do not think it fit to urge all the thoughts I have in my mind as to that point of safety, but I pray to God Almighty, that he would direct you to do according to his will That is that poor account I am able to give you of myself in this thing.<sup>20</sup>

It was a difficult situation as every one recognized, and Cromwell not least, and it was not helped by the fact that he was at that moment in very poor health. Having delivered himself at great length to very little definite purpose, the meeting was adjourned until the next day, but when the committee came to Whitehall it found the health of the Protector so poor that, when, after waiting an hour, it was informed that Cromwell would not come to see them, and so was put off again until Thursday, which, as Burton noted, "did strongly build up the faith of the Contrarians,"<sup>21</sup> who felt that he did not dare accept the crown. Meanwhile the House busied itself with the examination of the plot and declaration of the Fifth Monarchists, which were also probably being considered at the same time by the Protector and the Council. Between his cold and the plot it seemed that even the question of kingship had to wait. In Giavarina's opinion,

Parliament seems disgusted at this tedious delay and declares that they want a decision, but Cromwell only wants to gain time and drag things out. . . . he now pretends to be worse and has notified the deputies that he will let them know when he is fit to receive them. So he procrastinates in one way or another. . . . In the end he will have to settle the matter to avoid irritating parliament and not to force it, once it has decided to have a king, to offer the crown to some one else . . . If the means were arranged for collecting the money they have decided to raise, nothing would restrain the Protector from dismissing

<sup>20</sup> *Monarchy Asserted*, Stainer, no. 42, Lomas-Carlyle, Speech XI (the Carlyle version checked in notes from *Ashmole MSS.* by Mrs. Lomas).

<sup>21</sup> Burton, II, 3-4.

parliament. . . I have been confidentially informed . . . that . . . the army is disposed to make unexpected advances to Charles<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand the Rev Mr Hooke, minister in Boston, Massachusetts, wrote that he supposed Cromwell's "refusal to refusal, as the case is circumstanced." "The army, however, was probably "willing enough to betake himself to a private life, if might be" "He is a godly man," wrote Hooke, "much in prayer and good discourses, delighting in good men and good ministers, self-denying and ready to promote any good work for Christ"<sup>23</sup> It is apparent that the opinion of the worthy Mr Hooke was—shall we say—less objective and much less worldly than that of the Venetian envoy; and it is all but inconceivable that Cromwell could have quietly retired to private life, even had he been so inclined. It seems no less apparent that, however fantastic the idea of the army offering the crown to Charles II may appear, there was a not inconsiderable ele-

at least without a new civil war. Giavarina's judgment that the Protector was using both his cold and the plot to put off a decision on the kingship seems to be confirmed by other testimony. When the committee attended him on Thursday, according to one report, "he came out of his chamber half unready in his gown, and a black scarf

Lockhart's correspondents—and Whitelocke—"being busy in examining the new plot, they were put off to another day"<sup>25</sup> Schlezer believed that the danger from the Fifth Monarchists increased the chances of the establishment of the monarchy,<sup>26</sup> but it is difficult to see why that should have been true, even though it might have been put forward as an argument for the acceptance of the crown. The Fifth Monarchists, whatever else they wanted, were, as their doctrines and their history showed, bitterly opposed to an

dom would have been at least as obnoxious to them as that of a Protectorate. On the other hand it might have been argued that by rallying the nation around Cromwell as king—if that had been possible—his acceptance of the crown would have provided new strength to combat these subversive elements

<sup>22</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Apr. 17/27, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), pp. 44-45

<sup>23</sup> Wm Hooke to John Winthrop, Apr. 13, *Mass Hist Soc Coll*, ser. 3, 1, 181

<sup>24</sup> S. Charlton to R. Leveson, Apr. 20, *Hist MSS Comm Rept* 5, App. p. 163 (*Sutherland MSS*)

<sup>25</sup> Whitelocke, p. 656, Walker to Lockhart, Apr. 6/16, *Cal S Dom.* (1656-7), p. 344

<sup>26</sup> Schlezer to Schwerin, Apr. 10/20, *Urk. u. Actenst.*, vii, 764

can . . . be . . . observed to Nicholas would be a misfortune to Christendom and agreeable to none but Mazarin and Cromwell.<sup>27</sup> What that meant was soon evident, for Lockhart wrote Thurloe at once that Mazarin was "anxious to promote the election of any one not of the House of Austria, and desires his Highness to move the Protestant Electors in behalf of any such person as may be agreed upon."<sup>28</sup> It was another evidence of the importance of the Protector in European affairs and his close connection with Mazarin. That connection was, in fact, too close to suit the Dutch. Intelligence from the Hague indicated that the opinion there was that Cromwell was on the French side in the Franco-Dutch quarrel caused by the seizure of one of de Ruyter's ships;<sup>29</sup> and Boreel, the Dutch envoy to France, felt that Cromwell would pattern his policy on that of France, "unfree goods, unfree ship; and unfree ship, unfree goods," which was, in fact, the English position, while the Dutch clung to the right of free ships, free goods. Mazarin, of course, denied the accusation against Cromwell and declared—what there is no other reason to believe—that the Protector had tried to persuade Louis to the contrary.<sup>30</sup> That seems improbable when one considers that the corner-stone of English policy in its relations with Spain and the Netherlands had been the right of search and seizure in the case of contraband goods. The question of the election of a new Emperor was of more importance to France than to England. Cromwell had labored under the illusion that Ferdinand III was not only the head of the house of Hapsburg but a militant champion of Roman Catholicism. Mazarin was under no such misapprehension. He knew that Ferdinand had desired nothing less than a recurrence of the religious wars which had but lately wrecked central Europe; but as the principal minister of the house of Bourbon he was naturally opposed to anything which would strengthen its chief rival, the house of Hapsburg, and if there was small chance of choosing a Protestant Emperor, he might, at least, enlist the Protector in his efforts to embarrass the Hapsburgs.

It was not in Cromwell's power at this moment, even had he been so inclined, to do much, if anything, in regard to the choice of a new Emperor, nor does he seem to have taken any steps in the matter. He was too much concerned with problems nearer home. The Fifth Monarchy plot, which at this distance seems, like those in the following reign, to be a hopeless enterprise, was then regarded more seriously, perhaps because it came from the same elements which had

<sup>27</sup> H. de N. to Cromwell, 10 Apr. 1658, *ibid.*, p. 336.

<sup>28</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, 10 Apr. 1658, *ibid.*, p. 336.

<sup>29</sup> Intelligence from the Hague, Apr. 10/20, Thurloe, vi, 190-91.

<sup>30</sup> Boreel to States General, Apr. 12/22, *ibid.*, p. 198.

earlier supported Cromwell and the revolutionary party. There was no means of knowing how far the disaffection had or might spread, and apart from the seizure, examination and imprisonment of some of the conspirators, Giavarina reported that the recruiting drums were beaten to increase every regiment to 1,000 effectives.<sup>21</sup> Nor were the Royalists less alarmed, for their agent Rumbold wrote to Ormonde that Cecil, who had informed against Sindercombe, and two others were on their way to Flanders to assassinate Charles II, with a promised reward of £2,000 each in case of success.<sup>22</sup> On its face the story was improbable, but it was precisely the kind of a rumor which the times encouraged, especially at such a moment as this

The air, in fact, was full of rumor and of news which was not mere rumor. The Duke of Courland was reported, probably enough, to have "resolved to take his Majesty of Sweden's part"<sup>23</sup> Lockhart himself was said to have given up his house in Paris because he was so certain that Cromwell would accept the crown and that Lockhart "should share proportionately in this rise of fortune, owing to his connection through his wife."<sup>24</sup> It seems probable that Lockhart was not alone in this expectation, for, apart from whatever advantage it might be to the state, to the revolutionary party and to Cromwell, it might be of some personal advantage to some of the men who were now so urgently pressing kingship on the Protector. They had risen thus far with him, it was natural that at least some of them might

the diplomatic front Lockhart reported that the English forces for the Dunkirk expedition were expected to be landed within a fortnight at the latest,<sup>25</sup> but apparently the commander had not yet been named, as Reynolds voiced his objections to giving up his post in Ireland to go to Flanders as second in command under a foreigner, "or at best a general but half an Englishman," by which he may possibly have meant that tough little soldier, Morgan, who had distinguished himself in Scotland with Monk, and who presently became second in command in Flanders under Reynolds. Reynolds himself expressed his preference for serving under Richard or Henry Cromwell,<sup>26</sup> but it does not appear that the Protector even considered such a suggestion. From other directions came news of less consequence. Longland wrote that he was sending the Protector a Barbary mare for breeding purposes,<sup>27</sup> but it

<sup>21</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Apr. 17/27, *Cal S. P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 46.

<sup>22</sup> Apr. 14/24, Macray, III, 277, no. 836.

<sup>23</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, Apr. 16-23.

<sup>24</sup> Giustinian to Doge, Paris, Apr. 14/24, *Cal S. P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 44.

<sup>25</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Apr. 15/25, Thurloe, VI, 202.

<sup>26</sup> Reynolds to Henry C., Apr. 14, quot. in Firth, *Last Years*, I, 274.

<sup>27</sup> Longland to Thurloe, Apr. 15/25, Thurloe, VI, 201.

arrived ultimately in very poor condition,<sup>38</sup> not being used to sea-voyages. Bendish appealed to Cromwell to express his displeasure to the Venetian ambassador at the Venetians blocking or searching ships in the Constantinople;<sup>39</sup> and at the same time Giavarina was to inform the Venetians that Venice had decided to pay what was due to Thomas Gallilee and to see that his son was released by the Turks.<sup>40</sup> Schlezer meanwhile seems to have handed to the Protector, though without the benefit of an audience, a memorial to the effect that it had been eighteen months since the Elector of Brandenburg had offered his services and friendship to the English government; that through Schlezer an amicable relationship had been established, and that the Elector had made great efforts for an alliance, though thus far with no results. Meanwhile another enemy had made its appearance in the form of Russia; the Elector had received no actual aid from England and urgently requested some assistance, in the form of money or otherwise.<sup>41</sup> For this Schlezer was repeatedly recommended especially for his reference to Russia, for if it had been considered this communication, the Elector would have found himself in an awkward position. It would have been better, Schlezer was informed, to have pointed this out in a confidential conversation. With regard to the alliance, since the Protector had made no answer to the earlier offer, Brandenburg was released from any obligation, and for the future Schlezer was instructed to do nothing without special orders.<sup>42</sup> Finally, in connection with these various diplomatic interchanges, Brienne informed Bordeaux that it would not be necessary to ask for special favors for the English Catholics, as Lockhart believed the Protector would not enforce the laws against them. The Dunkirk project was now in train and Lockhart was granted everything he wanted, except the money from England which he persistently sought.<sup>43</sup>

Such were some of the problems which pressed for solution while the Protector and his advisers faced the more immediate issue of the kingship. Even these numerous and varied matters were not all the business which pressed upon the Protector at this time. Not since the reign of Henry VIII had the question of an election to the imperial throne much disturbed English politics, but the death of Ferdinand III suddenly brought that issue to the fore. Ordinarily the imperial crown would have been passed on to Ferdinand's eldest son

<sup>38</sup> Same to same, July 22/23, *ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>39</sup> ... *Voss* (1657-9), p. 47  
vii, 765

<sup>40</sup> Kurfurst to Schlezer, May 14/24, *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Brienne to Bordeaux, Paris, Apr. 18/28, Thurloe, vi, 214.

after the formality of an election, but that son had died; his younger brother, Leopold, king of Hungary and Bohemia, was only seventeen years old and was not eligible for election until he was eighteen. In

only the greatest dignity in Europe but touched the continental states at nearly every point from France on the west, Sweden on the north, Poland on the east and even Turkey on the south. Every one, therefore, was deeply interested in the succession to the imperial throne, Mazarin perhaps most of all since this seemed a golden opportunity to wrest that dignity from France's great enemy, the house of Austria, which had held it so long, and in that design the wily Cardinal had at least some hope of aid from his new ally, the Protector.

As a result the English intelligencers on the Continent were roused to a new burst of activity. Intelligence from Hamburg conjectured that the electors would probably not choose the young king of Hungary and that the ensuing contest might well "produce the saddest calamities, divisions, and disaffections which ever befel the Roman empire . . . to make a general diversion in the counsels of the most princes of Europe," not least in those of Denmark which had relied on the Emperor for help against Sweden, and men foresaw "an end of the Austrian rule, to the great weakninge of the Spanish interests"<sup>44</sup> From Paris <sup>45</sup> that they had decided to despatch Lionne and <sup>46</sup> possible, the election of any of the house of Austria," and that "the event of a new war is likeliest to determine whose shall be emperor." The Jesuits and clergy, he wrote, were for the archduke Leopold.<sup>46</sup> Danger threatened from another quarter as well, for Longland reported from Italy that the Turks might "find the easier access by land to the Venetian confines in Dalmatia,"<sup>46</sup> now that the empire was for the moment without a master.

All this came at a most unfortunate time for the Protector and his advisers, absorbed as they were not only in the problem of kingship but in the Spanish war, and as always afraid of the strength of the great Roman Catholic empire being somehow thrown against them. Men were still fearful of another Thirty Years' War, in which, now

Among these various matters, it would appear, ordinary administrative meeting the first three days of that week, so that the committee on the *Petition and*

<sup>44</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1675-76, p. 179.



*Advice* might attend the Protector Postponed from the preceding Friday, the meeting was held at ten o'clock on the morning of Monday, April 20, when he addressed the committee as usual in "a dark speech, more promiscuous than before," and the committee returned "as unsatisfied as before".<sup>47</sup>

*Speech to the Committee, Monday, April 20, 1657*

MY LORD,

I have, as well as I could, considered the arguments used by you the other day to enforce the conclusion that refers to the name and title, that was the subject-matter of the debates and conferences that have been between us.

I shall not now spend your time, nor my own much, in repeating those arguments and in giving answers to them indeed, I think they are but the same that they were formerly, only there were some additional enforcements of those arguments by new instances I think truly, after the rate of [this] debate, I may spend your time, which I know is very precious: and unless I were a satisfied person, the time would spin out and be very unprofitably. I only must say a word or two as to that I think was new [at] what comes from the Parliament in the exercise of the legislative power, which this [present title of "Protector"] is,—I understand it to be an exercise of the legislative power, and the laws were always formerly passed this way, and that of Bills was of a newer date, I understand that I say,—but it is said, that what is done by the Parliament now, and simply hangs upon their legislative, seems to be a thing that is *ex dono*, and not *de jure*; not a thing that is of so good weight and so strong, as what refers from them to the law that is already in being I confess there is some argument in that, that there is! But if the strength will be as good without it, though it comes as a gift from you,—I mean as a thing that you provide for them, or else it will never come to them so in a sense it comes from you It is that they otherwise come by, therefore in a sense it is *ex dono*. For he that helps a man to what he cannot otherwise come by, he doth an act that is very near a gift And you helping them to it, it is a kind of gift to them, otherwise they could not have it. But if you do it simply by your legislative power, the question is not what makes this [title of "Protector"] more firm,—whether the manner of the settling of it, or the manner of your doing it, it is always as great a labour,—but the question lies in the acceptation of them who are concerned to yield obedience, and accept this And therefore if a thing that hath for its root and foundation but your legislative in an act of yours,—if I may put a butt to it. I do not do so, for I say it is [on] as good a foundation as that other title is and if it be as well accepted, and that the other be less, then truly it is, I should think, the better

And then, all that [argument on behalf of the title of "Kingship,"] I say is founded upon the law I say all those arguments that are founded in the law are for it, because it hath been said it doth agree with the law, the law knows the office, the people know it, and the people are likelier to receive satisfaction

<sup>47</sup> Burton, II, 7.

that way Those have been arguments that have been already, and truly I know nothing that I have to add to them And therefore I say also, those

the Advice of Parliament I confess that runs to all, and that may be accounted a very great fault in me, and may arise up in judgement against me

I think it is They [are men] that have been in, and owned to be, in the right of the law, as inheritors coming to it by birthright, and [when] otherwise, [as] by the authority of Parliament, [they are men] who yet have had some I think, under favour, I deserve less well comply with the title, and with the desires of Parliament in it, as others do, for they that are in would take it for an injury to be outed. Truly these arguments are very strong to them, why they should not refuse that, that is tendered them by the Parliament

But,—I have dealt plainly with you, and I have not complimented with you,—I have not desired, I have no title to, the government of these nations, but what was taken up in a case of necessity, and temporary, to supply the st needs,—I say we had been all the rate of those men that have been taken going into arms, if [the government] had not been taken [up by me] It was as visible to me as the day, if I had not undertaken it. And so, it being put upon me, I being then General, as I was General by Act of Parliament, [it] being [put] upon me to [take the] power in my hand, after the assembly of men that was called together had been dissolved,—really the thing would have issued itself in this book, for as I am informed the book knows an author, it —when now I say,—I speak ; before Almighty God,—I did out of necessity undertake that, that no man I think would have undertaken but myself It hath pleased God that I have been instrumental to keep the peace of the nation to this day, and to keep it under a title that some [say] signifies but a keeping it to another's use, to a better use, that may improve it to a better use! And thus I may say I have not desired the continuance of my power or place, either under one title or another that I have not! And I say it, if the wisdom of Parliament could find where to place things so as they might save this nation and the interests of it,—the interest of the people of God in the first place, of those Godly honest men, for such a character I reckon them by, that live in the fear of God, and desire to hold forth the excellency and virtue of a Christian course in their life and conversation, for I reckon that also proceeds from faith and love,—looking to [their] duties towards Christians and to the humanity, to men as men, and to such liberties and interests, as the people of this nation are of, and I look upon that duty as a standing truth of the Gospel, and who lives up to that, according to that, is a Godly man in my apprehension. And therefore, I say, if the wisdom of this Parliament,—I speak not this vainly nor like a fool, but as to God,—and if the wisdom of this Parliament should have found a way to settle the interests of this nation, upon the foundations of

to the people of God, and [to the] concernments  
 could have lain down at their feet, or any body's  
 feet else, that this might have run in such a current. And therefore I say, I  
 have no pretensions to [these] things for myself, or to ask this or that, or to  
 avoid this or that. I know the concerns of the world may be able to  
 me, but I thank God, I am not so. I mean the weight of reproach and contempt and scorn, that hath been  
 cast upon me, [because] I have not offered you any name in competition with  
 Kingship. I know the evil spirits of men may easily obtrude upon a man, that  
 he would have a name that the Law knows not, and that is boundless, and is  
 that under which a man exercises more arbitrariness. I know there is nothing  
 in that argument, and if it were in your thoughts [to limit my Title], or to do  
 anything of that kind, aye whatsoever it was, it would bound it and limit it  
 sufficiently. I wish it were come to that, that no favour should be shewed to  
 me, but that the good of these nations might be consulted, as I am confident  
 they will be by you in whatsoever you do. But I may say this in answer to  
 that, that doth a little pinch upon me, and the more so when I am told it is  
 my duty. I think it can be no man's duty, nor obligation, but it is between  
 God and himself, if he be conscious of his own infirmities, disabilities, and  
 weaknesses, and that he is not able to encounter with [them], although he  
 may have a little faith too for a little exercise. I say I do not know which  
 way it can be imputed to me for a fault or laid upon me as a duty, except I  
 meant to gripe<sup>48</sup> at the government of the nations without a legal consent:  
 which I say I have done in times past upon the principles of necessity. And  
 I promise you, I shall think whatever is done without authority of Parliament  
 in order to settlement, will neither be very honest, nor yet that that I under-  
 stand. I think we have fought for the liberties of the nation, as well as for  
 other interests.

You will pardon me that I speak these things in such a way as this is. I  
 may be borne withal, because, I have not truly well borne the exercise that  
 hath been upon me now, these three or four days. I have not, I say. I have  
 told you my thoughts and have laid them before you. You have been pleased  
 to give me your grounds, and I have told you mine. And truly I do purposely  
 refuse to mention those arguments [that] were used when you were last here,  
 but rather tell you what sense lies upon my heart out of the abundance of  
 difficulty and trouble that lies upon me. And therefore, you having urged me,  
 I mean, offered reasons to me, and urged them with such grounds as did occur  
 to you,—and having told you the last time I met you that the satisfaction of  
 them did not reach to me, so as wholly to convince my judgement of what was  
 my duty,—I have thought rather to answer you with telling you my grief,  
 and the trouble I am under. And truly my intentions and purposes they are  
 honest to the nation, and shall be by the grace of God. And I cannot tell how  
 upon collateral pretences to act towards things that will be destructive to the  
 liberties of this nation. Any man may give me leave to die, and everybody  
 may give me leave to be as a dead man, when God takes away the spirit and  
 life and act<sup>49</sup>.

And there . . . we had

<sup>48</sup> ["now"?]

<sup>49</sup> ["gripe" or "grasp"?]

them, letting you know that I have looked a little upon the Paper, the Instrument I would say, in the other parts of it. And considering that there

concernment of the nations, I think I may desire that those may be such, as

I say, reading that there are divers particulars that are, that if I do make any have the freedom with this committee to cast my d.

I have a Paper here in my hand, that doth contain divers things with relation to the Instrument that, I hope, have a public aspect with them. Therefore I cannot presume but they will be very welcome to you therefore I shall desire that you will read them I should desire, if it please you, that liberty,—which I submit to your judgement whether you think I should have it or no,—that I might tender these few things, and some others that I have in preparation, to-morrow in the afternoon. And truly I shall reduce them to as much brevity as I can: they are too large here. And if it please you, to-morrow in the afternoon at three of the clock I shall meet you again, and I hope we shall come to know one another's minds, and shall agree to that that shall be to the glory of God, and the good of these nations <sup>50</sup>

This long and involved utterance, in reply to the arguments advanced by the committee on April 16, which were, in turn, directed to his objections as voiced on April 13, took the controversy another step forward, but in which direction no one could guess. Each side—"kinglings" and "Contrarians"—seemed to get some comfort out of it. Whatever else the modern reader can. Whatever else he proved himself a master of evasion, but it is evident that the arguments advanced for and against kingship were, in a sense, mere camouflage for the discussions and maneuvers which were going on behind the scenes, and of which we have no record, save indirect suggestions implied in the arguments themselves and in hints here and there from other directions. This long argument, indeed, however pleasing to the ingenious gentlemen who sharpened their wits on it and revealed their talents for controversy, seems at this distance to continue in its atmosphere of unreality. When on the next day, Tuesday, April 21, Whitelocke reported to the House the fact of the interview of the previous day, adding that he "had a paper, wherein he said were contained some other things which he had to offer to the Committee," it was decided to have another meeting at three that afternoon <sup>51</sup>. Accordingly at that time Protector and committee met again; certain members mean-

<sup>50</sup> "Asserted; another

<sup>51</sup> Burton, II, 7.

while exercising their ingenuity in devising new arguments in behalf of the Instrument which in the main at this distance seem to be supported by capacities as dialecticians than on their sense of political realities. Broghill argued that if the title of Protector was retained, the laws should be fitted to him, not he to the laws; Whitelocke that the title of king was not only by original consent but proved and confirmed by use through many ages, whereas the title of Protector was "only by present consent" and was not so firm, safe and certain as kingship; Glyn that kingship could not be transmitted to another name, if at all, while Broghill added that a Protector could act arbitrarily unless restricted by specific measures.<sup>52</sup> To all of which the Protector now replied.

*Speech to the Committee, Tuesday, April 21, 1657*

MY LORD,

I think you very well remember what the issue was of the last conference I had with you, and what the stick was then. I confess I took occasion from the Order of the Parliament, in which they gave you power to speak with me about those things that were in the body of that Instrument and desire which you have been pleased to speak with me about, that I might confer with you about those particulars, and might receive satisfaction from you as to them. Whether a good issue will be to all these affairs or no is only in the hands of God, that is a great secret, and secrets belong to God and things revealed to us. And such things [as] are the subject-matter of this Instrument of yours, and as far as they may have relation to me, that you and I may consider, what may be for the public good, that so they may receive such an impression as can humanly be given to them.

I would be well understood, that I say the former debate and conferences have been upon the title, and that rests as it did. And now seeing that, as I said before, your Order of Commitment doth as well reach to the particulars contained in the Instrument as to that of the title, I did offer to you that I should desire to speak with you about them also, that so we may come to an understanding of the matter, and what it is in the end, which is a general settlement upon good foundations. And truly as I have said often to the Parliament itself, when it gave me the honour to meet me in the Banqueting-House, so I must say to you that are a Committee, a very considerable representation of them, that I am hugely taken with the word Settlement, with the thing and with the notion of it. I think he is not worthy to live in England that is not able to expel that man out of his mind that is not able to come to a settlement. Because indeed it is the great misery and unhappiness of a nation to be without it; and it is like a house, and much worse than a house divided against itself, it cannot stand without settlement. And therefore I hope we are all, so far, at a good point, and the spirit of the nation, I hope in the generality of it, is, so far, at a good point. We are all contending

<sup>52</sup> Stainer, pp. 469-70

... settlement that is entered into but the question is *de modo* and of those things

... it is it that tends to the making of the nation to enjoy the things we have declared for,—and I would come upon that issue with all men or any man,—the

ment I am sure they acquit us before God and man, who have endeavoured, as we have done, through some strivings<sup>68</sup> of blood to attain that end.

If I may tell you my experiences in this business and offend no good man that loves the public before that which is personal, truly I shall briefly a little recapitulate to you what my observation, and endeavour, and interest, hath been to this end And I hope no man, that hath been interested in transactions all along, will blame me if I speak a little plainly, and he shall have no cause to blame me, because I will take myself into the number of culpable persons, if there be any such, though perhaps apt enough out of the self-love I have to be willing to be innocent where I am so, and yet to be as willing to take my reproach if anybody will lay it upon me where I am culpable And truly I have through the providence of God endeavoured to discharge a poor

shall not go about to say anything to make that out clear to you, but must exercise myself in a little short chronology, to come to that, that I say is really all our business at this time, and the business of this nation to come upon clear grounds and to consider the providences of God, how they have led us hitherto.

After it pleased God to put an end to the war of this nation,—a final end which was done at Worcester, in the determination and decision that was there by the hand of God, for other war we have had none, that, perhaps, deserves the name of war since that time, which is now six years,—I came in September up to the Parliament that then was, and truly I found the Parliament, as I thought, very well disposed to put a good issue to all these transactions that

I though I had not been well ten years in the field, yet in my poor measure my desires did tend to some issue, believing verily that all the blood that had been shed and all that distemper that God had suffered

order to somewhat. Truly it was then I thought upon settlement, that is that men might come to some consistency, and to that end I did endeavour to add my mite, which was no more than the interest of any one Member, I am sure not of [better] right than any one Member that was there, after I was returned

I say true or no,—I did endeavour of this, but yet this is truth and

<sup>68</sup> "streamings," *Monarchy Asserted*

nothing of discovery on my part, but that which everybody knows to be  
 holding to them in good measure [for] But yet truly as men that contend  
 for public interest are not like to have the applause of all men, nor justification  
 from all hands, so it was with them And truly when they had made prepara-  
 tion that might lead to the issuing in some good for the settlement of these  
 tyranny and oppression, from  
 by innovations to introduce  
 Popery and by complying with some notions introduce arbitrariness upon a  
 civil account, why they had more enemies than friends, they had so all along  
 And thus made them careful, out of principles of Nature, (that do sometimes  
 suggest best), and upon the utmost undeniable grounds they did think that it  
 was not fit for them presently to go and throw themselves and all this cause  
 into hands that perhaps had no heart nor principle with them to accomplish  
 the end that they aimed at

I say, perhaps through infirmity, they did desire to have continued them-  
 selves and to have perpetuated themselves upon that Act,<sup>14</sup> which was per-  
 haps justly enough obtained and necessarily enough obtained when they got  
 it from the King; [and] though truly it was good in the first obtaining of it,  
 yet it was, by most men who had ventured their lives in this cause, judged  
 not fit to be perpetuated, but rather a thing that was to have an end when it  
 had finished its course, which was certainly the true way of it, in subserviency  
 to the bringing in that which might be a good and honest settlement to the  
 nation I must say to you, I found them very willing to perpetuate them-  
 selves And truly this is not a thing of reflection upon all, for perhaps some  
 were not so I can say so of some of them, the sober men that I had converse  
 with, they would not have had it perpetual, but the major part I think over-  
 ruled in that they would have continued This is true that I say to you: I was  
 entreated to it and advised to it, and it was by this medium [they thought] to  
 have accomplished it, that is to have sent into the country to have reinforced

of men coming into rule and government, because as men died out of the  
 that could  
 to govern is  
 to have men successive, and in such great bodies as Parliaments, to have men  
 learn to know how to obey as well as to govern And truly the best expedient  
 that we then had was thus that I tell you The truth of it is, this [answer of  
 theirs] did not satisfy a company of poor men that had ventured their lives,  
 and had some thoughts that they had a little interest to inquire after the  
 things, and the rather because really th  
 honesty, conscience, and religion, for  
 come. Where the cause was a little doubtful, there was a Declaration that was  
 very inviting, and men did come in upon that invitation, and did thereby  
 think themselves not to be mercenary men, but men that had wives and chil-

<sup>14</sup> May 10, 1641 Parliament was not to be dissolved without its consent.

dren in the nation and therefore might a little look after satisfaction in what

be overpressed, that a period might be put, and that that might be ascertained and a time fixed, why truly then the extremity ran another way. This is very true that I tell you, though it shame me. I do not say it shames all that were of the House, for I know all were not of that mind. Why truly when this was urged, then another extremity arose. What was that? Why truly then it was, seeing a

in pretence and did not remedy the thing. And then when that was pursued with that great heat, that I dare say there was more progress made in it in a month, than was with the like business in four, to hasten it to an issue that this nation into a ain men, and I do think it still, that it had been, according to the foolish proverb, out of the frying-pan into the fire. For, looking at the government they would then have, it was a Commonwealth's government, why, we should have had fine work then! We should have had a Council of State and a Parliament of four hundred men executing arbitray government without intermission, saving of while they left ap in. Truly I

no more but this, that Committees of Parliament should take upon them, and be instead of, the Courts of Westminster,—perhaps some will think there had been no hurt in that,—and arbitrariness would have been in Committees, where a man can neither come to prove nor defend, nor know his judges, because there are one sort of men that judge him to-day and another sort of men to-morrow. This should have been the Law of England, this should have been the way of judging this nation. And truly I thought that that was an ill way of judging, for I may say to you with truth to that, after it pleased God, your poor army, these poor contemptible men, came up hither, it was so,—an outcry here in

Committees etc. London to attend Committees, to determine all things and without any manner of satisfaction. Whether a man's cause be never so right or wrong, he must come and he must go back again as wise as he came.

This truly was the cause and our condition, and truly I must needs say, take all in that was in the practices, I am sorry to tell the story of it, though there was indeed some necessity of the business, a necessity of some Committees to look to indemnity, but no necessity of Committees instead of Courts of Justice. But it was so, and this was the case of the people of England at that time. And the Parliament assuming to itself the authority of the Three Estates that were before,—it was so assuming that authority,—and if any man would have come and said, What are the rules you judge by? the answer would have been, Why! we have none, but we are supreme in



Legislative and in Judicature! This was the state of the case, and I thought, and we thought, and I think so still, that this was a pitiful remedy, and it will be so when and while the Legislative is perpetually exercised, when the Legislative and Executive powers are always the same. And truly I think the Legislative would be almost as well in the four Courts of Westminster-Hall, and if they could make laws and judge too, you would have excellent laws, and the lawyers would be able to give you excellent counsel. And so it was then, this was our condition without scruple and doubt, and I shall say no more to it. But truly it was offered then, truly and honestly, and we did desire and beg that we might have a settlement, [and] that that now is here, that is there proposed a settlement.

It was desired then, it was offered and desired, that the Parliament would be pleased, either of their own number or any else, to choose a certain number of men to settle the nation. This [method of theirs] is unsettlement, this is confusion. For give me leave, if anybody now have the face to say, and I would die upon this, if any man in England have the impudence or the face to say, that the exceptions of the Parliament was the fear of their hasty throwing of the liberties of the people of God and the nation into a bare representative of the people,—which was then the business we opposed,—if any man have that face to say it now that did then, or I will say more, ought then to judge, it had been a confounding of the whole cause we had fought

say . . . some men to it . . . Why do

you not? Why? Because you will exercise arbitrary government. Why, what would you have me do? Pray turn General again, and we will like you exceeding well? I was a child in its swaddling clothes<sup>55</sup> I cannot transgress. By the government, I can do nothing but in ordination with the Council. They fear arbitrary government by me upon that account, but if I turned to be a General, they were not afraid of arbitrary government! Such as these

And truly that is our case, and finding our case to be thus, we did press the Parliament, as I told you, that they . . . worthy persons that had loved this cause . . . and the interests of it, and we told them we would acquiesce and lie at their feet. But to be thrown into Parliaments that should sit perpetually, though but for three years, they had had too much experience of it, the experience of which may remain to this day to give satisfaction to honest and sober men. Why truly we thought it<sup>56</sup> might satisfy, but it did not, and thereupon we did think that it was the greatest of dangers to be overwhelmed and brought under a slavery by our own consent, and iniquity to become a law, and there was our ground we acted upon at that time. And truly they had perfected the Bill for the perpetuating of Parliaments to the last clause, and were re-

<sup>55</sup> 'clouds,' *Monarchy Asserted*

<sup>56</sup> 'we did think it,' *Ibid.*, 'it' refers to the proposal of the Army

solved to pass it as a Bill *in paper* rather than comply with any expedient. If your own experience add anything to you in this, in this point, whether or no in cases civil and criminal, if a Parliament should assume an absolute power without any control, to determine the interests of men in property and liberty, whether or no this be desirable in a nation, if you have any sense,—as I believe you have, yea more than I have,—I believe you will take it for a mercy that that did not befall England at that time, and that is all I will say of it.

Truly I will now come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly. And yet it was done in my simplicity, I dare avow it was, and though some of my companions [did urge it upon me] and truly this is a story that would not be recorded, a story that would not be told but when good use may be made of it,—I say it was thought then, that men of our judgment, that had fought in the wars and were all of a piece upon that account, why surely these men will hit it, and these men will do to the purpose whatsoever can be desired! Truly we did think, and I did think so, the more to blame. And such a company of men were chosen and did proceed into action. And truly this was the naked truth, that the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design. What the issue of that meeting would have been, and was feared, you all know, upon which the sober men of that meeting did withdraw and came and returned my power as far as they could,—they did actually the greater part of them,—into my own hands, professing and believing that the

subversion of the laws and of all the Ministry of this nation, in a word the confusion of all things and, instead of order, to set up the judicial law of Moses in abrogation of all our administrations, to have been administered the judicial law of Moses, *pro hic et nunc*, according to the wisdom of any man that would have interpreted the text this way or that way. And if you do not believe that they were sent home by the major part, who were judicious and sober, and feared the worst upon this account, and with my consent also *a parte post*, you will believe nothing. For the persons that led in the meeting

Harrison, and those that associated with him at one time, Squibb & another, there were all the resolutions taken that were acted in that House day by day, and this was so *de facto*, I know it to be true. And that this must be the product of it, I do but appeal to that book I told you of the other day, that all Magistracy and Ministry is Antichristian, and therefore all these things ought to be abolished, which we are certain must have been the issue of that meeting.

So that you have been delivered, if I think right, from two evils. The one evil a secular evil, that would have swallowed up all civil interest and put us under the most horrid arbitrariness that ever was exercised in the world, that we might have had five hundred or six hundred friends, with their friends, to have had a judgment of all causes, and to have judged without a rule, thinking the other lawful powers in the nation, hath all the power that ever they had, both a Legislative and a Judiciary. This, I say, would have swallowed up the civil interest. And the other, merely under a spiritual interest, had swallowed up again all our religious interest, all our Ministry, and all the things we are beholden to God

for Truly we think we ought to value this interest above all the interests in the world, but if this latter had not been as sure destroyed as the former, I understand nothing.

And having told you these two things, truly I must needs say it makes me in love with this Paper and with all things in it, and with these additions that I have to tender to you, and with settlement above all things in the world, except that where I left you the last time; and for that I think we have debated I have heard your mind and you have heard mine I have told you my heart and my judgment, and the Lord bring forth his own issue

I think we are not now to consider what we are on the foot of [the] Government which called this Parliament, which, till there be an end put to it, is that that hath existence, and I shall say nothing to that. If that accomplisheth the end of our fighting and all these blessed and good ends that we

come out of myself to tell you, that as to the substance and body of your Instrument I do look upon it as having things in it, if I may speak freely and

had it, and he must be a pitiful man that thinks the people of God ever had that liberty, either *de facto* or *de jure* That is to say, *de jure* from God, I think they have had it from the beginning of the world to this day, and have it still, but asserted by a *jus humanum*, I say they never had it so as they have it now And I think you have provided for the liberty of the people of God and of the nation, and I say, he sings sweetly that sings a song of reconciliation betwixt these two interests, and it is a pitiful fancy, and wild and ignorant, to think they are inconsistent They may consist, and I speak my conscience—I think in this government you have made them to consist.

And therefore, I must say, in that and in other things that I have said well; that you have. And because I see the Vote of

leave to speak with me about the particulars, I think the Parliament doth think that any Member they have is not to be neglected in offering of anything that may be of additional good, and upon that account I have a little surveyed the Instrument. I have a Paper here to offer you upon that account, and truly I must needs say and think that, in such a case as this is, in so new a work and so strange a work as this is that is before you, it will not be thought ill of. I do with a little earnestness press you to some explanations that may help to complete and leave me satisfied, for it is only handled with me, this transaction is only handled with me at this time, [and] with you and the Parliament, whom you represent I am sure that I shall be able to satisfy me and all opposers without excuse, and I shall be able to settle this nation to the uttermost good of it in all things The things I have to offer to you, they are not very weighty, they may tend to the completion of the business, and therefore I shall take the freedom to read them to you

In the Fourth Article and second paragraph, you have something under that head that respects the calling of Members of Parliament You would not exclude those that were under Duke Hamilton in that invasion, because it hath been said to you perhaps, that if you exclude all those, you shall have no

Members from Scotland I hope there be persons of that nation that will be ready to give a better testimony of their country than to admit of that argument, and I hope it is none. But if it be one, then truly upon that uncertainty of the qualifications you should indeed exclude men of your own country perhaps upon lesser crimes, and hold them off upon stricter characters, [if] it is thought that that qualification [suffices], that saith that the testimony that they shall have [is] that they are men that have given good testi-

that place to explain somewhat else, and put some other character upon it, that may be accounted a good testimony of their being otherwise minded and

be never so indisposed and enemies, and remain so, yet if they have lived peaceably where they could neither will nor choose, they are to be admitted. I only tell you so, being without any amendment for it, and when I have done I shall offer the whole to you. This is the second paragraph.

In the third paragraph of the same Article, whereas it is said that [no] elect or be elected that, before the the Parliament, or otherwise given testimony of their good affections and continued faithful to the Parliament, —or are since revolted,— whether it be not necessary that it be more clearly

It seems to restore them, but if since then they have revolted, as many of our English-Irish I doubt have done, why then the question is, whether these men, who have very lately been angry and fled to arms, whether you will think their having borne arms formerly on the Parliament's side should be an exemption to them. That is but tendered to you, that some worthy person here will give an answer unto

In the fifth paragraph of the same Article, you have incapacitated public preachers from sitting in Parliament, and truly I think that your intention is, that such as have a Pastoral function, such as are actually and really Ministers. For I must say to you in the behalf of our Army, in the next place to their fighting they have been very good preachers, and I should be sorry they should be excluded from serving the Commonwealth because they have been accustomed to preach to their troops, companies, and regiments, which I think have been one of the best blessings upon them to the carrying on of the great work. I think you do not mean so, but I tender it to you, that if you think fit there may be a consideration had of it. There may be some of us, it may be, that have been a little guilty of that, who would be loath to be excluded from sitting in Parliament.

In the same paragraph there is care taken for the nominating Commissioners to try the Members which are chosen to sit in Parliament, and truly those Commissioners are uncertain persons and it is hard to say what may happen. I hope they will always be good men, but if they should be bad, then

perhaps they will keep out good men. Besides we think truly—if you will  
 of Parliament it will be something  
 than otherwise. Very many reasons  
 might be given, but I do but tender it to you. I think if there be no Com-  
 missioners, it would be never a whit the worse, but if you make qualifications,

and if he sit without being chosen, [and so without a qualification], I am sure  
 the old custom was to send him to the Tower, to imprison such a one. If any  
 man sit there that have not right to sit there,—if any stranger come in upon  
 a pretended title of election, then perhaps it was a different case,—if any sit  
 there upon pretence of a qualification upon him, you may send him to prison  
 without any more ado. Whether you think fit to do so or no, it is a Parlia-  
 mentary business, I do but hint it to you. I believe if any man had sat in  
 former Parliaments, that had not taken the oaths prescribed, it would have  
 been fault enough. I believe something of that kind would be equivalent to  
 any other way, if not better.

In that Article, which I think is the Fifth Article, which concerns the  
 nomination of the other House, it is in the beginning of that Article, that the  
 House is to be nominated, as you design it,<sup>87</sup> and the approbation is to be from  
 this House, I would say from the Parliament, is it not so? But then now, if  
 any shall be subsequently named, after this [other] House is sat, upon any  
 accidental removal or death, you do not say. Though it seems to refer to the  
 same [method] that [the paragraph as to] the first election doth, yet it doth  
 not refer clearly to this, that the nomination shall be where it was, in the  
 Chief Officer, and the approbation in the other House.<sup>88</sup> If I do not express it  
 clearly, I hope you will pardon me, but I think that is the aim of it, it is not  
 clearly expressed there as I think. You will be able to judge whether it be or  
 no.

In the Seventh Article, that which concerns the revenue, that is the  
 revenue that you have appointed to the government, you have distributed  
 300,000 pounds of it to the maintenance of the civil authority, 1,000,000  
 to the maintenance of your forces by sea and land  
 your Instrument, and we cannot doubt of it, but  
 yet you have not made it certain; nor yet of  
 tended for the peace and safety of the nation  
 take it into your thoughts, and make both those certain, both as to the sum  
 and time that those supplies shall be continued. And truly I hope I do not  
 curry favour with you, but it is desired, and I may very reasonably desire,  
 that these monies, whatever they are, that they may not,—if God shall bring  
 me to any interest in this business, which lieth in his own power,—that these  
 monies may not be issued out by the authority of the Chief Magistrate, but  
 by the advice of his Council, seeing you have in your Instrument made a co-  
 ordination in general terms, that this might be a reserved thing, that the  
 monies might not be distributed [save in this manner]. It will be a safety to  
 whomsoever is your supreme Magistrate, as well as security to the public,  
 that the monies might be issued out by the advice of the Council; and that the

<sup>87</sup> By the Protector.

<sup>88</sup> Commons.

Treasurers that receive the money may be accountable every Parliament, within a certain time limited by yourselves, [that] every new Parliament the Treasurer may be accountable to the Parliament for the disposing of the treasure

And there is mention made of the Judges in the Ninth Article. It is mentioned that the Officers of State and the Judges are to be chosen by the approbation of the Parliament. If there be no Parliament sitting, if there be no way

to be afterwards approved by Parliament

The Thirteenth Article relates to several qualifications that persons must be qualified with, that are put into places of public office and trust. Now if

most to a constable; if not altogether, it goeth far. Now if any shall come that are not so qualified, they certainly do commit a breach upon your rule, and whether you will not think in this case, that if any shall take upon them an

from accepting of offices and places of trust contrary to that Article

The next is fetched in, I may say, in some respects by head and shoulders in

There is many

will and set down a great number of the names of men that should receive benefit by him, and there was no sum at the latter end. I am confident that you are resolved to deal effectually in the thing at the latter end, and I should wrong my own conscience if I should think otherwise. I hope you will think sincerely, as before God, that the laws must be regulated; I hope you will. We have been often talking of them, and I remember well, in the old Parliament, that we were more than three months and could not get over the word "incumbrances." And then we thought there was little hope of regulating the Law, when there was such a difficulty at that. But surely the laws need to be regulated! And I must needs say, I think it is a sacrifice acceptable to God upon many and would have it done

delays in suits and the excessiveness in fees, and the costliness of suits, and those various things, that I do not know what names they bear,—I have heard talk of "demurrers" and such like things as I scarce know,—but I say certainly, that the people are greatly suffering in this respect, they are so. And truly if this whole business of settlement, whatsoever the issue of it shall be, [if] [it] comes, as I am persuaded that it doth, as a thing that would please God, by a sacrifice in or rather as an expression of our thankfulness to God, I am persuaded that this will be the one thing that will be upon your hearts, to do something that is honourable and effectual in it.

That truly, I say, that is not in your Instrument [is] somewhat that relates to the reformation of manners. You will pardon me my fellow soldiers

that were raised upon the just occasion of the insurrection, not only to secure the peace of the nation, but to see that persons, that were least likely to help on peace or continue it but rather to break it, [were careful of their be-

not be supposed to live to the profit of the Commonwealth. Which I think had a good course taken with them; and I think that which was done to them was honourably, and honestly, and profitably done. And for my own part, I must needs say it shewed the dissoluteness that was then in the nation; as indeed it springs most from that party of the Cavaliers, [it shewed what was

We can send our children into France before they know God or good manners, and return with all the licentiousness of that nation; neither care taken to educate them before they go, nor to keep them in good order when they come home. Indeed this makes the nation not only to commit those abominable things among us, inhuman things, but hardens men to justify those things, and, as the Apostle saith, not only to do wickedness themselves, but to encourage others to do so. If something be not done in without sparing men's sons though they be noblemen's sons, let them be who they will, if debauched it is for the glory of God that nothing of outward consideration should save them in their debauchery from a just punishment and reformation. And truly I must needs say it, I would as much bless God to see something done as to that heartily, upon this account, not only to those persons mentioned but to all the nation, that some course might be taken for reformation, that there might be some stop put to such a current of wickedness and evil as that is. And truly, to do it heartily, and nobly, and worthily, the nobility of this nation especially, and the gentry, will have cause to bless you. And likewise [I would] that some care might be taken, that those good laws already made for the punishing of vice may be effectually put in execution. This I must needs say for our Major-Generals that do you service, I think it was excellent good service, I profess I do. And I hope you will not think it unworthy of you [to consider] that, when you have seen that though you have good laws against the common country disorders that are everywhere, who is there to execute them? Really a Justice of Peace shall from the most be wondered at as an owl, if he go but one step out of the ordinary course of his fellow Justices in the reformation of these things. And therefore I hope I may represent that to you, as a thing worthy of your consideration, that something may be found out to suppress such things. I am persuaded you would glorify God in it, as much as any one thing you can do, I think so; you will pardon me.

I cannot tell, in this Article that I am now to speak unto, whether I speak to anything or nothing. There is a desire that the Public Revenue be not alienated, but by the consent of Parliament. I doubt Public Revenue is like *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*; that is, a notion only, and not to be found that I know of. But if there be any, and God bless us in our settlement, there will be Public Revenue accruing, and whether you will subject this to any alienation without the consent of Parliament, is that which is offered to you.

Truly this thing that I have further to offer to you,—it is last in this paper,

and that is a thing that is mentioned in the Sixteenth Article: that you would have those Acts and Ordinances that have been made since the late troubles, during the time of them, that they should, if they be not contrary to this, be in force and manner as if they had not been given away;—things in a settled condition, because it is but an implication, it is not determined, but you do pass by the thing without such a determination as will keep account, that And truly I do believe you intended very fully in this business. If the words already do not suffice, that I submit to your own advisement.

But there is in this a very great consideration. There have been since the Government several Acts and Ordinances, that have been made by the exercise of that legislative power that was exercised since we undertook this government, and I think your Instrument speaks a little more faintly to these, and dubiously, than to the other. And truly, I will not apologize for anything, but surely two persons, two sorts of men, will be nearly concerned upon this account, the persons who are the

be not clear in your expressions in this business. It will disettle us very much to think that the Parliament doth not approve well of what hath been

that would perhaps have lorded it too much over their brethren. We think that

what have you done since? Why as I will confess my fault where I am guilty, so I think, taking the things as they were, I think we did the Commonwealth service! And we have in that made great settlements, that we have! We have settled almost the whole affairs of Ireland, the rights and interest of the soldiers there, and of the planters and adventurers. And truly we have settled very much of the business of the Ministry. I wish it be not

world as having done any good or service, I can say it from my heart, and I know I say the truth, that it hath been,—let any man say what he will to the contrary, he will give me leave to enjoy my own opinion in it, and conscience, and heart,—I dare bear my testimony to it, there hath not been such a service to England since the Christian religion was professed in England. I dare be bold to say it; however here and there there may have been passion and mistakes. And the Ministers themselves, take the generality of them, they will tell you it is the Institution [of Triers that hath done this]. And we did take it up upon that account, and we did not think to do that which we

We know not better how to keep the Ministry good and to augment it to goodness, than to put such men to be Triers, men of known integrity and piety, orthodox men and faithful. We know not how better to answer our duty to God and the nation, and the people of God, in that respect, than in doing what we did.

And I dare say, if the grounds upon which we went will not justify us, the



issue and event of it doth abundantly justify us, God having had exceeding glory by it, in the generality of it, I am confident forty-fold For as heretofore the men that have been admitted into the Ministry, in times of Episcopacy,—alas, if any man could understand Latin and Greek, he was sure to be admitted, it was as if he spake Welsh, which I think in those days went for Hebrew with a great many. But certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve the turn, and a man was admitted upon such an account, aye, and upon a less! I am sure the admission that hath been to those places since hath been under this character as the rule that they must not admit a man unless they be able to discern some of the grace of God in him, [a qualification] which was so put too, as [that] it was not foolishly or senselessly [enforced], but so far as men could judge according to the rules of charity But such a man whose good life and conversation they could have a very good testimony of, from four or five of the neighbour Ministers who knew him, [they would try,] nor would they admit him, unless he could give a true and good testimony of the grace of God

thung], though a great many are angry at it. And how shall you please everybody? Then say some, none must be admitted except, perhaps, he will be baptized. This is their opinion, they will not admit a man into a congregation except he be so, much less to be a Minister The Presbyterian, he will not admit him except he will be ordained. Generally they will not go to the Independents Truly I think, if I may not be thought partial, I think if there be a freedom of judgment, it is there Here are three sorts of godly men that you are to take care for, and that you have provided for in your settlement. And how could you now put it to the Presbyterian, but you must have done it with a possibility of the exclusion of all those of Anabaptism, and of the Independents And now we have put it to the Independent of these judgments, if he have the rock, he will be admitted This hath been our care and work, by some Ordinances of ours, both laying the foundation of the church, and of the Ministry, and if it be so, it is

And therefore I hope you will be pleased to settle this business, that you will not call you to shake those honest men's interests that have been thus settled, considering so much good hath been wrought by them. And so I have done with the offers to you

But here is somewhat that is indeed exceedingly past my understanding, for I have as little skill in Arithmetic as I have in the Law There are great sums; it is well if I can count them to you The present charge of the forces both by sea and land, including the government, will be 2,426,989 pounds. The whole present revenue in England, Scotland, and Ireland is 1,900,000 pounds, I think this was reckoned at the most, as now the revenue stands Why now towards this, you settle by your Instrument 1,300,000 pounds for the government, and upon that account to maintain the force by land and sea, and this without Land Tax, I think And this is short of the revenue that now may be raised by the present government, 600,000 pounds. [I hope you will so far remedy this,] because you see [even now] the present government is 1,900,000 pounds, and the whole sum which now may be raised comes short

And so I have done with what I have to offer to you, I think I have truly on my part, until I shall understand wherein it is in me to do further, and when I shall understand your pleasure in these things a little further. We have answered the Order of Parliament in considering and debating of those things, that were the subject-matter of debate and consideration, and when you will be pleased to let me hear further of your thoughts in these things, then I suppose I shall be in a condition to discharge myself as God shall enable me. And I speak not this to evade; but I speak it in the fear and reverence of God, and I say plainly and clearly,—when you shall have been pleased among yourselves to take consideration of these things, that I may hear what your thoughts are of them,—I do not say it as a condition to anything, but I shall be very ready, freely, and honestly and plainly, to discharge myself of what in the whole, upon the whole, may reasonably be expected from me, as God shall set me free to answer you in <sup>61</sup>

<sup>14</sup> This checks with the figure in the Paper, but subtracting 1,900,000 from 2,426,989, the result is 526,989

<sup>21</sup> Stainer, no. 44, *Lon* . . . , . . .

*Asserted*, normalized in so far as possible from the slightly variant texts.

archy

utterances. He goes back continually to review the events of the preceding years in an endeavor to show how he was forced to take various steps, and to justify them. What effect all this had on his audience it is difficult to guess. The only reactions of which any record remains seem to have been dissatisfaction, if not actual boredom on the part of his hearers. They wanted a definite answer to their question as to whether he would or would not accept the crown. What they got was a résumé of the events of the preceding years; a justification of his own course; a denunciation of those who had opposed him, whether Royalists or Parliamentarians; moral sentiments and exhortations, financial estimates; and criticisms of the constitutional plan which they presented, and of which he seems on the whole to have approved. It is apparent not only from his speeches but from the "Paper" which he used as notes that he had studied the *Petition and Advice* with much care; and although that "Paper" appears to be in Thurloe's handwriting, it contained many corrections and additions by Cromwell himself. They are for the most part composed of detailed and specific suggestions which are in sharp contrast to the diffuse and often involved, even obscure, phrases of his speeches. If language, as Talleyrand said, was invented to conceal thought, these utterances, which are more numerous and involved than at any similar period of his career, demonstrate, if nothing else, that he was a master of words, in that sense at least. As to the "Paper" which he presented to the committee, the substance, already incorporated in his speech, gives a clear idea of the kind of a constitution which he seemed willing to accept, but it gives no notion whatever as to precisely what place he thought he should occupy in the new system. Only one thing is especially notable. It is his denunciation of Parliament which sat "continually," and acted as lawmakers and judges both, with the authority of the "Three Estates," as he expressed it a "pitiful remedy" for the ills of government. It is evident that in his mind if there was to be a "supreme authority," he was to be that authority, under whatever title.

### *Paper of Objections*

Art. 4, 2d paragraph. Whether it be not necessary to exclude all those Scotch men who invaded England under Duke Hamilton, except they have since borne arms, &c., as also whether it be not fit to explain what shall be accounted a giving testimony of their good affection?<sup>61</sup>

3rd paragraph of the same Article.—Whereas it is said that the Protestants in Ireland be made incapable (*sic*)<sup>62</sup> to elect or being elected, &c., who before the 1st of March, 1649, have borne arms for the Parliament, &c., or otherwise given testimony of their good affection, and continued faithful to the

<sup>61</sup> Margun, in Cromwell's hand, "living peaceably not sufficient."

<sup>62</sup> *Monarchy Asserted* gives the same words, . . . It probably should read "be not made incapable."

Parliament, whether it be not necessary that this be more clearly express, it seeming to capacitate all those who have revolted from the Parliament if they have borne arms for the state before 1st of March, 1649.<sup>64</sup>

5th paragraph of the same Article.—By this paragraph, *public preachers are made incapable*<sup>65</sup> to be elected; whether that be not a very uncertain expression, and whether it be not better to express it thus. *such who have public ma*

out that point which concerns the nominating the Commissioners to try the members which are chosen to serve in Parliament, and instead thereof, *a fine imposed upon those* who shall sit in Parliament contrary to the qualifications, and *imprisonment* for a certain time!

[5th Article—As to<sup>66</sup>] that Article which concerns the nomination of the other House, it seems to be doubtful who shall nominate them after this turn, which ought to be cleared<sup>67</sup>

7th Article.—In that Article which concerns the Revenue, it will be necessary that the means of raising the 1,300,000*l.* per annum *be made certain*, and also that the temporary supplies, without which the peace and safety of the nation cannot be preserved, *be made certain*, both as to the sum as also the *time* for which those supplied shall be continued. As also that the money and land forces be issued by the *advice* of Commissioners of the Treasury be obliged to give an account of the disbursement of all that money to every Parliament.

9th Article.—The officers of State and Judges in that Article mentioned are to be chosen by the approbation of Parliament. Whether it is not intended that it should be by the *consent* by [?of] the Council in the intervals of Parliament, to be afterwards approved in Parliament.

13th Article.—Whether those who are disabled by that Article to bear any office of public trust should not be put under a *forfeiture or penalty*, in case they should accept thereof contrary to that Article.

That something may be effectually done in point of reformation of manners, as also for the effectual execution of the good laws already made, for the punishing of vice as also for the regulating of the laws, according to what is ex-

16th Article.—Whereas the Acts and Ordinances not contrary to this Advice are to remain in force in such manner as if this Advice had not been given, whether this will be sufficient to prevent the Inconveniences which may [arise] upon this change of government. And therefore whether it be not necessary, That all Acts and Ordinances made since 1642 by those who have exercised the legislature be revised, to the end such as are useful may be continued

main in force to all intents and purpose.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> "The beginning of this sentence is torn away"

<sup>65</sup> The beginning of this sentence is torn away

<sup>66</sup> Margin, by Cromwell, "the chief to nominate"

<sup>67</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 130 (1), with notes from *ibid.*

*Paper on the Revenue*

The present charge of the Forces, both by sea and land including the Government, will be . . . 2,426,989 00 0.

The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland and Ireland is about 1,900,000 00 0 By the Petition and Advice of the Parliament, they engage to settle but 1,300,000<sup>66</sup> per annum, which doth diminish the Revenue which may be now raised by the present Government, 600,000<sup>67</sup> per annum And the whole sum which may now be raised comes short of the present charge 542,689<sup>68</sup>l. per annum. And although an end should be put to the Spanish war, yet there will be a necessity for the preservation of the peace of the three na-

... at land in England, Scotland ... some good time, until it shall please God to quiet and compose men's minds and bring the nation to some better consistency So that considering the pay of the Army, coming to upwards of 1,100,000<sup>69</sup>l, allowing for the Fleet 500,000<sup>70</sup>l. per annum, and accounting 300,000<sup>71</sup>l. for the Government, it will be necessary that during the time of [blank] years there should be raised over and above the 1,300,000<sup>72</sup>l. the sum of 600,000<sup>73</sup>l. per annum more; and also that the Parliament will likewise declare what further sum they will raise for the carrying on of the Spanish war, and for what time<sup>74</sup>

The "Paper" having been put in the hands of the committee, it was presented to the House on Wednesday and it was noted that a committee was preparing a report of "the whole business together" Finally on Thursday "the House sat until after noon," hearing the substance of ... Tuesday and a reading of his "Paper" of ... and Advice It then launched into a discussion of the various "scruples," so that by Saturday it had considered all the Protector's objections and referred to a committee the definition of "signal testimony" to satisfy the Protector's first objection; the consideration of the second objection and the explanation of the clause—if necessary With some slight amendments it accepted the Protector's third objection; and with respect to his fourth point, ordered a bill to be brought in providing for a fine of £1,000 and imprisonment until the fine was paid by members disqualified for sitting in future Parliaments. By Friday they got around to accepting article five, which permitted the Protector to supply the places of members of the "Other House" who died or were removed In answer to his sixth objection, it voted that the charge of £600,000 a year should continue for three years from next mid-summer, agreed to prepare bills for raising £400,000 for the Spanish war, and to raise

<sup>66</sup> i.e., the revenue is 1,900,000<sup>66</sup>l and they propose to give but 1,300,000<sup>66</sup>l

<sup>70</sup> This item has dropped out of the report of the Speech . . . thereby hopelessly

"The debts the Parliament hath already undertaken." Text and notes from Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 130 (2)

£1,300,000 in revenue. It accepted his seventh suggestion that money for supply of the armed forces be issued by the advice of the Council and accounted for to Parliament, ordered a committee to frame a bill to meet his eighth point, noted that it was preparing bills to meet his ninth objection, which would be presented in due time; and for the tenth suggestion, that a committee prepare a bill "for the preserva-

without  
nted an-  
other committee to consider and report to the House<sup>72</sup>

Such was the second—or third—stage of the argument raised by

new constitution would have seemed no more than what it appeared to be—a difference of opinion as to the mechanism of the proposed new system, important, no doubt necessary, and unquestionably dull. But behind all this parliamentary maneuvering there lay the great, explosive problem of the crown. The general opinion seems to have been that Cromwell would ultimately accept the kingship. Whitelocke's opinion was the Protector "was satisfied in his private judgement that it was fit for him to take . . . the *Title of King*," but he also observed that "by solicitation of the Commonwealth's Men and fearing a Mutiny . . . changed; and mar- enings against him in case he should do it."<sup>73</sup> That was the funda-

army do? The real answer did not with the officers. Some of them, it is true, wavered, and it appears that there was a group which was prepared to accept even kingship as the price of the adoption of the *Petition and Advice*. As Whalley expressed it,

I beleeve if the Parliament continue to adhere to theyr former vote of kingshipp his Highnes will rather accept of the title then ether revert to the Instrument of Government, which is now become very odious, or leave us in confusion, which inevitably we shall runne into if he refuses. There is onely

The fact that the Protector took pains to make suggestions or take exceptions to the *Petition and Advice* indicated to some minds that he

<sup>72</sup> C J, vii, 522, Lomas-Carlyle Suppl. 130 (1 and 2), Burton, II, 8-46, gives the fullest account.

On Friday also it was resolved to advise the Council to recommend to the Protector to  
P  
P. Dom., 1656-7, p. 372, 5th Rept. Dep. Keeper Pub. Rec., App. II, p. 265)

<sup>73</sup> Whitelocke, p. 656

<sup>74</sup> Firth, "Cromwell and the Crown," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xviii, 72.

would probably accept the document, kingship and all.<sup>76</sup> Fleetwood and Desborough, however, seemed still to hold out against the title, though they were prepared to accept the rest of the scheme.<sup>76</sup> Fleetwood—and no doubt others—received letters from both camps, for and against kingship, on the one hand urging him to support the Protector, on the other hand urging him to oppose Cromwell's "tyranny."<sup>77</sup>

By the last week of April, 1657, it had, then, come down to this: Irrespective of the urging of the politicians in Parliament and Council, irrespective of the opinion of his personal advisers, irrespective even of the judgment of the Protector himself, would the army stand for his assumption of the crown? That was the real question which lay behind all the elaborate debates inside and outside of the House, all the conferences between its committees and the Protector. The revolutionary party's dominance depended on the army and its General; the General depended on the support of his troops and their officers. It made little real difference what the politicians in the

conference what he himself thought about the matter. At bottom the only question was what the army and its leaders thought. It was easy to take the question into the high realms of legal and constitutional theory and practice; to carry it into the higher realm of the good of the state, or even into the highest realm of conscience and religion; but unless the army

had not been a time in the preceding dozen years when the voice of the army had not been the deciding factor in the political situation, and the voice of the army had not yet been heard. Until it had been given, all this discussion was but sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. It remained, therefore, only to discover, if possible, what its opinion was to determine his decision. The voice of the people may have been the voice of God, the voice of Parliament may have been, as it claimed, the voice of the people; but nothing was more certain than that the voice of the army would determine whether or not Oliver the Protector would become King Oliver I of England.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 244-46, 251-52.

## CHAPTER X

### THE REFUSAL OF KINGSHIP

APRIL 22-JUNE 26, 1657

There can be little doubt but that the beginning of May, 1657, ushered in another and perhaps the last great turning-point of the revolutionary movement which had brought Oliver Cromwell to the head of affairs of the British Isles. Two great issues were coming to a head in those eventful days—the question of kingship and the campaign in Flanders. While the great debate over the crown went on, a decision was being made for the despatch of English troops to the Continent. Lockhart was preparing for the ceremony of the coronation, but he was also taking part in the arrangements for the Flanders enterprise. To remove any remaining dissatisfaction and to further assure English support, Mazarin agreed to relieve any English merchants Lockhart might designate from the tax imposed on strangers. Lockhart even reported that the “Queen [Henrietta Maria] received his Highness’s civill return to her desyers [for the recovery of her dowry] with great satisfaction,”<sup>1</sup> which seems to indicate, however obscurely, that the Protector had acceded to her request and that Mme de Motteville was correct in her statement that favor.

For money, it is evident that both sides were doing all they could to smooth the way for the new alliance. Some 6,000 men were reported as ready to leave England. Lockhart was mentioned as commander of these troops,<sup>2</sup> but Reynolds decided on for that post and the Protector named Monk’s second in command in Scotland, to report to him, and to Monk to release Morgan, who was destined to be second in command, while orders were issued to the Admiralty Commissioners for the expedition.

<sup>1</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Apr. 22/May 2, Thurloe, vi, 220-21.

<sup>2</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Apr. 24/May 4, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 50, same to same, May 1/11, *ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Reynolds was noted by one of Hyde’s correspondents as “a man as fit for such a service as any man in the world” (John Jennings).



*For Major General Morgan at Aberdeen or elsewhere in Scotland, These*

SIR,

I have written to General Monk about your speedy coming up hither, upon a sudden and a very important occasion I desire you forthwith upon sight hereof, that you take post, and lose no time by the way until We see you here, Which we shall very much long to do the business requiring it I have no more to say to you at present but rest,

Your loving friend,

Whitehall April

23 1657

OLIVER P 4

*Commission to Sir John Reynolds*

OLIVER P.

Oliver lord-protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging

general and commander in chief of the army and forces raised, and to be raised, under our command, for the service of the common-wealth of England, in the present expedition into France, giving and granting unto the said sir John Reynolds full power and authority to rule, govern, command, dispose and employ the said army and forces, and every part thereof, and all officers, and others whatsoever employed, or to be employed in, or concerning the same, in, for, or about all defences, offences, invasions, executions, and other military and hostile acts and services, as captain-general and commander in

all enemies, rebels, traitors, and other such like offenders, and every of their adherents, and with them to fight, and then to invade, resist, repress, subdue, pursue, slay, kill, and put to execution of death by all ways and means, and to fulfil and execute all and singular other things for the governing of the said army and forces, and to assign and grant commissions to all such commanders and officers, as shall be thought necessary and requisite for the government and command of the said army and forces, and to assign and appoint one or more provost-marschalls for the execution of his commands, according to the tenor hereof. As also by himself, or others deputed and authorized by him, to take up and use such carriages, draught-horses, boats, and other vessels, as in his discretion, and as often as he shall think meet, shall be needful for the conveying and conducting of the said army and forces, or any part thereof, or for bringing and carrying ammunition, ordnance, artillery, victuals, or any provisions necessary or requisite for the said army or forces, or any part thereof, or to from any place or places, according to the tenor hereof, and to give rules, instructions, orders and directions, for the governing, leading, and

Signature only is

## THE REFUSAL OF KINGSHIP

conducting of the said army and forces, and every part thereof; and to execute, or cause to be executed, marshal-law for the punishment of all tumults, rapines, murders, and other crimes and misdemeanors, on any person what-

claimed and executed. And we do hereby strictly charge and require all the officers and soldiers of the said army and forces, and every part thereof, to be

sons whatsoever, in their respective charges and places, to be aiding and assisting him the said sir John Reynolds in the execution of the said office or charge of captain-general and commander in chief of the said army and force, for the ends and purposes, and in manner aforesaid.

Given at Whitehall the 25th day of April 1657<sup>4</sup>

### *Order*

Our will and pleasure is that the Com[missione]rs of the Adm[ir]alty and the Navy doe forthwith give their warrant to the officers of the Ordinance to deliver out of the publique stores under their charge to Sir John Reynolds

Whitehall, 25 April 1657

OLIVER P.<sup>5</sup>

In the meantime, though the English were not yet aware of it, Blake had crushed the Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz in one of the decisive battles of maritime history; and meanwhile, too, the brilliant, unscrupulous Duke of Buckingham, having incurred the displeasure of Charles II, whom he had followed to the Continent, had returned to England to make—or recover—his fortune. It might have been expected that such a notorious and untrustworthy Royalist would have been clapped into prison, but so far from that, it seems that he had previously written to the Protector for permission to return, that when he reached London he had addressed a petition to Cromwell, which was graciously received, and that, having failed in his efforts to connect himself with the Cromwell family, he had laid suit to the hand of Fairfax's daughter, Mary, whom before the year was out he was destined to marry. That, at least, was a matter which concerned Cromwell more closely than might appear on the surface. Except for the fact that he had retired to the revolutionary ranks, and his support, or at least his neutrality, was all-important to the existing government. He was a Presbyterian, and

<sup>4</sup>Thurloe, vi, 230-31.

<sup>5</sup>For sale, May 2, 1934 by the American Art Ass'n. Listed in catalogue of the Library of the late Rev. Dr. Roderick Terry, pt. I, p. 59, item 60.

Buckingham was more or less allied with that party, which, as every one knew, was not unfriendly to Charles II, as the event proved. The Fairfax-Buckingham alliance, therefore, was a potential threat to the Protectoral system. It was a still greater threat to Cromwell's assumption of the crown, and it was not surprising that the government took steps to keep close watch on Buckingham and his activities.<sup>7</sup>

Interspersed with these greater matters, it was noted that at this moment there arrived from the Sultan of Morocco a present for the Protector "and other creatures of that Country-breed, which indicated, among other things, not only the increased influence of the Protectoral government in that part of the world but the fact of Cromwell's acceptance among the rulers who found in such presentations an expression of their recognition of the equality of sovereignty among themselves."

Apparently the ordinary processes of administration, which seem to have been much interrupted during the preceding weeks, were now resumed, for the first week of May, 1657, saw two meetings of the Council,<sup>8</sup> one of which was attended briefly by the Protector, apparently for the purpose of settling the details of finances and supplies for the Flanders expedition.<sup>10</sup> To these were added consideration of the usual petitions,<sup>11</sup> approval of augmentations for the support of ministers,<sup>12</sup> and what was of wider importance, advice to the Protector to ask Lockhart to use his influence with Louis XIV and his minister in behalf of the Piedmontese Protestants, who according to Morland's information were threatened with another massacre.<sup>13</sup> Besides these still, it seems that Maidstone had contracted a debt of £12,000 "in carrying on the necessary expenses of his Highness' family," of which it was decided to pay £4,000 from the Spanish prize money.<sup>14</sup> It appears from the report of the Venetian ambassador that "the government is much depressed and . . . news of the safe arrival of the silver fleet from the Canary Islands. Yet they still cherish hopes of getting some part of the silver. It is stated here that this is not absolutely in safety although it has got into port and is so near home. They say openly and would like it accepted as true that Blake will make an effort and

<sup>7</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Apr 3/13, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 38, Hyde to Nicholas, Apr 20/30, *Cal S P Dom* (1656-7), p. 349, Burghclere, *Buckingham*, pp. 91ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Apr 20-27.

<sup>9</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1656-7), p. 321.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 358-59, 360-61.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 361-62. He approved two orders in person, with others of previous dates.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 356.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 358.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

will either try to burn them in port or will risk some other determined action."<sup>15</sup> Blake had, in fact, already destroyed the Spanish fleet, and though he did not get the plunder expected it is evident from every piece of information we have that Cromwell's government were as they firmly anticipated

On April 30 Louis XIV ratified the treaty of March 13,<sup>16</sup> to which secret articles were apparently now added providing that neither party make a separate peace with Spain for at least a year and further defining the extent of the military assistance to be provided by each party<sup>17</sup>

The House meanwhile was engaged in the dull but necessary business of confirming all public acts as far back as January 1653-4. As there were some 72 of these and there was objection to accepting them blindly "by the lump," this took much time and served only to shorten tempers,<sup>18</sup> however necessary it was as a preliminary to approaching the Protector again on the subject of kingship. Meanwhile he had to consider further business relating to the distribution of Irish lands<sup>19</sup> and the preparations for the expedition to the Continent. It would appear that he had already had an interview with Bordeaux and assured him that those forces were ready to go,<sup>20</sup> under command of Reynolds, and on Friday, May 1, there was a general muster of the six regiments on Blackheath, promptly described in the journals.

"There were in all six Regiments," one said, "stout men, and fit for Action, as was manifest at their Appearance Words of Exhortation and Encouragement were given them in a Sermon by Mr Hugh Peters, exhorting them that when they come abroad they be sure to avoid the Vices of other Places, and to remember the vertuous and victorious military Discipline of England, by which (through Gods blessing) so many great Actions have been performed at home Afterwards, five hundred being drawn out of each Regiment, which made up the number of Three Thousand, these immediately began their march hence toward the Sea-side, being to thence to be transported to Calais The other

<sup>15</sup> *Cal. S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 52

<sup>16</sup> *not*, II, 481, 39th Rept Dep Keeper Public Records,

p. 715.

<sup>17</sup> See App II (3a) These "private articles" dated Apr 30/May 10 in *Hist. Miss. Comm. Rept* I, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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Thurloe, vi, 262.

May 5/15,

waiting further Orders, which they expect some time next week, and then to follow their Fellowes."<sup>21</sup>

This was not all of the foreign situation. It appears that about this time Schlezer sent two more memorials to the Protector to ask for his mediation between Brandenburg and Sweden,<sup>22</sup> and Giavarina reported that Meadows might not go to Denmark after all, since the Danish king's designs on Sweden had "cooled somewhat,"<sup>23</sup> though in fact Meadows' departure was not countermanded but only delayed, for he went in August.

But the great question still remained. What would the Protector do about the kingship? On April 20, Whitelocke recorded, Cromwell was "satisfied in his private Judgment that it was fit for him to take upon him the *Title of king*, . . . but afterwards by Solicitation of the . . . Defect . . . Mind changed."<sup>24</sup> A week later Sir Francis Russell wrote to his son-in-law, Henry Cromwell, that "your father begins to come out of the clouds, and it appears to us that he will take the kingly power upon him."<sup>25</sup> But it so happened that in this first week of May, 1657, the issue was brought to a head. It was high time, for public business had been greatly embarrassed by the doubt and indecision of the Protector. In this week of May 4 the meetings of the House were . . . so that the committee . . . in regard to the matter could meet with him and, if possible, get a decision. There were no meetings of the House on Monday and Wednesday, but on Tuesday, the 5th, he notified the committee that he would meet them on Wednesday afternoon.<sup>26</sup> Before that conference took place, however, certain other elements had entered into the situation, which, in a sense, decided the question for him and brought the matter to a dramatic conclusion.

It had long been evident that the higher officers of the army, notably Lambert, Fleetwood and Desborough, had been bitterly opposed to Cromwell's assumption of the crown. They had fought it in the House and had been decisively defeated there. They had evidently worked behind the scenes against it, but in whichever direction they had turned, they had found the Protector's advisers too much for

<sup>21</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 27-May 4.

<sup>22</sup> Thurloe, vi, 241-43.

<sup>23</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 50.

<sup>24</sup> Whitelocke, p. 656.

<sup>25</sup> Burton, II, 118.

<sup>26</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 530.

them. They had, however, one final recourse—the army, and at this moment they played their great and, as it happened, their winning card. As Ludlow tells the story, Cromwell

invited himself to dine personally with the Colonel [Desborough], and carried the Lieutenant-General [Fleetwood] with him, where he began to droll with them about monarchy, and speaking slightly of it, said it was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But he received from them, as Col. Desborough since told me, such an answer as was not at all suitable to his expectations or desires. For they assured him, that there was more in this  
 himself and friends. Having thus sounded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them, they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so departed.<sup>27</sup>

On Wednesday, May 6, Cromwell sent a message to the House "to require their attendance in the Painted Chamber the next morning."<sup>28</sup> The House met on Thursday morning, May 7, at 11 o'clock, which met with him, as arranged, on Wednesday afternoon, "That he had the Papers he received from them as an answer to his Proposals."<sup>29</sup>

But in the mean time meeting with Col. Desborough in the great walk of the park, and acquainting him with his resolution, the Colonel made answer, that he then gave the cause and Cromwell's family also for lost, adding, that tho he was resolved never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time. So after some other discourse upon the same subject, Desborough went home, and there found Col. Pride, . . . and having imparted to him the design of Cromwell to accept the crown, Pride answered, 'he shall not.' 'Why,' said the Colonel, 'how wilt thou hinder it?' To which Pride replied 'Get me a petition drawn, and . . . Whereupon they both went to Dr Owen, and having . . . with what had hapned, they perswaded him to draw a petition according to their desires.<sup>30</sup>

In consequence of this veiled threat of Desborough's, the Protector decided he could not meet the House at 11 o'clock on Thursday, but would meet the committee at five that afternoon, and,

having reflected on his discourse with Col. Desborough, and being informed that Lambert and divers other officers were dissatisfied with his design, sent a message to put off the meeting in the Painted Chamber, and to desire that

<sup>27</sup> Ludlow, II, 24.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>29</sup> C. J., VII, 531.

<sup>30</sup> Ludlow, II, 24-25.

the House would send a committee to confer with him about the great business thereby to gain time in which he might deliver himself. But the House being risen before his message arrived, and so out of a capacity to appoint any [one] to come to him, the old committee that had been formerly appointed to that end, thought fit by their own authority to attend him at his house, to his pleasure. Accordingly, they attended him for about two hours,<sup>31</sup> and then a Barbary-horse being brought into the garden for him to see, gave him an occasion to pass through the room where the committee was attending. He then went to one of the messes, and there he told them that he thought that he should not stay longer, but that he would go to his house, and that he would be at the House again the next morning.<sup>32</sup>

So eight o'clock the next morning, Friday, May 8, was appointed for the committee, before the House met, "at which time hee said hee would deliver himselfe so to them, as he hoped hee should put them to no further trouble in this businesse."<sup>33</sup>

Ludlow hated and feared Cromwell and his testimony has sometimes been held suspect on that account. Had we no other evidence, it might be so here, but in this great crisis it so happens, fortunately, that it is possible to check his story with other and less prejudiced sources. When it was all over, Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell that

H. H. was pleased upon the wednesday and thursday before [May 6 and 7], to declare to severall of the house, that he was resolved to accept it [*The Petition and Advice*] with that title [of king], but just in the very nick of tyme he tooke other resolutions, the three great men [Lambert, Fleetwood and Desborough] professinge their great unfreenes to act, and sayd, that ymedietely after his acceptance thereof, they must withdraw from all publique ymployment, and soe they beleaved would severall other officers of quality, that had beene engaged all alonge in this warre.<sup>34</sup>

Meanwhile, it would appear, Pride had been busy circulating his petition and while the House was waiting to go to the meeting with the Protector at 11 o'clock, Ludlow goes on to say,

some officers of the army coming to the Parliament doors, sent in a message to Col Desborough, to acquaint him, that they had a petition which they desired him to present to the House. But he knowing the contents of it, and conceiving it unfit for him to take publick notice of it before it was presented, acquainted the House that certain officers of the army had a petition to pre-

<sup>31</sup> *Clarke Papers*, II, 107, says 3 hours.

<sup>32</sup> *Clarke Papers*, II, 107.

<sup>34</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, March 12, Thurloe, VI, 281.

own hands Lieutenant-Colonel Mason was chosen by the rest of the officers to deliver the petition

The petition was, in fact, not imposing, having been signed, apparently, only by two colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, eight majors and sixteen captains but it represented, probably, the sentiments of the London garrison. Nor was it inflammatory or threatening, for it was merely to the effect that it would destroy and weaken the government if the title were accepted, and that they preferred to "continue steadfast to the old cause, for the preservation of which they for their parts were most ready to lay down their lives"<sup>26</sup> Fleetwood wrote that

Their intentions I am confydent was honest, though the thing was in it self very unseasonable, and was, I finde upon examination, a very sudden resolution. When I knew of what they wer about I went and acquainted his Highnes with it, who desired it might be suppress<sup>27</sup>

To this Ludlow adds that the Protector told Fleetwood that,

without the consent of the army; and therefore desired him to hasten to the House, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein.<sup>28</sup>

Fleetwood accordingly, as he says,

made all the haste I could, but I cam a quarter of an houre too late, and they being gon to the howse to deliver it I did then hasten thither, wheare I found the debate was wether it should be reade or not. I moved the howse against the reading of it, and so it was layde aside and nothing don therin<sup>29</sup>

To this Colonel Morgan added his testimony to the effect that it was Mason, an Anabaptist, who presented the petition, and that

The House would not read their petition, but were ready to call it a breach of priviledge, but moderation was pressed and the petition layd aside. 'Tis said his Highness knew nothing of the petition, but when he heard of it was extream angry, cald it a high breach of priviledge, and the greatest injury they

<sup>26</sup> Ludlow, ii, 26-27.

<sup>27</sup> Fleetwood to Henry Cromwell, May 12, quot. by Firth in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xviii (1903), 75.

<sup>28</sup> Ludlow, ii, 27.

<sup>29</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xviii, 75.



Whether or not that was true, it is apparent that his conversation with the officers of the army was not without effect.

Whether or not that was true, it is apparent that his conversation with the officers of the army was not without effect. When he met the House at 11 o'clock on that fateful morning of Friday, May 8, his mind was made up—or had been made up for him—and his speech, though it took high ground as to the reasons for his decision, served only to confirm the decision of the army and its leaders. He had to choose between the army and the House—or rather he had no choice. He could not fly in the face of the combination of Lambert, Fleetwood and Desborough, backed by a considerable part, if not the majority, of the army. Thus what he said was, in fact, determined for him and he put the best face on it that he could. It seems evident, however, from various small pieces of evidence that he and his advisers had hoped and expected that he might be able to assume the crown. Thurloe noted that "matters were prepared in order thereto"; and Whitelocke added that he had told members of his family that he meant to accept it.<sup>40</sup> It has been asserted and denied with equal vehemence that it was the sudden and unforeseen petition of Pride and his associates which turned the scale, but it seems apparent that this was only the last act of a design which had been under way for a considerable time. In any event, he addressed the House in one of the shortest and most definite speeches of his career as Protector.

*Speech to the House of Commons in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, Friday, May 8, 1657*

MR SPEAKER,

I come to you, that I may be able to answer to your questions, and to your prayers, which were offered to me by the House, that I should be able to do so. I am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some, and some of the House, and some of the House, occasion of the expense.

I have, the best I can, resolved the whole business in my thoughts, and I have said as much as I could to the whole, that I think I shall not be able to do so. I think it is a Government that, in

<sup>40</sup> Morgan to Henry Cromwell, May 12, *ibid*

—65— Thurloe's observation may be connected in some way with the rumors of a crown being made and Lockhart's leaving Paris to attend the coronation

the aims of it, seeks the establishment of the rights and liberties,

never be found to be one of them that go about to rob the nation of those

honest men, in that great, natural, and religious liberty, which is liberty of conscience. These are the great fundamentals, and I must bear my testimony to them,—as I have, and shall do so still, so long as God lets me live in this world,—that the intentions of the things are very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a Parliament.

I have only had the unhappiness,—both in my conferences with your Committees, and in the best thoughts I could take to myself,—not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing, that hath been so often insisted on by you,—to wit, the title of King,—as in itself so necessary, as it seems to be apprehended by yourselves. And yet I do, with all honour and respect to the judgment of a Parliament, testify that, *cæteris paribus*, no private judgment is to lie in the balance with the judgment of Parliament. But, in things that respect particular persons, every man that is to give an account to God of his

this? It being not only a liberty, but a duty,—and such a duty as I cannot, without sinning, forbear,—to examine mine own heart, and thoughts, and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in, or for.

I must confess therefore, that though I do acknowledge all the other particulars, yet I must be a little confident in this, that, what with the circumstances that accompany human actions,—whether they be circumstances of time or persons, whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private or particular circumstances, that compass any person that is to render an account of his own actions,—I have truly thought, and do still think, that if I should at the best do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtfully. And certainly what is so [done], is not of faith, and whatsoever is not so,—whatsoever is not of faith,—is sin to him that doth it. Whether it be with relation to the substance of the action about which that consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it, [it is that consideration] which makes all indifferent actions good or evil,—I say Circumstances,—and truly I mean good or evil to him that doth it.

Lying under this consideration, think it my duty to let you know,—only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who hath laid so infinite obligations on me, I wish I had done it sooner for your sake, and for saving time and trouble, and indeed, for the Committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge publicly I have been unreasonably troublesome. I say I could have wished I had given it sooner,—but truly this is my answer, that,

in all should not tell you, that I cannot accept of the government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it which I have a little more experimented than everybody, what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts, and

in such undertakings. I say, I am persuaded to return this answer to you, And that is

It was the voice of Jacob but the House was, in a way, that of stupefaction. It was noted on May 15 that "Since his Highnesse' late refusall of the title of King, the House has from day to day adjourned upon what should be the question of these three," whether the *Petition and Advice* be laid aside, whether some other title might not be found, or whether the title of Protector might not be retained with the *Petition and Advice* while such things as were not compatible with it, like the House of Lords, be omitted and the rest left as it was. The title of Protector as chief magistrate and "govern, according to this *Petition and Advice* in all things therein contained" That was carried in a slender House by 53 to 50; and on the next day, May 23, it was voted that the Clerk erase the clause as to the title and re-submit the *Petition* to the Protector without the offending title of king,<sup>43</sup> which was accordingly done

In the meantime business went on as usual. In spite of the controversy over the title, the Council met on that fateful Tuesday and Wednesday of May 5 and 6, with the Protector present, to consider the proposals offered by Sir John Reynolds concerning his new command, their pay and . . . would appear that C . . . "upon this present expedition . . . to continue . . . marshal-general, with leave to appoint a deputy" during his absence.<sup>44</sup> It has been reckoned, no doubt correctly, that about a fourth of the men were soldiers from the regular standing army, the rest volunteers for this . . . view of the reports of the presence of . . . ships near Cadiz—or that the Plate Fleet was nearing the Canaries—and the recently signed treaty with Portugal, it was decided to order Blake to assist Portugal to defend

<sup>43</sup> Stainer, no. 45, Lomas-Carlyle, Speech XIV, from *C. J.*, vii, 533, cp. *Add. Mss.* 6125, p. 227, *Clarke Mss.*, xxix, 58, *Monarchy Asserted* and thence in Burton, II, 507-9, *The . . .*

the rest of the *Petition and Advice*

<sup>44</sup> *Clarke Mss.*, xxix, f. 67, quot. by Stainer, notes to Speech 45.

<sup>45</sup>

64.

<sup>46</sup> Firth, "Royalist and Cromwellian Army in Flanders," *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.*, n.s. xvii (1902-3), 76.

her coasts against possible Spanish attack.<sup>46</sup> The Council also advised the Protector to ask Louis XIV to mediate between England and the United Provinces.<sup>47</sup> As one of the lesser but interesting and important incidents of this period, the Protector ordered that Thurloe receive full acquittance for the amounts he had received on warrants from Frost and Jessup—£12,740—for intelligence service since June, 1653,<sup>48</sup> which gives some idea of the extent and expense of that most important branch of the Protectoral service. Finally, as a somewhat insignificant conclusion of the great business of this important week, Protector and Council accepted the recommendation of the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland with respect to the petition of Denzil Holles, Francis Pierrepont and others in regard to the £6,000 portion of Lady Eleanor Holles, daughter of the late Earl of Clare, that, as trustees, they be allowed to purchase the State's interest in lands redeemable to them.<sup>49</sup>

It is evident that this was a busy week for the Protector, one of the busiest and most important of his career in that office. Besides his appearance in the Council, his conversations with Fleetwood and Desborough, his meeting with the committee and the members of the House, he was reported to have given an audience to the agent of the Dey of Tunis<sup>50</sup> on Monday, and on Wednesday to a Turk from Algiers who had been sent with letters from the Viceroy and a present for the Protector of "skins of no great value," his mission being "only on mercantile affairs and to confirm the good relations and trade between this country and that mart."<sup>51</sup> As to the effect of his renunciation of the title of king, there were various reports. Its most virulent expression was in the form of verse,

How poor is his Spirit? how lost is his Name,  
Deceiveth Opinion, and Curtailes his Fame?

That dares not embrace what his own Soul doth Vote,

<sup>46</sup> Whitehorne to Adm Comms, May 4, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. 364-65, 368.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370.

<sup>49</sup> Cal. in *Cal. S. P. Irel.* (1647-60), p. 840.

<sup>50</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, May 4-11, *Merc. Pol.*, Apr. 30-May 7.

<sup>51</sup> Giavarina later gave another reason for the mission of the Aga of Algiers "Some threatening to put him in prison. He meant to have acted upon this, but the Pasha prevailed upon him to make some other excuse, and to say that he was going to see the Pasha to make some other excuse, and to say that he was going to see the Pasha to make some other excuse."

threatening to put him in prison. He meant to have acted upon this, but the Pasha prevailed upon him to make some other excuse, and to say that he was going to see the Pasha to make some other excuse, and to say that he was going to see the Pasha to make some other excuse.

to Doge, May 29/June 8, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 67.)

But yields up Our Liberties to a Red-coat,

Had a soul so devout, it made Killing a Trade;

And now to retreat at the sent of a Blade

Doth show of what Mold our *Knight-Errant* was made . . .<sup>52</sup>

This seems to have been a Royalist effusion; and letters among them echo the same note. "The animosities between the soldiers and the new royalists (for so they call the monarchical voters) increase," so one of them wrote,

General Monk has sent word that the Scottish regiments are at Cromwell's devotion, and the Irish are in the same posture. The country-gentlemen voters in the house say they are trepanned, the country-men exclaim at their votes, *ad servum* . . . *O homines* . . . (Charles II's) business.<sup>53</sup>

Clarendon's explanation was that "the Protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at least that he had exercised from the time he was Protector, confirmed and ratified by Act of Parliament."<sup>54</sup> If that was so, it may be noted that it was far from all his employments, which may be, in some manner, related to his opposition to kingship and possibly even to the Protector's opinion of his share in that episode. There seems small record or none of popular opinion of the refusal of the crown, nor perhaps under the rigid censorship then existing was that to be expected. All that could have been said had been said while the great issue hung fire. The proponents of the design had nothing left to say; its opponents did not need to say anything; and the whole matter soon passed into oblivion. If Clarendon is correct, the Protector got what he had wanted all along, though there is some reason to think that he would not have been averse to kingship if it could have been attained with the consent and support of the army. It could not, and he contented himself with the substance of power, which, after all, was all that mattered.

In any event, as usual he concealed his feelings from history, if not from his associates, who were, in turn, silent, and Protector, Council and House went on with their affairs as usual. The inquisitive Giavarina recorded that Salvetti, the Florentine resident, had presented wine and delicacies sent to Cromwell from the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

<sup>52</sup> *The Rump or an exact Collection of the choicest Poems* (1662, repr. 1874), I, 326-27.

<sup>53</sup> "B" to "Cousin Hall," London, May 4/14, Macray, III, 288, no. 869.

<sup>54</sup> Clarendon, *History*, xv, 31.

that he has not the courage to put such liquors to his lips. He is possibly and living in

This apparently insignificant note involves one of the most disputed questions in regard to Cromwell's character. It has been said that such accusations of cowardice are absurd, that the Protector "feared the face of no man," and that the numerous stories of his lack of courage are 'mere Royalist inventions.' That may well be true, despite the fact that they occur at various periods of his life and by no means all in Royalist writings, but it is obvious that in the position he occupied he was in constant danger, and the great care taken to guard his person was a natural precaution, as the increase in his guards testifies. Nor is it to be wondered at that he hesitated to partake of foreign food and drink. Many men of far less eminence and with far less reason than Cromwell had, have had the same reluctance to indulge in such delicacies. Nor does it appear that his situation as affected by the settlement of the question of kingship had any effect

were, if possible, duller than May 12 and 14, as usual, to allow a gift from Providence;<sup>57</sup> to consider the details of the payment of Reynolds' forces,<sup>58</sup> and on May 15 the Protector approved some eleven orders of the previous day.<sup>59</sup> In the meantime the House, receiving Widdrington's report of the Protector's answer to the committee on kingship on Tuesday, discussed it again briefly on Wednesday, then adjourned the debate until Thursday, then until Friday and finally on Friday until the next Tuesday.<sup>60</sup> Though Pride's petitioners were severely criticized, no action was taken in regard to them; and besides this there was only some minor business transacted.<sup>61</sup> It is evident that the members were greatly puzzled as to their next step. As Bordeaux wrote, they

<sup>57</sup> Giavanna to Doge, May 15/25, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 58

<sup>58</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), pp. xxxi, 593-94. The Protector seems to have been absent

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 593

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 372, 374

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 375. On May 13 he signed a recommendation for Richard Mayhew to be presented to the rectory of Iken, co. Suffolk, sequestered from one Alexander Clerke (document in the possession of Mr. Allyn K. Ford of Minneapolis)

<sup>62</sup> *C J*, vii, 533-34

<sup>63</sup> Request to pay Sam Vassall £2591/17/6, Lambert and Strickland to convey the request to the Protector (*ibid.*, p. 534).

made different beginnings, every day, without coming to any conclusion. Some proposed to depart from the resolution that the Protector could not separate the heads of the petition which was presented to him to approve  
 affairs.

The proposal was also made to examine once more all the articles of the *Petition* mentioned, to see what might be approved and rejected. Of all these

likelihood that the Protector will be urged to take the royal title, nor that he can accept it without exposing himself to utter ruin

It is considered certain that a large number of army officers who at the beginning of the proposal were favorable or indifferent to it, have allied themselves with the *Pro-*leaders a few days before the refusal, and it is agreed that this feast was only a pretext for them to assemble and make some resolution against the Protector in case he had accepted the crown. Nevertheless, it is probable that the union will continue between them and that Parliament will consent that he accept the government as it was received without any other change than that of the title.<sup>82</sup>

To this Giavarina added a like account of the situation<sup>83</sup> and the proceedings which preceded, accompanied and followed the offer of the crown, and it is apparent that these foreign envoys were well informed in the matter. The question of the crown led to turn his attention to these men and the interests they represented, which had been relatively neglected during the discussions over the *Petition and Advice*. The war with Spain, the new treaty with France, and the death of the Emperor, made it imperative to re-examine the position of England in the foreign field, and in consequence there ensued a series of audiences relating to that situation. First, however, the Protector addressed another letter to Frederick III of Denmark, this time in regard to a daring attack by English vessels at anchor in a Danish harbor that the operations of those freebooters were by no means confined to the Channel, nor deterred by fear of Danish, or even English, retribution:

<sup>82</sup> Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 14/24, quot. in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xviii (1903), 77, n. 52

<sup>83</sup> Giavarina to Doge, May 15/25, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), pp. 56-57.

*To the most serene and potent Prince and Lord, Frederick III, by the grace of God King of Denmark, Norway, the Vandals and Goths, etc.*

MOST SERENE KING, FRIEND AND MOST ESTEEMED ALLY.

We wrote your Majesty on the third of last March concerning two Scotch vessels captured in the port of Whyting in Norway by a Danish privateer, an open violation and transgression of security and of the peace of your Majesty's ports, which are ever accustomed to provide anchorage and asylum to allies and friends. Since that time William Adamson and John Robertson of Scotland, masters of ships named the *Greyhound* and *Comfort*, have sent written complaint to us that after loading their ships with wood in Norway about the end of July they made sail for Scotland but then for fear of threatening hostile vessels changed their course and returned to the port of Cattel in Norway, where they made a land mooring near your Majesty's custom-house; and that in spite of the agreement of the officials of that place to aid them in repulsing any force that the enemy might send to attack them, nevertheless after a fortnight's anchorage there

allies engaged in legitimate commerce in your domains and relying upon the authority and sanctity of your ports have been despoiled and plundered within the very ports themselves (a most lamentable precedent being thereby

protection, justice and equity demand that fair compensation and satisfaction for their losses be made to them, out of the goods of the Spanish subjects in your domains. We beg your Majesty that this may be done as soon as may be, in consideration at once of equity and of the good-will with which we are wont to care for the merchants of your country in our roadsteads and ports. Finally we pray for your Majesty's long-continued safety. Given from our palace at Westminster the 12th of May, in the year 1657

Your Majesty's good friend,

OLIVER P<sup>ca</sup>

The English connection with the German, and especially the Baltic, rulers was becoming of more and more consequence at the same time that, thanks to Blake, English interests in the Mediterranean were being recognized more and more by the rulers in that region. The receipt of presents from them was followed by interviews with the representatives of the Baltic powers. At long last the Protector granted Schlezer the audience he had been seeking and on May 14/24 committed himself farther than he had hitherto on his views on the German-Baltic situation. As Schlezer reported,

He expressed his thanks for the honor and confidence which your Majesty [the Elector of Brandenburg] bestowed upon him in the confidential com-

<sup>ca</sup> Latin original in the Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen, pr. *infra*, App. II (8).



munication which he had examined. He would not conceal, in answer to it, to what extent he considered it good and necessary that the imperial dignity be diverted at this time from the house of Austria, for since it is a branch of Spain, which has a strong influence with the opposing Catholic party and is also its support and stay, all evangelical groups are interested in seeing that such a dignity and power should not remain in such dangerous hands. He knew, too, that it was the responsibility of the electors of the Empire to ac-

this had also been suggested to him by France. Under existing conditions, however, he was obliged to think that up to this point he could not have done more nor better than to continue the war with Spain with all his force. In addition he was now giving real assistance to his ally, the crown of France, by providing them with good troops. He had not yet fallen out with the Netherlands, but he would show them that he had no liking for their proceedings, he had written them earlier about the king of Sweden and had dissuaded them from any enterprise which would be hostile or embarrassing to him; and he had done the same to the King of Denmark. He intended to do likewise to the grand duke of Muscovy on behalf of your Majesty, but because he was so remote from him that they could not well keep in touch with him, he did not know what effect it might have, but he had to admit that with the war against Spain and with the assistance which he had to give to his closest neighbors and allies, the exchequer was so taxed that he was doing all he could. That was the reason why he had not answered my memorial sooner, namely that he had not been able to discover how he could comply with your Majesty's request, and for the present he did not see how it could be done. He had given the Swedish ministers the same answer when they had solicited him to the same purpose. But if the divine providence which rules over all, and especially keeps a wakeful eye over his people, should give him some means whereby he could afford your Majesty particular service and friendship, then you might expect of him everything you might expect of a good friend and confederate (he used the word)

Further his Highness engaged in conversation with me and asked on whom the ensuing election would be likely to fall, he had information that his Majesty, the Archduke Leopold, had a great chance of it, because he was a man of years and without heirs, and also probably not likely to marry, and that the king of Hungary would become at the same time King of Rome. Moreover he wanted to know whether the Elector of Bavaria or any one from that house might have any hope of it, also whether they were forming an army, what the attitude of the Elector of Saxony was, and what your Majesty in particular could do.<sup>65</sup>

The Protector's observation concerning the attitude of the Dutch was of the more importance since, as Mazarin wrote to Bordeaux, it was well known that they were trying to keep the English from stopping the Spanish fleet on its way from the West Indies,<sup>66</sup> and the

<sup>65</sup> Schlezer to Kurfurst, May 15/25, *Urk u. Actenst.*, vii, 766-68

<sup>66</sup> Mazarin to Bordeaux, May 5/15, *Thurloe*, vi, 262.

"Mr Thurloe promised . . . that he will foster the making of a treaty of marine. The Lord Protector showed me great kindness and asked me very earnestly whether I would not come and hunt with him some time at Hampton Court." But, he added, "I can assure you that I do not count these politenesses for much but that I am assured he is wise enough to know his own interests."<sup>8</sup>

the famous pamphlet, *Killing no Murder*, apparently the joint production of Col Silius Titus, who later claimed its authorship, and Cromwell, whose activities had been so widely publicized. Titus informed Hyde, however, that Cromwell's refusal of the crown might well defeat Sexby's machinations, for Sexby had counted heavily on the Protector's acceptance. None the less, as Titus wrote, Sexby would continue in his work, and remained "still sanguine, which is either his artifice or his disease."<sup>79</sup> The pamphlet itself, whoever wrote it, was

<sup>72</sup> Titus to Hyde, May

a real threat, not lessened by the fact, as was reported, that a copy of it was actually thrown into the Protector's carriage. It was an able production, learned, witty, and, by a stroke of genius, dedicated to Cromwell himself, whose death, it declared, was not only the greatest service he could perform for his country by removing the tyrant who ruled it, but was justified by every rule of political ethics, approved by every writer, Plutarch, Cicero, Tertullian, Grotius, even by Scripture itself, in its praise of "Ehud's dagger, without which all our laws are fruitless and we helpless." It was by far the ablest production of its kind in those times and, despite the efforts of the government to suppress it and of the government's apologists to answer it, remained a definite threat not only to the Protectoral system but to the life of the Protector himself. In view of the recent attempt at insurrection of Venner and his associates—who were not executed; of the known opposition of more extreme elements of the revolutionary party to the Cromwellian "tyranny"; and of the machinations of men like Sexby; joined to the Royalist dissatisfaction, this appeal for the assassination of the Protector was, in fact, the most dangerous threat to his ascendancy of anything of the sort which had yet appeared. It was the more dangerous in that a former member of Cromwell's life-guard, one John Sturgeon, and a member of Venner's congregation were presently arrested and imprisoned as consignees of this inflammatory pamphlet, of which 300 copies were seized on May 25 and 1400 more two days later, though the government still did not get them all.<sup>73</sup> It was little wonder that Morland presently wrote to Pell that it was "the most dangerous pamphlet that ever has been printed in these times."<sup>74</sup>

On May 15 the Protector signed a writ of Privy Seal for founding a university at Durham.

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting

Whereas it hath been represented unto us by our right trusty and right well-beloved Sir John Lambert, and our right trusty and right well-beloved Sir Francis Rouse, Esq., a Committee of our Council (to whom the petitions of the Justices, Grand Jury, Gentlemen, and inhabitants of our city and county of Durham, county of Northumberland, and county of Tyne, for the founding of a college, and by our said Council,) that the founding of a College at Durham, will be of great advantage to these counties, and to all the northern parts of this island, as well in reference to the promoting of the Gospel, as the religious and prudent

<sup>73</sup> *Rev.*, xvii (1903), 308 ff., and his dis-

<sup>74</sup> June 11, Vaughan, II, 184.

us  
 pursuance of the petitioners' desires,) that a College be erected and founded at Durham.

Know ye, therefore, that we, having taken the premises into our consideration, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion have thought fit, to erect and found, and by these presents, for us and our successors, to extend for the College of Durham, to be erected in our said city of Durham, or some of them; to be and continue a College from time to time hereafter, for ever

And that the said College shall consist of one Provost or Master, two Preachers or Senior Fellows, and twelve other Fellows; four of the said twelve fellows, to be Professors, four other of them to be Tutors, and other four of them to be Schoolmasters; and also twenty-four scholars, twelve Exhibi-

Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the College in Durham, of the foundation of Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, and by the same name shall have perpetual succession

And to the end that the said College may be at present furnished and provided with fitting persons for this work and service, we do, for us and our successors, constitute and appoint our well-beloved Philip Hunton, M.A. to be the first Provost or Master of the said College, and the two first Preachers, or Senior Fellows of the said College, and the first twelve other Fellows of the said College;

for the said College the better

Church and Church-yard, and College of Durham, aforesaid, and also all and singular messuages, and houses, and all orchards, gardens, courts, court-yards, curtilages, wastes, and waste grounds thereunto belonging, which are yet unsold, and which were lately belonging to the late Dean and Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of Durham and the Free School there, and the School-house, and the houses for schoolmasters there, with all orchards, gardens, courts, court-yards, curtilages, wastes, and waste-grounds thereunto belonging, with their and every of their rights, members, precincts, privileges, hereditaments, and appurtenances in any wise unto any of the premises belonging, in as ample manner as the late Bishop, or Dean and Chapter of Durham, or the Trustees for the sale of the lands and possessions of the late Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, or any of them, have held and enjoyed the same: to have and to hold the said Cathedral Church and College of Durham, and also all and singular the aforesaid messuages and houses that are yet unsold, and that were lately belonging to the late Dean and Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of Durham, and the Free School there, and School Houses, and Houses for Schoolmasters there, with their and every of their rights, members, precincts, privileges, hereditaments, and appurte-

nances unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their successors for ever.<sup>76</sup>

And also we . . . do give and grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, all that yearly Rent of 117*l* 15*s*. 8*d*. reserved by one Indenture of Lease, bearing Date on or about April the 6th, in the 24th Year of the Reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, made, or mentioned to be made by Richard then Bishop of Durham, unto the said late Queen Elizabeth, for the Term of 99 Years then next following The said yearly Rent to be issuing and payable out of the severall Mannors of Gateside, alias Gateshead, and Whickam, with their Appurtenances, in the said County of Durham . . .

And further, we doe . . . grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, one yearly Rent-Charge of 500*l* *per Ann* to be payable issuing and going out of the foresaid several Mannors of Gateside, alias Gateshead, and Whickam, with their and every of their Appurtenances in the said County of Durham, . . .

And further, we do . . . grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their Successors, one other yearly Rent-Charge of 282*l* 4*s* 4*d*. to be issuing and payable out of the Rectories, Improprations, and Parsonages impropriate late belonging to the late Bishop, or Dean or Chapter of Durham, or any of them respectively.<sup>76</sup>

And further, we do . . . grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their successors, all manuscripts, library books, and other books, and mathematical instruments, and all other instruments whatsoever, late belonging or appertaining to the said Bishop, and Dean and Chapter of Durham, or either or any of them respectively, relating to the practice of any of the liberal sciences, and all our right, property, interest, claim, and demand of, in, and unto all and every the said MSS. books, and instruments to have and to hold the said MSS. library books, and other books, and mathematical instruments, and other instruments aforesaid, unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their successors, as of our free gift.

And further, we do . . . grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, and their successors, that it shall be, and may be lawful for them, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to purchase, have, hold, and enjoy to them and their successors any lands, tenements, and hereditaments, rents or revenues, not exceeding the yearly value of six thousand pounds, and any goods or chattels whatsoever, of the gift, or to be purchased of us, or our successors, or any other person or persons whatsoever, the statute for not putting lands or tenements in mortmain, or any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding

And we will, . . . that the said College . . . shall have power and authority to demise, lease, and grant their possessions and hereditaments aforesaid as other Colleges may lawfully do, and not otherwise and to sue and implead, and to be sued and impleaded by the name aforesaid and to do, perform, and execute all and every other lawful acts and things, good, necessary, and profitable for the said College, in as full and ample a manner to all

<sup>76</sup> Burton, II, 531-33

<sup>77</sup> Grey, *Impartial Examination of Neal's Puritans* (1739), III, App., pp. 113-16

intents and purposes and constructions as any other Collegiate corporation whatsoever may or can lawfully do, and not otherwise

And we will . . . that they shall and may have a common seal, for sealing such their demises and leases, and for the doing of all and every other thing and things touching the said corporation: which said common seal, the said . . . to break, change, and new make, so often as

And we will . . . that they . . . for the time being, shall be for ever ruled, governed, and ordered by, and be subject to such wholesome orders, . . . in . . . us and our successors, with the advice of our Council for the time being, or by such visitors as from time to time shall be, by us or our successors, with the advice of our Council for the time being, or by such visitors as from time to time, shall be by us or our successors, with the Advice of our Council, deputed and authorized thereunto

And we . . . with the advice of our Council, do nominate, constitute, and appoint our right trusty and right well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knight Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and one of the Commissioners of our Treasury, and our right trusty and right well-beloved John Lambert, Major-general, and Commander-in-Chief within our counties of York, Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, and our right trusty and right well-beloved Walter Strickland, one of our Council, and our right trusty and well-beloved Algernoon Earl of Northumberland, . . . [and 85 others] to be the first Visitors of the said College, and of the revenues and possessions thereunto belonging. And we do likewise by these presents, for us and our successors, will and appoint, that . . . [11 of them] be constant Visitors of the said College: and that the other Visitors before named, shall have, hold, and . . . of the said College, for two years, and no longer . . . the time being, or any nine or more of them, (whereof five of the constant Visitors to be of the quorum,) calling from time to time to their assistance a civil lawyer, or public notary, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of these presents, to visit the said College and School, and from time to time, to order, reform, and redress disorders and abuses in and touching the government of the said College, and the School aforesaid; and further to censure, suspend, deprive, expel, or remove, for misgovernment or misdemeanours, the Master or Provost, Senior Fellows, Fellows, Professors, Tutors, Scholars, and Exhibitioners of the said College, and the Schoolmasters, Ushers, Exhibitioners, and Scholars of the said School of Durham, and other members, servants, and officers of the said College and School in Durham for the time being, according to the statutes, orders, and ordinances of the said College, and according to the statutes, wills, and testaments, or other dispositions of the founders and benefactors of the said College and School, hereafter to be made respectively so that no visitation, act, or thing, in or touching the same, be had or done otherwise than with the consent or assent of six of the said nine Visitors, at least, assembled in the College Hall or School by them visited And we will, that their sentence and statutes, order and orders, be entered or recorded by the said public notary,

in a book to be kept by them, the said Visitors, for that purpose, and that the same shall be subscribed with the hands of them, or the greater part of the said nine Visitors, so met and consenting, as aforesaid, and that they, the said Visitors of the said College and School, for the time being, or any nine or more of them, shall from time to time have power, and are hereby authorised at any time or times hereafter, to elect and choose a new constant Visitor and Visitors, or any other Visitor or Visitors, so often and from time to time as any of the said Visitors shall happen to die, or to relinquish and leave their places, or be removed therefrom; and that they the said Visitors, and the

of them, may give an oath to any person or persons touching and concerning the premises, as often as occasion shall require

Visitors, or other person or persons, to whom the nomination, election, approbation, and admission of any of the aforesaid Visitors, Master or Provost, Senior Fellows, Fellows, Tutors, Scholars, or Exhibitioners of the said College, or any of them, or of the Register, Public Notary, or other officer or officers of the said College, doth or shall belong, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, or of the statutes of the said College, by us or our authority already made, or hereafter to be made, do or shall neglect or omit to make election of fit persons to the said places of mastership, or other places or offices within the said College, during the space of three months, from the time of vacancy of any of the said places, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful for the Master or Provost, and Fellows of the said College for the time being, or the greater number of them, to elect into the said places, so being void by the space of three months as aforesaid, such person or persons as to them shall seem most meet, and best agreeing to the said statutes of the said College, to the end the said places so void, may be full and to admit such

And further, we will . . . that if any difference, debate, or controversy, touching the premises, shall at any time hereafter arise between the said Visitors, and the Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, or any of them, that then upon complaint made to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal of England, for the time being, they shall have full power and authority, by virtue of these presents, to hear the said complaints, and dissensions, and controversies, and to compose, decide, order, and determine the same, as to them in their judgments and wisdom shall seem just and fit and such order and determination of the same, as they shall set down in writing under their hands and seals, shall stand and be observed

And our will is . . . that the said Master or Provost, Senior Fellows, and Visitors of the said College for the time being, or any twelve or more of them, shall

the better ordering, government, and good rule of the said College, and of the Master or Provost, Senior Fellows, Fellows, Professors, Tutors, Scholars,

Exhibitioners, and Students, of the same College, and for the ordering,

convenient so as the said statutes, ordinances, rules, and orders by them made, be not repugnant or contrary to the laws and statutes of this Commonwealth, nor to any statute, ordinance, or order, which hath been made, or hereafter shall be made by us and our successors, or by our Council, for the good government of the said College and School; nor to any clause or clauses of these presents, nor contrary to the last will or testament, or other settlements of any that shall be founders or benefactors of the said College or School

And our will is . . . that by virtue of these presents, they shall and may from time to time, set up, keep, and maintain, a printing-press and a rolling-press in the said College or city of Durham, by themselves or servants there, or any of their deputy or deputies; and to buy paper, iron, tin, letters, and all other things hereunto, or to any part of the printer's work, trade, or mystery, necessary and convenient, and to do every thing and things necessary to so profitable a work. Which said printing and rolling presses, shall be free and

Fellows, and Scholars of the said College, for the time being, and their successors, may from time to time, print or cause to be printed, Bibles of all or any kind of volumes, and may license other books to the press saving unto

prejudice any such person or persons, but that they shall have and enjoy their

Fellows of the said College, for the time being, or any two of them, shall from time to time have like power and liberty to license any work or works, book or books, to the press, as any licenser or licensers in the City of London, or elsewhere in our dominions have had, or might enjoy by virtue of any order, or ordinance of Parliament, or any order of our Council, or by any other power and authority from us derived and derivable, may, or ought to have, hold, or enjoy. And we will, that no printers, stationer or stationers, merchant or merchants, shall at any time hereafter imprint, or cause to be imprinted any work or works, book or books, taledoux or taledouxes, or to import, being elsewhere printed, any such formerly printed by the said College, or their said deputies, on the penalty provided for such as contemn our authority, and the authority of our Council

And our will is . . . that they nor any of them, nor any of the Professors, Schoolmasters, Students, Scholars, or Exhibitioners of the said College, nor any of their constant or ordinary officers, servants, or ministers, or any of them so . . . to them

or their successors, shall at any time hereafter be compelled by any Justices of the Peace, constables, or any other officers, to do, perform, or execute in



...of their proper persons, or any person or persons, to take any such office whatsoever, or to make any suit at any sheriff's hundred or lasts of hundreds, or to serve on any jury or juries, or grand inquests.

And our will is that they are, and shall be now and at all times for ever hereafter, exempt, exonerated, discharged, and acquitted off and from the payment of all taxes, customs, and other duties whatsoever. And that the horses of the said Master or Provost, Senior Fellows, Professors, Tutors, and Fellows of the said College, shall not be taken to ride post.

And lastly, we do by these presents, grant unto the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College, that they shall have these our letters patents in due manner made and sealed with our great Seal of England, without fine or fee, great or small, to be therefore paid to us, in our hanaper, or elsewhere to our use. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself at Westminster, the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and fifty seven.<sup>77</sup>

In the meantime the House had got back to the *Petition and Advice*. Having been adjourned on Monday the 18th, it took up the debate on the next day. On the question as to whether or not the title of "Protector" be put in place of that of "King" and the matter referred to a committee "to consider how that Title [of Protector] may be bounded, limited and circumstantiated," there was a languid vote of 47 to 46 in favor of putting it to a vote, but the question itself passed by the substantial margin of 77 to 45,<sup>78</sup> which indicates that the monarchical party recognized its defeat and was not prepared to push the matter further. While the House was engaged on minor matters like settling Irish lands on Dr. John Owen,<sup>79</sup> and passing a bill enjoining on ministers their duty in catechizing,<sup>80</sup> the committee considered the limitations to be imposed on the authority of the Protector. Before the vote was taken, Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell,

It was moved, that the protector might be enabled to exercise the government accordinge to the petition and advice, and the lawes, as fully as the kinge might have done, and noe otherwise. This is excepted to as much as kingship itselfe, although it was told us in the debate, that let but the name be abated, and a reference fit to the kingly power should be most welcome, but now it is otherwise.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Burton, II, 534-42, endorsed "By the writ of Privy Seal. BEALE."

<sup>78</sup> C. J., VII, 535

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* It has been suggested that this was his reward for having drawn up the petition of May 8

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 536-37

<sup>81</sup> May 19, Thurloe, VI, 291

And after the discussions in the House and committee were over, he added

would by noe meanes please those gentlemen, when once the name was altered by t  
was noe other way to bound that office, and that without some such boundary, he would be looked upon only as a military officer, and without all bounds

the people; it was then offered, that he might be bounded by particulars, as makeinge it a new office, but that appearinge to be an endlesse buissines, it was then deserted by themselves, and somethinge to the purpose aforesayd  
their owne, to avoyd the act of reference to the  
were divided one amongst another. Lambert, Sydenham, and others, spake very earnestly against it, and very few of the souldiers pleased with it, soe farre as could be perceived. However, the house passed it<sup>82</sup>

It was, in fact, a difficult situation. Cromwell was to be the "supreme authority," but he was not to have the title of king, that of Protector was not known to the laws; and it was a difficult matter either to revise them all to fit this title or to so limit his authority by specific measures as not to make the whole thing seem ridiculous. At last, after obviously long discussion, on Friday the 22nd, Lislebone Long presented the committee's resolution, which strove to evade both horns of the dilemma. It ran

That your Highness will be pleased, by and under the Name and Style of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, to hold and exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate of these Nations, and to govern, according to this Petition and Advice, in all Things therein contained, and in all other Things, according to the Laws of these Nations, and not otherwise

That was voted by the narrow margin of 53 to 50;<sup>83</sup> and on Saturday the 23rd a committee was appointed to attend the Protector to learn when the House could meet him and present the revised *Petition and Advice*.<sup>84</sup> He met the committee on that afternoon and set Monday, the 25th, at ten o'clock in the morning to meet the House in the Painted Chamber.<sup>85</sup> So, with some minor matters,<sup>86</sup> the great

<sup>82</sup> May 26, *ibid*, pp 310-11

<sup>83</sup> *C J*, vii, 537

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, p 538

<sup>85</sup> *Pub Intell*, May 18-25

<sup>86</sup> *Pub Intell*, May 18-25, "The Protector the next day

issue was settled so far as the House was concerned. How great the disturbance of general public business was, the inactivity of the Council during this week testifies, and as to the Protector himself, all we have from him is a reference to the Council of an insignificant petition from the inhabitants of Old Paris Garden, St Saviour's, Southwark, to prevent further building close to their ground.<sup>87</sup>

Apparently *Killing no Murder* was finding its way into the hands of the public for it was noted in the news-sheets that pamphlets in disparagement of Cromwell, "in brown paper covers," and "written by some Jesuited Villain," were being dispersed in the streets "to infect mens mindes with that inhumane and damnable Doctrine of Privy Murther and Assassination."<sup>88</sup> As Thurloe wrote Henry Cromwell, "There is course takeinge here to suppresse this, and in Scotland; and the same care is desired by your lordship in Ireland, if any of them should be sent thither."<sup>89</sup> It appears also that this was not the only thing feared at this time. The petition of the army officers against kingship which had precipitated the crisis of May 8, was said to have been "slipt into the presse with a postscript (as they say) inviting two out of each regiment in the army to owne and subscribe itt . . .",<sup>90</sup> and this was considered of enough importance, apparently, for the Protector to take a hand in the matter himself, for Monk reported that

"... which I understand that the petition hath bin since printed, and a postscript added of a very bad and dangerous consequence . . . sett on by some people ill disposed to peace and . . . that "the post letters on Saturday and Tuesday and the following weeks" be searched and that Monk "wrote to the cheif officers of the severall regiments, that if any such petition should come to the regiments they may know who they come from, and who they are directed to, to prevent the businesse from going any further."<sup>91</sup>

bridge which had been partly destroyed in 1642 (Thos Langley, *Hist. of Desborough Hundred* (L, 1797), pp 111, 143 or in 1644, when Major General Browne's soldiers had used its materials for bulwarks about the church when they were stationed there (*V C H Bucks*, III, 65) *C J*, VII, 538.

<sup>87</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1656-7), p 378. On May 19 the Protector issued letters patent to the town and borough of Leicester "continuing and reaffirming their exemption throughout . . . other customs. Given at Westminster under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster (*Hist. Mis Comm Rept* 8, App I, p 418b, *Leicester Mss*, no 179).

<sup>88</sup> *Pub Intell*, May 18-25, May 25-June 1.

<sup>89</sup> . . . 291

<sup>90</sup> . . . -10

<sup>91</sup> Monk to Cromwell, May 22, acknowledging receipt of the Protector's commands at nine o'clock that morning. He issued his orders to his officers that same day (Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp 354-55).

To this Giavarina added his quota of gossip, which, apart from repeating the terms of the action of the House in regard to the Protectorship, noted that,

The army has recently presented another petition to parliament asking for the appointment of a general in place of the Protector, as they wish to have one who will always be with them. They add that his Highness has so many

No step will be taken without consulting Cromwell and without his consent. He is utterly opposed to any move in this matter, and he will never suffer this command to be taken out of his hands. . . . They say that this petition was instigated by Lambert, who has long aspired to the supreme command, and who is the only one who could feel certain of realising his vast designs, which would enable him to unseat the Protector and take his place. But his Highness will know how to let it evaporate, and will temporise until it is forgotten, as he has done before.

It has been intimated to me in confidence that the army is preparing to form a body of agitators that is to select some of their number whose duty it will be to treat with parliament, the Council of State or others in the name of the whole army, to see that nothing is decided out them.<sup>22</sup>

There seems little doubt but that, in the main, Giavarina was correct in his estimate of the situation. The revival of the system of "agitators" which had been of such importance during the civil wars was obviously a threat to the Protector's ascendancy, and the proposal to replace him as general of the army struck at the very root of his power. It seems probable that his letter to Monk was concerned with this effort to revive the agitators even more than with the petition of Pride and his colleagues. No one knew better than Cromwell how important it was to suppress any notion of the re-establishment of the system of agitators which had once been so useful to him, and that proposal went the way of the council of officers which had disappeared as soon as he was firmly seated as Protector. It is scarcely to be doubted that Lambert had a hand in these various maneuvers. He had carefully kept in the background. Thurloe and Giavarina agreed that he "stood at a distance," but that he was a moving spirit in the opposition to kingship, and it is not without significance that he had attended the meeting of the officers at Whitehall which ad-

<sup>22</sup> Giavarina to Doge, May 22/June 1, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 60

journed to join the major-generals at Desborough's lodgings on February 26, and that he was among the hundred officers who met with the Protector on the next day to object to the assumption of the crown. He almost ostentatiously took no part in the debates in the House, until March 25 when he made his last public protest; and it was reported that before the final decision he entertained a large group of officers at his house at Wimbledon at which, it can hardly be doubted, there must have been discussion of the question. It was not his purpose to break with the Protector, which would have been unfortunate for the one and suicidal for the other, but his every action and word during these tense days seem to indicate his unalterable opposition to kingship, and it is hardly too much to say that his was the most important influence against it.<sup>85</sup>

So far as other matters were concerned in these critical days, it was noted that the Protector was as much or more concerned with the situation of his daughter Frances than with the question of kingship; and on May 21 Thurloe wrote to Lockhart to discover if Lord Falconbridge retained his former intentions in regard to his pretensions to the hand of Mary Cromwell, and if so, to encourage his returning to England to urge them.<sup>86</sup> But Lockhart was not then in Paris. On May 21/31 from Boulogne,<sup>86</sup> on May 21/31 from Abbéville,<sup>86</sup> on May 21/31 from Amiens<sup>87</sup> to report the rout of the French troops before Cambrai, from which it is evident that he was following the fortunes of the French forces very closely, like a good diplomat and a good soldier. He was naturally suspicious of the great kindness and politeness shown him by the French, fearing some hidden motives in their courtesy. He also advised Thurloe that the followers of Charles II suspected Hyde or some other intimate of Charles of corresponding with the Protector—concerning which Thurloe could doubtless have advised him.<sup>88</sup> Apparently the Spaniards were surprised that the English were venturing to land such a large force in France, as they had thought Charles might win them over to his side, and wondered that Cromwell had taken such a risk.<sup>89</sup>

This was, in fact, not all of the disturbing situation at this moment. On May 21/31 Nieuipoort had received the letter and resolution of

<sup>85</sup> Cp especially Dawson, *Cromwell's Understudy*, *passim*, for details, though Dawson does not commit himself quite so far, save as he gives the facts.

<sup>86</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, May 21/31, *MS. A. 9. 2. 1. 1. S. P. Dom* (1656-7), p. 376.

<sup>86</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, May 21/31, *ibid.*, p. 376.

<sup>86</sup> Same to same, *ibid.*, pp. 297-99.

<sup>87</sup> Same to same, *ibid.*, pp. 301-2.

<sup>88</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, May 21/31, May 23/June 2, *ibid.*, pp. 297-99, 305. Whoever it was, it was not Hyde. The correspondents signed themselves "—Marshall" and "J. Warde" (Macray, iii, *passim*, and Thurloe, vi, 338).

<sup>89</sup> J. Johnson to Jos. Ashe, Antwerp, May 23/June 2, *ibid.*, p. 304.

the States General of May 13/23. He tried to see Thurloe, but the Secretary had a sprained foot, so Nieupoort sought out the Protector himself for an audience, which was set for five o'clock on Friday, May 22. There he first communicated the States General's resolution "concerning the transporting of the Spanish silver from the Canaries," assuring Cromwell that de Ruyter had no orders to that effect and would not permit "silver or other merchandizes to be laden in his ships of war." To this the Protector replied,

that he could expect no less from the wisdom and justice of their H. and M. L. that he also hoped they would always adhere to the same principles.

To this Nieupoort answered that

there were some men found, who endeavour'd to make some other impressions, that in France they relied upon a good number of English ships . . . to be employed by them against the United Netherlands, and . . . [he] had understood of several persons here at London, that some of the famous pirates of this nation, who with private commissions did formerly commit many excesses against the . . . United Netherlands, were again busy to equip ships of war, therewith to go with French commissions against the said inhabitants, . . .

Cromwell answered in turn, that

he knew not in the least of the said equipage, that he, at my request, had long since forborn to grant any commissions, and had called in all particular commissions, that he very well knew they were disaffected persons, who had no other intentions and designs but to plunder; that he therefore could not think fit to grant any such commissions, as (said he) these present lords [Lawrence and Strickland] could bear witness, and desired them to give order, that enquiry be made after the equipage of the two said ships, whereof I had made particular mention, and therein being fallen into discourse about the differences between France and the . . . United Netherlands, his Highness said, that he but this very day had given strict order, that there should be writ once more, in very serious terms, to the lord ambassador Lockhart, that he should not fail to communicate with their H. and M. L. ambassador at Paris, in what manner he should be best able to contribute any thing in the court of France for the removing of the said differences, and assured me, that he heartily desired, that the same might be pacified and taken up, and the ancient amity re-established thereupon

Nieupoort assuring the Protector that the Netherlands desired nothing more than that the differences might be composed, and highly esteemed the friendship of France and England, seeking nothing but peace and friendship, the Protector answered that

"he would yet further consult with the council what could be done more for the removing of the said differences; that the three nations were situated so near to each other, and the commerce thereof so constituted, that the divisions, in case of continuance, would be also prejudicial to this state and nation"; and, Nieupoort instancing the capture of the *Morning Star* by the

He was as good as his word, for apparently on the very next day he "sent to the register of the admiralty . . . for the depositions and papers" concerning the vessel; the matter was taken up at the next Council meeting on May 26, and referred to the Admiralty judges.<sup>101</sup> There was, indeed, something more to this, for as Nieupoort wrote to de Witt,

I had opportunity to offer for consideration whether a well documented letter to the King of France might not be of good effect, and I could not but conclude that . . . of State . . . it too. His Highness said that he [Thurloe] had a bad leg, without adding that it was the same place where he had been hurt by the coach.<sup>102</sup>

At almost any cost the Protector seemed determined not to break with the States General and, if possible, to prevent any break between France and the Netherlands, which would obviously have a most unfortunate effect upon his war with Spain and especially on his designs against Dunkirk. With these digressions into the business of foreign affairs, the House, amid some minor business,<sup>103</sup> awaited the report by Whitelocke from the committee which had attended the Protector as to when the members might meet with him for his decision as to the amended *Petition and Advice*. The report, which was delivered not by Whitelocke but by Glyn, was that they meet the Protector at ten o'clock on the morning of Monday, May 25,<sup>104</sup> and in the midst of the debates preceding that meeting there occurred one of the few lighter and amusing incidents which give some clue to the fact that these men were really alive. While they were debating which or how many bills were to be presented to him, "his Highness's

<sup>100</sup> Nieupoort to de Witt, May 25, 1653.

<sup>101</sup> Sa

<sup>102</sup> N

<sup>103</sup> Ar

Friday, *C. J.*, vii, 538.

<sup>104</sup> Burton, ii, 120.

17), p. 386.

Saturday to

carriages passed by, and Mr Downing espied them, and said his Highness was passed by. Some called out 'Scout, scout!' [Downing having been scout-master-general] and" as the diarist noted there was "*altum risum*," much laughter at this mild little jest.<sup>106</sup> After some further discussion, "from his Highness was at Middleton, who acquainted the House that his Highness was in the Lord's House, and commanded him to acquaint the House with it. This misnomer of the place," so far from producing more laughter, the diarist notes, brought about "*altum silentium*," and, as he solemnly records, "it was excused thus, and so entered in the book that his Highness was in the Painted Chamber." Immediately Lord Tweedale and Lord Eure led Widdrington thither, followed by the members, and Widdrington presented the revised *Petition and Advice* in the name of the House, desiring the Protector's consent to the whole, "*mutato nomine tantum*," to which the Protector gave his assent in a brief speech.<sup>108</sup>

*Speech to the House, May 25, 1657*

MR SPEAKER,—I desire to offer a word or two unto you; which shall be but a word. I did well bethink myself, before I came hither this day, that I came not as to a triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever I had in all my life, to undertake one of the greatest tasks that ever was laid upon the back of human creature. And I make no question but you will, and so will all men, readily agree with me that without the support of the Almighty I shall necessarily sink under the burden of it, not only with shame and reproach to myself, but with that that is more a thousand times, and in comparison of which I and my family are not worthy to be mentioned,—with the loss and prejudice of these three Nations. And, that being so, I must ask your help, and the help of all those that fear to receive assistance from the hand of God to the discharge of so great a duty and trust as this is, and nothing else [will].

Howbeit, I have some other things to desire of you, I mean of the Parliament.—

which cannot be supplied, for the enabling to the carrying-on of this work, without your help and assistance, I think it is my duty to ask your help in them. Not that I doubted for I thought that both had you to this will easily suggest the rest in the presence of God, that nothing would have induced me to have undertaken

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, p. 122

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, p. 123, *Pub Intell*, May 25-June 1



and really answer the ends that we have been engaged for: you have satisfied your forwardness and readiness therein very fully already

I thought it my duty, when your Committee, which you were pleased to send to me to give the grounds and reasons of your proceedings, to help my conscience and judgment,—I was then bold to offer to them several considerations which were received by them, and have been presented to you. In answer to which, the Committee did bring me several resolves of yours, which I have by me. I think those are not yet made so authentic and authoritative as was desired, and therefore, though I cannot doubt it, yet I thought it my duty to ask it of you, that there may be a perfecting of those things. Indeed, as I said before, I have my witness in the sight of God, that nothing would have been an argument to me, how desirable soever great places may seem to be to other men; I say nothing would have been an argument to me to have undertaken this, but, as I said before, I saw such things determined by you as makes clearly for the liberty of the Nations, and for the liberty and interest and preservation of all such as fear God,—of all that fear God under various forms. And if God make not these Nations thankful to you for your care therein, it will fall as fire on their heads. And therefore I say, that hath been one main encouragement.

I confess there are other things that tend to reformation, to the discountenancing of vice, to the encouragement of good men and virtue, and the completing of those things also,—concerning some of which you have not yet resolved anything, save to let me know by your Committee that you would not be wanting in anything for the good of these Nations. Nor do I speak it as in the least doubting it, but I do earnestly and heartily desire, to the end God may crown your work and bless you and this Government, that in your own time, and with what speed you judge fit, these things may be provided for.<sup>107</sup>

Two things are notable about this speech. The first is that there is no mention in it of the question of the title. The second is a note made, apparently by one who was present, to the effect that when the Speaker presented "those papers relating to the Government, with the alteration of that paragraph concerning the title the same being read," the Protector exclaimed, it would seem with some "a little pause,"<sup>108</sup> Sir Francis

Will Pierpoint and General Montague will never trust to politicks any more, . . . The truth is your father hath of late made more wise men fooles than ever, he laughs and is merry, but they hang downe theyre heads and are pittifully out of countenance. All the lawyers are turned Quakers, who before boasted they would make penknives of the soldyeys' swords . . . the

<sup>107</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, App 30, and C J, vii, 539-40. Also, Mrs Lomas notes, in *Portland Mss.* (Nelson, xvi, 142b), *Add. Mss.* 6125; Thurloe, vi, 309; *Parl Hist*, xxi, 142-44; Burton, ii, 509-10, and substance in *Merc Pol* and *Pub. Intell*, *Clarke Papers*, iii, 112.

<sup>108</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 111.

... your hands, if  
... are heady  
rash gamesters, . . .<sup>108</sup>

The repercussions of the Protector's speech were not long in coming. It was read in the House on Tuesday by Widdrington, but discussion of it was postponed in favor of certain private business.<sup>110</sup> Pickering, having been recommended by the Protector for that action, moved the House that Nayler be allowed a "keeper," and Packe communicated to the House the Protector's desire that a minister be sent to Nayler.<sup>111</sup> The first recommendation was carried but as to the second it was only voted that a minister "be admitted"<sup>112</sup> to him, in which there seems to have been a distinction without much of a difference. The House then adjourned for two weeks.

The amendments to the *Commons and Lords* were read, with the additional votes, and it was ordered that all the resolutions be referred to a committee to "methodize" them and prepare a bill or bills accordingly,<sup>114</sup> as the House resumed its function as a constitutional convention.

All this was interrupted on Thursday, May 28, by Thurloe's announcement to the House of Blake's victory at Santa Cruz, in the form of a narrative from Blake which was ordered published, and a day of thanksgiving voted for London and Westminster for the following Wednesday, to be observed by the House at St. Margaret's church with Mr. Manton and Mr. Carter preaching, to all of which the Protector's consent was requested<sup>115</sup>—and granted. It was great news. Had it come a little sooner, it might even have affected the question of kingship.

Blake, as he reported, had arrived off Santa Cruz on April 20 and found there the West India fleet, sixteen ships in all, including five or six galleons, mostly furnished with brass ordnance. They were moored in the harbor close to the shore and protected by six or seven forts, so close that, as Blake wrote, many of the English killed and wounded were shot by musketeers from the shore, "Notwithstanding . . . their Men were beaten out, and all the ships put ashore, except the Admiral and Vice-Admiral," the latter's vessel, however, being set on fire and the former's ship "by some happy Shot or other accident suddenly blown up." But even

<sup>108</sup> *Quoted in Fane Hall Papers*, pp. 78-79.

consideration of Lord Craven's business.

<sup>111</sup> Burton, II, 131.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>114</sup> *C. J.*, VII, 540.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 541.

this great success, which cost Blake but fifty men killed and 120 wounded, was not so remarkable as the disengaging of his vessels from the battle. He reported that by a sudden change of wind at the conclusion of the engagement he was able to bring off his vessels, and that the damage to them was so slight that they were "indifferently well repaired for present security." The attack on the Spanish ships was led by Stayner, while Blake engaged the forts. The Spanish loss was complete—but there was no plunder, Blake having ordered his reluctant captains to burn their prizes. By April 22 the English fleet was back in Lagos Bay, whence three vessels, probably the most damaged, were sent to England with the great news.<sup>116</sup>

It was one of the most remarkable naval operations in history; it was a crushing blow to Spanish sea-power; it terrified all Europe—but it produced no prize-money! Blake's expedition, though it contributed enormously to English prestige, was in other ways an expensive enterprise. The House was so appreciative of his services that it recommended to the Protector that a jewel of £500 value be given Blake and £100 be given Captain Story,<sup>117</sup> who brought the news, and within a fortnight the Protector wrote Blake a personal letter of thanks and ordered him to come home. That commander was already on his way to Salée to redeem the English sailors in captivity there. He was very ill, and, returning to Cascais Road, where he probably received Cromwell's letter, set sail at once for home. But he was not destined to set foot on English soil again, for he died as his ship turned into Plymouth harbor.

For the moment, however, there was nothing but rejoicing over his victory, tempered, on the part of the government by the fact that it had produced none of the spoils which had been confidently expected. While some 19 ships under Stokes were left to maintain the blockade off the Spanish coast, the others returned to another matter. On May 29 Widdrington read two letters from the Protector, one dated on that day and one the day previous:

*To the Speaker of Parliament*

[Substance only]

Declaring his intention to adjourn or prorogue the Parliament from the 20th of June to the Michaelmas term, and desiring them to perfect the business of the *Petition and Advice*.<sup>118</sup>

May 29, 1657.

<sup>116</sup> Powell, *Letters of Blake*, pp. 387, 455ff (from accounts in *Merc. Pol.*), cp. Powell, pp. 333-34.

<sup>117</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 541.

<sup>118</sup> Burton, II, 154. On June 5/15 Giavarina wrote that the Protector declared he took this step to avoid the expense of electing another Parliament, and to give them

*To Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of Parliament*

[Substance only]

Enclosing a petition entitled "The humble Petition of the Officers of your Highness' Army in Ireland, in Behalf of themselves and those under their Charge."<sup>119</sup>

May 28, 1657

The second letter which he addressed to Widdrington on the 29th was not read, however, until June 4

*To the Speaker of Parliament*

[Substance only]

Confirming an order of Protector and Council touching some arrears due to Colonel Benson's regiment.<sup>120</sup>

May 29, 1657

These with some minor matters<sup>121</sup> consumed the time and patience of the members now recovering from the discussion over the crown and the news of Blake's victory

It is at least conceivable that the attention which was being paid at this time and later to the question of arrears of pay to the army was due in part at least to the threat of renewed agitation among the troops, whose champion Lambert had become, or was trying to become.<sup>122</sup> All this was beside the main questions, however closely bound up with them. The kingship issue had been settled; the Dunkirk expedition was getting under way; the Spanish fleet had been destroyed at Santa Cruz; the imperial election was impending; and the Protector now turned to consider the foreign situation. On Wednesday, May 2<sup>d</sup>, . . . who came to tell him that Louis XIV had gone to welcome the English troops;<sup>123</sup> and at about this time the Protector wrote to Hamburg to demand an explanation of the arrest of the servant of Bradshaw, his resident

<sup>119</sup> C J, vii. . . Referred to the Irish committee.

<sup>120</sup> C J, vii.

<sup>122</sup> C J, vii.

<sup>123</sup>

(9), p. 67.



... reported to Culpepper a rumor that Cromwell was greatly ... because it would justify any one in killing him.<sup>121</sup> ... this in what information we have of the ... If Giavarina is to be believed, the Protector was chiefly concerned about the proroguing of Parliament, which "showed no objection to this decision . . . which entirely fell in with their wishes. They are already postponing the consideration of some affairs . . . until October."<sup>122</sup> They were, however, spending much time discussing what bills were most important to be disposed of in the time left to them.<sup>123</sup> There was no meeting on Wednesday, ... which they spent ... ty and the neighbouring parts, . . . all the shops closed and the guns of the Tower of London fired from time to time."<sup>124</sup> On Thursday the Protector's letter in regard to the arrears of Benson's regiment was read, but debate on it was ... to the question of the assessment.<sup>125</sup> ... was read but debate on that was also postponed for the same reason.<sup>127</sup> The new assessment was voted at £60,000 a month for three months, beginning on the 25th of the preceding March. This was, in fact, double taxation, however concealed. To all intents and purposes the government, despite its protestations of economy, had got back to the war-time assessments of £120,000 a month, which was, in fact, admitted in the proviso

that, in case the Ordering and Payment of the Monies . . . shall be found inconvenient, so as the Monies raised hereby cannot be paid in by the Time limited in this Act . . . it shall and may be lawful for his Highness the Lord Protector and Council . . . to order and direct the Managing, Levying, and Payment of the said Monies, in such a Way, Method, and Manner, as the monthly Assessments for the Army have been formerly managed, raised and paid.<sup>128</sup>

To present this bill, with others, to the Protector a committee was named to meet him on that same afternoon, at which time he appointed the following day at 11 in the morning, but on that day he sent for the committee to change the date to the following Tuesday, June 9, because the "catalogue of the Bills" was too long to read "in a

<sup>121</sup> Nicholas to Culpepper, May 29/June 8, Thurloe, vi, 326.

<sup>122</sup> Giavarina to Doge, June 5/15, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), pp. 67-68.

<sup>123</sup> Burton, II, 165, 170ff.

<sup>124</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, May 28-June 4.

<sup>125</sup> Giavarina to Doge, June 5/15, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 69.

<sup>126</sup> Burton, II, 170.

<sup>127</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 545.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

whole day."<sup>139</sup> In the meantime, on Saturday, Lambert and Colonel Jones were appointed to acquaint the Protector with an order of the House to reimburse Colonel [Ralph] Weldon, governor of Plymouth in 1648, for £4,000 he had spent in that capacity, to be taken from the first money to come in to the Exchequer from the Prize Office.<sup>140</sup> That was justice long delayed, like so many such things in the civil wars, for Weldon had been compelled by want of funds to resort to free quarter for his unpaid and mutinous troops, and had endeavored in vain to be relieved of his thankless and difficult task.<sup>141</sup> To this the House added on Tuesday a bill for presentation to the Protector "for satisfaction of Capt. John Arthur for money disbursed by him for the Commonwealth,"<sup>142</sup> and on that same day proposals from Admiral Goodson in behalf of the Jamaica committee, for ships and stores, were presented to Cromwell.<sup>143</sup> Finally, Schlezer noted that on June 1 were issued the first coins with the Protector's bust and name, the coats of arms of the three countries, and the Cromwell crest of a lion, with the motto, "*Has nisi moriturus [or periturus] mihi adimet [or adimat] nemo*," probably the silver half-crowns designed by Simon in November, 1656.<sup>144</sup> Though the decision concerning the crown seems to have met with general approval, especially from Henry Cromwell,<sup>145</sup> and there seems no reason to believe that the new coins were intended to mark the entry of a new dynasty, the request from Goodson came at an inopportune time, for the government was hard pressed for men and supplies as well as for money. Giavarina noted information which came from his government to the effect that in April Lockhart, in the name of the Protector, had offered Giustinian a mixed levy of sailors and soldiers to aid the Venetians, which they did not accept, but desired ships. Giavarina added, however, that Cromwell was so short of sailors that he was obliged to impress all those who came in merchantmen, even the coalers, to supply the ships of war,<sup>146</sup> but impressment was then common and he may merely have noted as a special case what was, in fact, a general custom.

On the other hand, the French connection was not wholly satisfactory. On June 4, it appears, Bordeaux had an audience with the Pro-

<sup>139</sup> Burton, II, 180.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 190-91.

<sup>141</sup> Firth and Davies say that Weldon was governor of Plymouth in 1646 and gave up his command to Robert Lilburne later in that year (II, 453).

<sup>142</sup> *C. J.*, VII, 544.

<sup>143</sup> *Cal. S. P. Col.*, IX, 118, no. 287.

<sup>144</sup> Schlegel to V. of Ven. (June 1, 1656), *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 71.

<sup>145</sup> Giavarina to Doge, June 5/15, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 71.

The news was perhaps too gloomy, but the situation at best was not good. Reynolds and his troops joined Turenne at St. Quentin on the first of June and were there reviewed by the King later in that week.<sup>160</sup> Bampfield's informant indicated that Reynolds would not stay long as he had to return to England to marry Sir Francis Russell's daughter, the sister of Henry Cromwell's wife.<sup>161</sup> This, in a sense, made little difference to any one, for his second in command, Morgan, but recently Monk's right-hand man in Scotland, was an able and experienced soldier. The campaign, which had begun in the spring, was in the best manner of the military tradition of the time, with two masters of the art of war in command of the opposing forces—Condé for the Spaniards, Turenne for the French; but the methods of these men were very different from those to which the English had been accustomed, and roused unfavorable comment from them and, it was reported, from Cromwell himself. The system of maneuvering for position, siege and counter-siege, and what was apparently deliberate attempt to avoid a general engagement, made the whole operation too much like a game of chess. Moreover sickness and desertion rapidly reduced the English effectives. Lockhart presented the Protector's objections to Mazarin in vain, and in general the first months of the campaign were extremely unsatisfactory no less to the Protector than to his troops. There was little, however, which could be done about it at this stage, and as far as the Protector himself was concerned, he had other matters to attend to, among them letters to the Dutch and to Parliament:

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

188-21.

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*To the States General of the United Provinces*

## HIGH AND MOST MIGHTY LORDS

On the 10th of last September we sent letters to your High and mighty Lordships in which we supported the cause of William Cromwell, son of the late Oliver Cromwell, first Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who would obtain more easily and more promptly through the intercession of our

the said William is still being afflicted with damaging delays in recovering his rights. We have not hesitated to renew a second time our demands in his cause and name to your High and mighty Lordships in order that to the justice of his cause the extra weight of our influence may be added. And so we ask that the debt which is accruing to him from his salary unpaid for several years be settled at once and also that the same stipend be extended to him for the future. Although this action is due with reference to him

a favor, and that there may not be lost this opportunity of our being grateful to you we both desire and confidently expect. Given at our Palace at Westminster, June 1st, 1657.

Your good friend,  
OLIVER P.<sup>128</sup>

[*To Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of Parliament*]

[substance only]

On the behalf of the officers and soldiers who served the Commonwealth in Ireland, before the fifth of June 1649, recommending it to the Parliament, That, towards their satisfaction, the forfeited lands in the counties of Wicklow, Denegall, and Longford, formerly set apart for them by consent of the Army in Ireland, and order of the Lord Deputy and Council there, and the County of Letrym, with the Mile-Lyne within the Shannon and the Sea, within the Province of Connaught, and County of Clare, added unto them by order of his Highness and Council here, might by Act of Parliament be confirmed to the said officers and soldiers towards satisfaction of their said arrears. And that the residue of the debt to them might be secured in equal way and manner, and according to the same rule and rates with the remainder of the debt due to the present army in Ireland, for service since the fifth of June 1649.<sup>128</sup>

June 4, 1657

App

<sup>128</sup> C. J., vii, 576 (June 26) Resolved that the lands be disposed of to no other use, but that it be recommended to Cromwell and Council to put a stop therein. On June 8 the House voted to read this letter on June 10. Lambert moved "that the same day be appointed for the debate upon the other letter 'touching the Lancashire forces'" (Burton, ii, 196).

After the long excitement attending the question of kingship and the revision of the *Petition and Advice*, indeed, there ensued a period of inactivity on the part of the House of Commons. The activities—or inactivity—of the House during this period are not clearly recorded. The former held what was apparently its only meeting during the month of June on Saturday June 11.<sup>154</sup> The House seems to have been in session on Sunday June 12.<sup>155</sup> During the week of June 8 the House seems to have felt the need of some business, for the less it spent a considerable amount of time in finding a minister to bless their labors before they began their work,<sup>156</sup> and, when they did begin, little appeared to be blessed. They passed a bill for naturalizing various individuals; another for confirming and settling estates in Ireland,<sup>157</sup> and a resolution to bring in a bill to bestow £1,500 a year on Fleetwood for his services;<sup>158</sup> while the Protector's chief activity seems to have been the issue of a charter to the frame-work knitters.<sup>159</sup> The resolution for Fleetwood's grant revealed the thinness of the House—and possibly that general's lack of popularity—for it was passed by the narrow margin of 45 to 43 votes.<sup>160</sup> But it was evident that the House was doing what it could to clear up business before dispersing. It resolved that nothing should be considered for the next six days "but that which concerns raising of money and settling the nations."<sup>161</sup> They prepared bills to present to the Protector for settling the postage,<sup>162</sup> for establishing the price of wines,<sup>163</sup> for three months' service of the militia,<sup>164</sup> and for "other services of the Council."<sup>165</sup> A bill to omit the bill for catechizing, but it was lost 82 to 7.<sup>166</sup> Later, on Saturday, the 11th, the House met and considered the method of raising money, but, all in all, the decks were being cleared for action on the prorogation, and public business was to come again into the conduct of the executive authorities, without interruption.

<sup>154</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. lii

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>156</sup> Burton, II, 191-93

<sup>157</sup> *C J*, vii, 550

<sup>158</sup> Burton, II, 197-200

<sup>159</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1658-9), p. 215, *Merc Pol*, June 11-18, Hazlitt, *Livery Com-*

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200n.

<sup>161</sup> *C J*, vii, 551, rates summarized in *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp. 6-7

<sup>162</sup> *C J*, vii, 551, *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 7.

<sup>163</sup> Burton, II, 201

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3

<sup>165</sup> *Cal. S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 8, presentation by C of the rectory of Amersham, Bucks, to Edward Terry, issued on June 12 (Maggs cat. 646 (Summer, 1937), item 343).

So, having cleared up its business, and "having nothing to do" while it waited for the meeting with the Protector, it passed a bill for settling lands in Dublin on Susanna Bastwick, widow of the Dr. Bastwick who had suffered with Prynne so many years before, and on her four children.<sup>167</sup> This done, Serjeant Middleton came to say that the Protector awaited them in the Painted Chamber. There Widdrington, in a flowery speech, such as was at that time fashionable, presented his grist of some thirty-nine bills, or as he expressed it, "A few slight Bills; they are not forgetting to . . . of this Commonwealth, and he must give the ultimate life and breath to our laws"<sup>168</sup> It would seem that the Protector accepted the first thirty-eight in the usual form "I do consent," but as to the last—the bill for catechizing—"after a little pause, his Highness returned this answer, 'I am desirous to advise of this bill.'"<sup>169</sup> Finally, it appears after this he made a brief speech:

MR. SPEAKER,

I perceive that, among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth by those Bills for the levying of Money, now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto. Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been Chief of . . . herein<sup>170</sup>

For some reason this situation produced an unfavorable reaction in the House when it reassembled in its own chamber Mr Bampfild declared that "his Highness never did himself such an injury as he had done this day," but whether he referred to the whole episode or to the holding up of approval of the catechizing bill is not clear Mr. Godfrey demanded of the Clerk of the House, Scobell, why he had held back the bill for catechizing until the last, and was told by Scobell that he had a warrant for what he did and could justify his action<sup>171</sup>—which, as it seemed to imply that some order or suggestion to that effect had probably come from the Protector, made an end of that inquiry For the rest, the House devoted its time to fixing the rate of the monthly assessments By 71 to 51 they were set at £10,000 for Ireland. Scotland was assessed at £6,000. Though it was voted

<sup>167</sup> Burton, II, 204.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205, Lomas-Carlyle, III, 131.

<sup>169</sup> Burton, II, 205-6

<sup>170</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Speech XV, from *C J*, VII, 552, reported by Widdrington that afternoon

<sup>171</sup> Burton, II, 206.

on Wednesday 64 to 48 against continuing the previous rates in the counties, on Friday that vote was amended to let them stand as they had been. On Saturday it was moved to reduce the Irish assessment by £2,000, and though that motion was lost by 50 to 45, a motion to reduce the amount by £1,000 was carried. A like motion for Scotland found the members too tired or too uninterested to continue, and the English quota was left at £35,000.<sup>172</sup> In themselves these votes were of no great significance save for two things. The first was the great disproportion between the amounts voted; the second was the revelation of the low estate to which the House had fallen. There were apparently never a hundred men present at any one time; and it was time for them to go. Though they punished a certain John Browne for saying that "My Lord Protector is wiser than to be ruled by a Company of Knaves and Fools," and Sir Robert Collingwood for slandering the House,<sup>173</sup> it seems probable that this was common enough talk in those days, and that these two men were merely unfortunate in being caught.

The Protector, in the meantime, was again being pestered by Wariston and the Scots, and he had spoken to Lambert about the judges and about Wariston and the latter's post of Register. "They would not," he said, "graunt the place as it was, with power to nominate deputies and to receave the benefitt, but only with an honorable salarye, and that he thought the Counsel topping it and placing in clerks for lyfetime and quarrelling at every one," was not to be endured.<sup>174</sup> On the previous Saturday, June 6, it seems that Fleetwood had spoken to the Protector about Wariston's case; it was reported to Gillespie who in turn advised Wariston that Cromwell had said "he was no freer to goe to his wyfe and children nor he was to bestow my place upon me, but their was som difficultye about the nomination of the clerks and he desyred that he might speak" with Wariston about it, early on Wednesday. So on that day Wariston and Gillespie went to Whitehall "wher his Highnesse desyred us to retere to a chalmey wher wee attended long, from 8 till 10 a cloake, and at last he called us in to a gallerye wher I deduced to him my condition." Or, as Wariston told the story, having demanded his three rights, £3,000 sterling, the Clerk Register's place, and £400 sterling as a salary.

He acknowledged the debt was deu and sayd I had been long creuel to my self, my wyfe and children. He maid a long discourse of his intentions and good affections to the Remonstrators, and his desyre of an union between that godlye nature their and with others of the uther jugment and thes heir, and  
 . . . to look only to one part or partye

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 208-18, 236, 246-47.

<sup>173</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 554.

<sup>174</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, iii, 76.

He asked if I was cleare and free to serve and taik employments, . . . He sayd he would speak mor fully with Mr Gilespeye and deale honorably with me.

of . . . thought it reasonable that waye or some uther waye Then I gaive him my petition which he promised to thnk upon Then he told me about som sticking on my nomination of the Clerks

I remember the Protector sayd, why should he give faire words when his contrary actions afterward would convince men of the untreuth thereof? The Deputye sayd he found my Lord Protector had indeed respect and affection to me and desyred me to draw the paper [i. e. for the Lord Registership].<sup>175</sup>

Apparently the next day Gillespie and Fleetwood had further conversation with the Protector in regard to the matter of

... desyre of reasons why it . . . would first speak with my Lord Lambert and my Lord President, but that he should doe som thing in it agaynst Monondaye, and he was cleare in it in his awen conscience and it was as sure as if it wer subscriyved, and he should see that 300 pound sterling payed to him [Wariston?]; he thought it a honorable debt and for an honest cause.<sup>176</sup>

So on Saturday, the 13th, he had his conversation with Guthrie, whose report, as related by Wariston in his crabbed and obscure fashion, was to the effect that

he shew obligations and promissorye oaths wer 'if God will' and with reservation, providence, as som things in the Covenant as conditional "

Such was the curious and complicated issue which thrust itself on the Protector in the midst of great affairs, and there is a certain irony in the fact that this discussion with the pertinacious Scotchmen came at the moment that he was not only considering the problems of Parliament and of foreign affairs, but that it seems to have been sandwiched in between audiences with Bordeaux and Nieupoort and congratulations and instructions for Blake

[To General Blake, at Sea]

SIR,

I have received yours of [the 20th of April last], and thereby the account of the good success it hath pleased God to give you at the Canaries, in your attempt upon the King of Spain's Ships in the Bay of Sancta Cruz

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80

The mercy therein, to us and this Commonwealth, is very signal; both in the loss the enemy hath received, and the preservation of our men;—which indeedness and loving-kindness of the Lord, wherewith His people have been followed in all these late revolutions, and [doth] call for on our part, that we should fear before Him, and still hope in His mercy.

use  
courage in the execution, and have sent you a small jewel, as a testimony of

themselves with much honesty and courage; and we are considering of a way to show our acceptance thereof. In the mean time, we desire you to return our hearty thanks and acknowledgments to them

Thus, beseeching the Lord

Whitehall, 10th June 1657.

[OLIVER P]

### *Instructions to General Blake*

Whereas you have by your last letters signified to us, and to the commissioners of the admiralty, that several of the ships now with you are very defective, and must of necessity be brought into port, not being able to stay out the next winter without great hazard and danger, we have resolved to call home part of the fleet, and that affairs there be dispos'd of in the manner following:

1. We judge it necessary that 14 ships be continued before the bay of Cadiz, and in those seas, for annoying the enemy in such manner as your former instructions direct

mission, that in a piratical way do our merchants much hurt in those seas, beside what some Turkish pirates do. And upon this  
uctions to the commander of this squadron,  
or other places upon the Barbary coast, for the settling of amity and commerce between this commonwealth and them in such manner as was agreed between us and Dunkirk.

3 We have not thought it convenient to give you any direction, which of the ships should be brought home, and which should be continued upon the services aforesaid, in respect we cannot be informed what state and condition the several ships are in, but do leave it wholly to your direction, as you shall judge it best for the aforesaid end.

4 You are likewise to appoint a fit person to command the said squadron of 14 ships, as also another to command the other five ships, and to give each squadron instructions to the purpose aforesaid. For commodore of the 14 ships, we here have thought of capt. Stoakes, but do refer it to you to do therein as you shall judge most convenient.

5. Those ships, which are to be continued at sea, are to be furnished with such time your first

It was at about the same time that, according to Giavarina, the Protector had a long and important interview with Bordeaux, chiefly concerning the question of the treatment of the English Catholics, which may throw some light on the Protector's attitude toward the Parliament. As the Venetian relates the incident, Bordeaux pressed the matter so much that his Highness asked him not to meddle in the procedure of parliament touching his subjects"; to which Bordeaux replied that,

he asked nothing more than his Highness himself had done with his master in favour of the Huguenots of Piedmont, and as the king of France, at his request, had interposed for them, he expected the same civility and sincerity from this side towards the English Catholics, . . . After this very strong remonstrance, Cromwell assured the ambassador that he would do all in his power to prevent the act [against Popish recusants] or at least the execution of its most severe articles,

Meanwhile the Catholics, while obliged to show gratitude to the Most Christian [King] for such friendly offices, are astonished at France taking so much interest in them, which has never happened before, since she rather displayed aversion. From this it is supposed that Bordoas is charged to do everything possible to draw them over to the French side by dint of courtship. . . . propensity for the Spaniards . . . they have never received any benefits, and so they are the more amazed at the change and to see themselves so favoured and protected

dom went out of civility to thank his Excellency for his offices in favour of the Catholics he asked them why they were so given to the Spaniards, pointing out the present weakness of that nation and the vigour of France to induce them to come over to his side, but someone told him boldly that if the French had treated them well they would have been in their favour, as they have shown themselves for the Spaniards, from whom they have always received favour and protection

The reason which impels France to seek the goodwill of these folk is quite obscure, and there is nothing to indicate its origin, as the Catholics here are exhausted and downtrodden, almost entirely stripped of their possessions, disarmed and in no condition to render the slightest service to anyone though ready enough to receive it from anyone who will oblige. So this action of France is worthy of notice since it certainly is not without some object or

position will bring them some advantage."

It is, indeed, not easy to penetrate the designs of the French court in making the English Catholics an issue at this moment, and the Catholics themselves were no less at a loss to understand it than was the Venetian envoy, and possibly even the Protector himself. It may well have been connected with the developments in the House which had revealed such a religious zeal in the preceding months that, it may have been feared, would make another attack upon the Catholics, which, in view of the new French alliance, might have been embarrassing to Cromwell's government. There were, in fact, at this time as always, wheels within wheels, of which we can have but the faintest glimpse. Every moment, indeed, Sir Henry Bennet was writing to Hyde from Madrid of Cromwell's negotiations with Condé after the break with Spain,<sup>179</sup> though Condé was actually at that time in Spanish service; the Anglo-French treaty was being signed; and the Protector was agreeing to expel Condé's agents from England as part of that agreement—that promise into effect.

At the same time the government newssheet, the *Public Intelligencer* was permitted—or required—to announce that

The difference between this State and the Kingdom of France is now at an end, the States having had frequent conference with Mr. de Thou the French Ambassador, it is accorded on both sides, that satisfaction shall be made touching the Ships which were taken by Admiral Ruyter at Sea from the Knight de la Lande, and the arrest made upon our ships by the King of France, be immediately taken off, and trade restored in all places of that Kingdom; and that a treaty be entered upon touching Maritime affairs So that you may see, little regard hath been had to the temptations of Spain<sup>181</sup>

This, indeed, was in accord with another conversation which the Protector had on the afternoon of June 12/22 with Nieupoort, who brought word that the States General had written to Lockhart and were pleased with his mediation between France and the Netherlands and expressed to Cromwell the thanks of the States General for this move. To which

The lord protector answered, that he with all sincerity endeavoured to do all what he could for the removing and renouncing the differences risen between France and their H. and M. L. and that he would continue to contribute towards it

<sup>179</sup> Giavarina to Doge, June 12/22, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), pp. 72-73

<sup>180</sup> Macray, III, 307, no. 933

<sup>181</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, June 15-22, from the Hague, June 11/21.



In reply . . . accordance with his orders received in February concerning the recalling or repealing of the act for the advantage of trade and commerce here, (as is pretended) made in the parliament 1657," in effect the extension of the Navigation Act to which the Dutch had taken such strong exception,

The lord Protector having hearkened to my proposition with attention, said, that he on his part was very well contented to order business so, that all misunderstandings and hatred may be prevented, and that what I had proposed, he would take into further consideration.

These were not all of Nieupoort's complaints. In reply to his remonstrances about the various injuries inflicted at sea by the English upon the Dutch ships engaged in the fishing industry, of which he delivered a memorandum,

The lord protector delivering the papers to the lord secretary of state, said he would further examine the same, and in effect shew, that he is not inclined to suffer, that the inhabitants of the United Netherlands should have wrong done them in any thing, and that care ought to be had on both sides, that the . . . promised me he would do all . . .

There was still one more complaint in his budget. It concerned the *St. Jacob* of Amsterdam which had been stranded on the Sussex coast in October, 1655, and there plundered, for which he asked the Protector to call upon Parliament not to delay longer the justice desired for this action; in answer to which

The Lord Protector declared to me, that he was sensible of that business, and that the said prohibitions of the judges of the common-law were granted in many cases to the prejudice of the state itself, and taking my memorandum, he ordered very earnestly the . . . the business in his behalf . . .

This is the way that business was done in those simpler days, by man to man rather than by the writing of endless notes, though these, indeed, were not wanting. It is not surprising that a man like Cromwell, in bad health and with matters small and great pressing on him from every side, should find it a wearing and thankless task to consider personally so many items in such a multiplicity of affairs. To these interviews succeeded three pieces of that business so different as to be almost ridiculous. The first was a request from Mazarin for 2,000 more men as well as supplies of provisions and utensils, to be ready with the fleet. Apparently Bordeaux had told Cromwell that

<sup>181</sup> Nieupoort to Ruysch, June 12/22, *Thurloe*, vi, 347-48.

Lockhart had assured Mazarin that the Protector would be willing first to besiege Cambrai before attempting Dunkirk—which Lockhart vigorously denied.<sup>183</sup> This revealed a fundamental divergence in the principles of war as held by the two allies. The French under Turenne, like the Spaniards under Condé, were disciples of the school of military operations with each move carefully calculated, made with a view to the campaign as a whole, protecting flank and rear as carefully as considering the front. It was Turenne's plan to secure his position by possession of strong places inland before attempting the main objective, Dunkirk, and at this moment Marshal de la Ferté was besieging Montmédy, while Turenne, under whose immediate command the English troops were, covered the besieging forces and protected the French frontier, with little interruption from Condé, who endeavored rather to threaten Calais in the hope of drawing the French away from Montmédy. All this seemed remote from the real objective of the expedition, and the English were naturally exasperated, not least because they had received less than half of the arms promised them by the French government. To them the siege of a fortress in Luxembourg seemed to bear little relation to an attack on Dunkirk, and Reynolds and Cromwell were alike irritated by the leisurely and apparently aimless operations under Turenne.<sup>184</sup> The fact was that not merely were the methods of that great commander different from those to which the English were accustomed, but the aims of their operations were not quite the same. To Cromwell the possession of Dunkirk was the important thing, to Mazarin it was secondary to the defeat of Condé and the relief of France from the threat of his armies.

The second of these three circumstances which disturbed Cromwell at this moment was the effort to wind up the business of Parliament in time for prorogation on June 24. That business was of the most varied character—a bill for the discovering, convicting and suppressing Popish recusants, which, incidentally, was probably the inspiration for Bordeaux's protest,<sup>185</sup> the confirmation of several ordinances,<sup>186</sup> and for preventing the multiplicity of buildings about Lon-

at Hispaniola the preceding year,<sup>188</sup> the issue of a privy seal for £3,815/16/0 to General Blake for land services in England,<sup>189</sup> a pen-

<sup>183</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 561.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 562.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 566.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 557.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 561.

sion of £2 a week to a Sir Andrew Dick in addition to the £3 he already enjoyed.<sup>190</sup> And at or near the end of this miscellaneous business, with the House scheduled to adjourn on Saturday, the Protector wrote the Speaker a letter on Friday, which was read on Saturday, advising postponement of adjournment until the following Wednesday or Thursday, "in regard he perceived, notwithstanding our unwearied pains, that some business cannot stay till our next meeting."<sup>191</sup> He was doubtless thinking of the *Petition and Advice* and its supplementary provisions, read for the second time on the previous Monday, June 15,<sup>192</sup> but not yet acted on. The House itself was so nearly empty of its members that after the Protector's letter was read it was voted that "the members do attend until Friday morning, under the penalty of £50,"<sup>193</sup> which was an extraordinarily heavy penalty calculated to deter the most enthusiastic deserter.

The third incident which afflicted the Protector in this eventful week was the fact that the indefatigable Gillespie found access to him and "had an uncouth discourse to him about Commonwealths men and Fyft monarchy men and Anabaptists, with som hints at us as reported to be such," as Wariston relates.<sup>194</sup> Few things would have seemed more out of place at this moment than the injection of this parochial quarrel between the two sections of Scottish Presbyterians, nor anything less agreeable to the Protector than a discourse from Gillespie at this juncture; but time and tide were compelled to wait when these disputants entered the fray. Apart from this intrusion, the only interview of which we have record at this time seems to have been with Schlezer who had an audience on the 18th.<sup>195</sup> Giavarina reported—doubtless with some exaggeration—that "the ministers of Sweden and Brandenburg have frequent audiences, pressing his Highness to send a squadron of English ships to the Baltic." But he was doubtless well within the truth when he added, "here they do not seem much inclined to grant this, nor do they listen to their projects especially as they inform the Protector of close negotiations for an adjustment between Sweden and Poland."<sup>196</sup> Bordeaux, he said—what we know from other sources—was "making fresh demands of his Highness for levies of troops," doubtless to make up the deficiencies in the English contingent caused in part, at least, by desertions to the forces under the Duke of York in Condé's army. "It cannot yet be stated," Giavarina goes on to say, "whether permission has

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 566

<sup>191</sup> Burton II, 259

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260

<sup>194</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 85

<sup>195</sup> *Urk u. Actenst.*, VII, 773-75

<sup>196</sup> Giavarina to Doge, June 19/29, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 77

been granted. But this cannot easily be refused." On the other hand, he adds, "A levy of 2,000 Scots has been granted to Portugal to serve their pressing needs against the Spaniards"<sup>197</sup> That story does not seem improbable, though it is difficult to confirm it, and no considerable assistance was given Portugal until after the accession of Charles II and his marriage with Catherine of Braganza. In any event it appears that the Protector was still suspicious of the honesty of the French intentions,<sup>198</sup> probably in view of the conduct of military operations, in which he was probably not much mistaken. Nor was he alone in his suspicions. On Whitsun eve Colonel Morley, who was a "moderate" man and had treated with the Royalists, spent the night with the Protector and at once became suspect by the followers of Charles II as soon as this fact was known.<sup>199</sup> The whole atmosphere of the time, domestic and foreign, was, in fact, one of mutual suspicion and distrust among all parties, princes, peoples and individuals, conditioning their every act, thought and word, not least those of the Protector himself, as his cautious utterances to all who recorded their conversations with him clearly reveal. And at this moment there were doubts not least of Buckingham, then in England seeking the hand of Mary Fairfax, and suspected both by the king he had left and by the Protector who permitted him to stay, though it seemed not for long.<sup>200</sup>

In the meantime, since June 2, Schlezer had been making repeated attempts to secure an audience, which was granted to him on the 18th after what amounted almost to an ultimatum from him that unless some aid was granted to the Elector, that prince would have to come to terms with the other side, whatever that side might be. In the presence of President Lawrence the Brandenburg envoy made an appeal to the Protector for assistance, his "proposition" being delivered in Latin, and drawing a long reply from Cromwell.

"He had," he said, according to Schlezer's report, "formerly on various occasions assured me and would assure me again from the bottom of his heart that he not only considered your Highness in every respect a great and generous lord, but also esteemed you especially on this account and had allied himself with you with all his heart because he had encouraged the common evangelic cause with especial seriousness and zeal and had engaged himself deeply in the defence and maintenance of it. God himself had given proof by the glorious victory which He afforded the federated princes and by their remarkable preservation a . . . that . . . H. M. Highness' praiseworthy intention was a good and . . ."

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>198</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, . . . no 950.

<sup>199</sup> Information of "Mr. G . . ." o 944.

<sup>200</sup> Giavarina to Doge, June 19/29, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 77, cp. *ibid.*, p. 70, and *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 4, 9.

rejoiced with a special sympathy when his Majesty in Sweden and your Highness were successful, and had experienced sympathy and care for your sakes when you encountered reverses and difficulties. His Highness expected that it would be realized everywhere to what extent they had not overlooked anything which might serve for the disruption of the common enemy of Protestantism and for the intercepting of their Indian treasures or for the ruin of his ships and lands, and without this noteworthy diversion the house of Austria would have had power and means sufficient to act more powerfully in Italy, in Flanders and in other places than it has done of late. So far as he was informed, the affairs of the confederates were not now in such bad condi-

mention the Austrian army nor that of the Muscovite, but only said that it was to the Danish situation he gave special thought, and that he lived in

Denmark any vigorous assistance nor oppose the crown of Sweden as strongly as heretofore. Elsewhere things were going pretty well, for he heard that the plans of the French in Italy were proceeding better than hitherto. For his part he was continuing the war against Spain by sea at enormous expense; for there was a great difference between an army which is maintained on land and a fleet at sea, therefore he—or his resources—were pretty well exhausted, and he had to repeat to me his remonstrance to the Swedish ambassador on various occasions, namely that he had no ship to dispatch his fleet operating in comfort.

not have any real formulated government though they were steadily working

esty and would at the same time inform you as to the situation in respect to that matter and as to the imminent imperial election, he would prove that he had not used mere compliments .”

What this came down to seems to be that the Protector would do what he could to prevent the Dutch from interfering with the Swedes; that he had no money to spend on assistance to the Elector of Brandenburg, but that what he had was to be devoted to his war with Spain. To this Schlezer replied somewhat drily that the Elector also had the best of intentions, but he could not execute them with his own almost exhausted resources, that the most alluring offers were made to him by the opposition and therefore he was obliged to ask for financial assistance. To this, in turn,

His Highness answered that if the government had risen for this time and would be glad, for he would then be better able to give me a real resolution than now, and I should rest assured that I would not be delayed with it, he would rather renounce it than let some things fail with which he could further the common work.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>201</sup> Schlezer to Kurfurst, June 19/29, *Urk. u. Actenst.*, VII, 773-75.

Despite this exchange of more or less empty compliments and mutual references to the great cause which, ostensibly, both Protector and Elector had nearest their hearts, it can hardly be supposed that either party to the affair was much deceived as to the real inwardness of the situation. The Elector, whatever his devotion to Protestantism, was primarily—and no doubt properly—concerned with the extrication and preservation of the Brandenburg territories from the coil of circumstance in which they were enmeshed at that moment between the Swedes, the Poles, the Empire and, more distantly, the Muscovites. Whatever Cromwell's concern with the Protestant Interest, his chief preoccupation was his war with Spain and his treaty with France. It could hardly be supposed that he had money or men to spare for the benefit of the Elector of Brandenburg. The most that he could do, or be expected to do, was to use his good offices with the Dutch, the Swedes and the Danes, but it may have seemed even to him that it was peculiarly unfortunate that all the immediate parties to the quarrel were Protestant states. The danger from Austria appeared remote, and whatever cold comfort the Elector could derive from the Protector's statement that his attack on Spain was of great importance to the Protestant cause and of great injury to the house

practical fashion in a dispute which centered primarily about the Baltic. Finally Cromwell's statement that, in effect, he could do nothing until the House had adjourned, was in the nature of the delaying tactics he had used to such good effect before, and his admission that the foundations of government in England were not firmly established, indicated that there was little hope for assistance to Brandenburg to be hoped for at present—if ever.

This last excuse for inaction, at least, had foundation in fact. During the last week of its session, the House sat long hours—until after nine at night on at least two days<sup>202</sup>—trying to perfect the *Additional Petition and Advice* and frame oaths to be taken by Protector, Council and Parliament under the new dispensation. There were long debates not only as to the form of the oaths but as to whether any oaths should be imposed, the opposition to them being based largely on the ground that there was no time to prepare them. In spite of the opposition of men like Lambert, Baynes, Audley and Bampfild, however, it was resolved, 68 to 51, that a committee be appointed to prepare an oath. It was also to suggest the manner of the ceremony of Cromwell's acceptance of the new government, and to consider "what they think fit, touching the settlement of his Highness's council."<sup>203</sup> On Wednesday, June 24, Glyn reported from the committee, and

<sup>202</sup> Burton, II, 270, 305.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

after some debate the oath for the Protector was accepted in an amended form,<sup>204</sup> then the oath for the Council—which was extended to the Councils for Ireland and Scotland<sup>205</sup> But when it came to an oath for the members of Parliament, the debate flared up again as it had on Tuesday and lasted all morning Lambert, Sydenham and Baynes were against the oaths; Colonel Jones and Drake were in favor of them Wolseley, Onslow, Boteler, "Lord" Stuckland and Lenthall favored the oath for the Protector; Colonel Cox, Highland, Sir W Stuckland, Audley and Bampffield were against it, on the ground of the time element, or at least they so averred.<sup>206</sup> The division of opinion on the oath for Parliament was along somewhat different lines. Desborough, Goffe, Whalley, Shapcott, Fiennes and Trevor were for it; Whitelocke, Grove, Godfrey and Winthrop were against it.<sup>207</sup> There seems no clear line of division of parties or groups; but the vote in favor of the oath passed by about the usual majority—63 to 55—to the effect that the members of both Houses should take the oath,<sup>208</sup> the form of which was resolved on that afternoon<sup>209</sup> There was less difference of opinion as to the establishment of the "other" or "upper" House of "lords," to be set up under the *Petition and Advice*, for the House voted 90 to 41 to request the Protector to summon that body, "without further approbation."<sup>210</sup> And, as the last thing before adjournment, there was communicated to Parliament a letter from the Protector, in part concerning the matter always uppermost in his mind—the pay of the troops:

*To Mr Speaker: To be communicated to the Parliament*

[Substance only]

For confirmation of two orders of Protector and Council one touching arrears due to his own regiment and others, "to reinforce his former letter about James's and the Westmoreland regiment," formerly under the command of Gervase Benson, the other on behalf of Major William Hill of Guildford<sup>211</sup>

June 21, 1657

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 283-87

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 287-90

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 274-82.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 291-96.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 296-97

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 297-301 It appears that at about this point Cromwell appointed a committee to consider the matter. The committee declined that honor and in his place, 364-65, 367, 372), who was

debated June 26 (C J, vii, 305),  
14, 269, (1657-8), pp. 116, 196-97 O . . . . .  
-7), pp 213-

These questions determined, the matter was hurried through. A committee was named to acquaint the Protector with the form of his oath and to determine the day for taking it and for consideration of the passage of the bills which the House had to present to him. That committee attended him on Wednesday night and reported the next day that he would meet the House in the Painted Chamber on Friday, June 26, at 12 o'clock.<sup>212</sup> Though all this must have been more or less foreseen and provided for, there were many last minute preparations to be made—the oath to be engrossed on vellum, a Bible, a scepter and a sword to be provided, and, more particularly, a purple robe lined with ermine. On this last there was another ripple of amusement, for the mover, Lister, said "His Highness has a sword already. I would have him presented with a robe. Some understood it a rope and it caused *alium risum*. He said he spoke as plain as he could, a robe. You are making his Highness a great prince, a King indeed, . . . Ceremonies signify much of the substance in such cases, as a shell preserves the kernel, or a casket a jewel. I would have him endowed with a robe of honour."<sup>213</sup> Friday morning was a busy time. The bill for adjournment to January 20, 1657-8, was passed by 48 to 43,<sup>214</sup> there being, apparently, some question as to whether that was not too long an intermission between sessions. The Commissioners for the Great Seal and the judges were ordered to frame a writ for summoning the members of the "Other House" to meet at a time and place to be appointed by the Protector, the writs—like those to the old House of Lords—to be issued directly and individually to each member so summoned.<sup>215</sup> Finally the bill for recusants came up again, and as a last gesture, it was voted, 88 to 43, that it should be presented later, presumably when the House re-assembled.<sup>216</sup> This done, the House, now somewhat larger as appears by this last vote, prepared to attend the Protector, whose message Middleton delivered, for the conference in the Painted Chamber, and the investiture ceremony later.

The preparations for that great event had been hurried in the ex-

Scotland asking consideration of the losses and sufferings of the sister of that Archibald

of a . . . the shame of having their

vi, 465-66,

<sup>212</sup> Burton, II, 305

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid*, p. 303.

<sup>214</sup> *C J*, vii, 575

<sup>215</sup> Burton, II, 309-10

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid*, p. 310. Other business in Parliament during this last week of its session included an order that Whalley and Strickland remove the present preacher at St Margaret's (the more or less official church of Parliament), that Cromwell issue a privy



treme. Last minute invitations had been sent to some, though apparently not to all, of the foreign envoys, which occasioned much heart-burning among them. According to one authority, only Nieupoort and Bordeaux were invited,<sup>217</sup> though Giavarina reports that "Portugal and Brandenburg went. . . , . . . remained at home, the two first because of questions of precedence between themselves and with Portugal, and I because of Brandenburg, who is very pretentious and who has openly stated that on every occasion he will dispute the position which rightly belongs to your Serenity [the Doge of Venice]." The question of precedence was, in fact, a very sore point with the diplomats. It was especially difficult at this moment, partly on account of the unique situation of affairs, partly because it seems that the foreign representatives were not invited until two hours before the ceremony, or as Giavarina reported, "were only warned a few minutes beforehand." "If I had been invited at least a day in advance," he went on to say, "as is usual at all the Courts, I should have gone and taken care to suffer no prejudice. If I had gone when Brandenburg was already there I should have done so with the intention of giving and receiving an affront, as he would not give way and I should have had to take the place by force. He would have resisted and had the sympathy of the other ministers, except Holland, who has the same claims as the Electors."<sup>218</sup> This disturbing element was fortunately not present to mar the harmony of the occasion, but it was not many years later that the French ambassadors, arriving simultaneously at . . . out the issue with some scores of swordsmen on either side, with some loss of life, and to the great entertainment of the Londoners who came to see the encounter.

It is perhaps worthy of note, as confirming Giavarina's report, that only on the morning of the ceremony did the House order Sir Oliver Fleming, the Master of Ceremonies to invite the "several foreign ambassadors and ministers of state" then in London to attend the ceremony of the investiture, and, as Giavarina reported, "Sweden went to ask Fleming . . . what they would do about residents, but Fleming told him it was nothing to do with him as his title was inferior to the residents, so Sweden preferred to stay at home,"<sup>219</sup> which in view of Anglo-Swedish relations at that moment was not merely surprising but unfortunate. In any event there was business to be done before the ceremony of investiture. The House with the Speaker, the Clerk and the Serjeant with his mace at its head, followed Middleton to the Painted Chamber where the Protector and his Council

<sup>217</sup> *Parl Hist*, xxi, 158, with a note that "It appears from *Thurloe's State Papers*, that their Presence was highly . . ."

<sup>218</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July . . . 1-9), pp 82-83.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid*, p 83, Burton, II, 309.

awaited them. There was presented to him first the "humble additional and explanatory Petition and Advice," to which, having been read, the Protector gave his consent, as he did to some twenty-two other bills, after which, apparently, the members returned to Westminster Hall which had been arranged for the ceremony by building a dais or "ascent" at the south end of the great hall, with a throne,—in the seat of which was the stone of Scone on which Scottish kings sat at their coronation—with a "prince-like canopy of state" above the throne. On each side of the hall scaffoldings had been raised to seat the members of the House; and in front of the dais was a table "covered with pink-coloured velvet of Genoa" with gold fringe, on which rested a Bible, the sword, and sceptre of the Commonwealth, with pens, ink and paper, and before this table a chair was prepared for Sir Thomas Widdrington, the Speaker of the House. And it may be noted that this was a far cry from the days when the Protector, as general of the army, addressed the members standing on the same floor with them, or even from the day when he was first sworn in as Protector. He had risen, in fact as well as theory, from the floor to a throne.

All this arranged, the Protector came out of the Council room, which was next to the Lords' chamber, and the procession formed, two by two, with his gentlemen of the bedchamber in the lead, then a herald, then the aldermen of London, then another herald followed by the legal authorities and the officials of the government, then the serjeants and king-at-arms, then the Earl of Warwick, bearing the sword of state, on the right hand and the Lord Mayor of London, Tichborne, bearing the sword of the City of London, and between them, HIS HIGHNESS, OLIVER CROMWELL, gorgeously attired in "a costly mantle of estate, lined with ermines, and girt with a sword of great value," his train supported by three generals, bare-headed and armed with drawn swords. Following them came first the members or "lords" of the "Other House," then the members of the Commons, and a crowd of "persons of distinction," including "Scotch and Irish nobles."

The long procession thus making its way to its appointed stations, the Protector was enthroned in the chair of state, on his right the Earl of Warwick and the French ambassador, on his left, the Lord Mayor and the Dutch ambassador, behind him his son Richard, General Fleetwood, his son-in-law, John Claypole, Master of Horse, and the Privy Council, and "upon a lower descent," Viscount Lisle, Lords Montagu and Whitelocke, "with drawn swords." Thus arrayed, the heralds proclaiming silence, Sir Thomas Widdrington in the name of the Parliament presented the robe, the Bible, a sword, and a sceptre "of massy gold," commenting on each in florid oratory, after which he took the Bible and administered the oath of office to the Protector,

after which Mr. Manton prayed, the heralds proclaimed Cromwell Protector, the trumpets sounded and the people shouted. The ceremony being concluded, his Highness proceeded to his coach at the door of the hall, his train borne by Warwick's nephew, Lord Sherard, and Lord Roberts' oldest son, followed by all the dignitaries in the same order they had entered; and that night there were the usual celebrations in the City and suburbs. Giavarina reported, however, that there was no popular enthusiasm and Annesley wrote to Henry Cromwell that "it was observed that the L. Lambert and most of the martiall list absented themselves."<sup>220</sup>

It is difficult to see how a ceremony as could be arranged, as it was, and in it two things were remarkable. The first was the presence of the soldiery, 500 picked men in addition to the Protector's life-guard, the second was the notable absence of English nobility, only Warwick and Roberts of them all being present.

Cromwell was anxious to use his best endeavors to unite the Protestant churches abroad; to order the printing of their acts as well as the acts and ordinances of the Long Parliament, by Henry Scobell, the Clerk of that Parliament; and lastly an appeal to the Protector to reform the Inns of Court and place some "godly and able ministers" there.<sup>221</sup> Among those acts of this Parliament was the one over whose acceptance the Protector had hesitated—that concerning the recusants—to which he now consented. Its preamble recited that recusants had greatly increased of late, and the bill imposed a fine of two-thirds of their estates upon conviction. Whatever the truth of the charge of the increase in the number of Roman Catholics, it does not appear in Giavarina's complaint at this moment of the heavy charge for maintaining his chapel, "which is the more frequented as it is the only one left in this city where the Roman rite is celebrated, having ceased at the Portuguese embassy and being given up at the French since the return of the ambassador."<sup>222</sup>

It seems apparent that all the preparations for the ceremony of investiture could not have been completed within the few hours of the morning of June 26, and that many of them—whether for the ceremony of coronation as king or of investiture as Protector—must have been put in train some time before that morning. It seems equally apparent from the fact that the foreign envoys were only notified a

<sup>220</sup> Prestwich's *Respublica* (1787), pp. 3-21, in Burton, II, 511-15, *Parl. Hist.*, xxi, 157-58, Whitelocke, p. 662, Ramsay, *Henry Cromwell*, p. 175.

<sup>221</sup> Burton, II, 312-13.

<sup>222</sup> Giavarina to Doge, June 26/July 6, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 80.

few hours before the function that there may have been some question up to almost the last moment as to just what form the proceedings would take. The robe, the Bible, the sword must have been prepared earlier, and would serve for either coronation or investiture. The story of the making of a crown, in case the former was decided

little more than a year later gives the story additional plausibility. The fact seems to be that there was doubt until almost the last moment just what the ceremony was to be. As it turned out, it was to be investiture as Protector; but that was a difference in little more than name. The Protector was given his post for life with power to nominate his successor, and with all the authority—perhaps even more than—he would have had as king. He was to all intents and purposes a monarch, and his position, only one removed from that of the University of Oxford, as being incompatible with his new dignity, and had his son Richard chosen in his place.<sup>223</sup> He did not, however, resign his generalship of the army.

What, then, was the difference between his position before and after this investiture, and in what respects did his government under the *Petition and Advice* differ from that under the *Instrument of Government*? The first and most obvious difference was that he was now—presumably—Protector for life, with power to nominate his successor. The second was that there was to be an "Other House" of "Lords," whose members he was authorized to nominate. In so far there was little difference between kingship and protectorate, save that the succession to the latter office was nominative instead of hereditary. In most, if not all, other respects there was little to choose between the offices save the title—and one thing more, the direct command of the armed forces, which Cromwell kept in his own hands and which, had he been made king, he would probably have had to resign to some one else. As to the other provisions of the new Protectorate, the chief change from the *Instrument of Government* lay in the establishment of an "Other House," to which the Protector was authorized to call no more than seventy nor less than forty at his discretion, and that the House of Commons, and that the

ers—which was in the original *Petition*—was replaced by the right of that House itself to pass on its own membership. As in the previous constitutional monarchy in the late civil wars, and all not conforming to that now familiar qualifica-

<sup>223</sup> Cp. *infra*, July 3, 1657. He had, however, long exercised the power of creating knights and baronets, as lately as the conferring of the former honor on Capt. Richard Stayner on June 11 (*Parl. Hist.*, xxi, 221).

tion of "known integrity, fearing God and of good conversation" were disbarred from participation in elections or from sitting in either House. In one other particular of some importance this new constitution differed from its predecessors. This was a definite provision for revenue, set at £1,300,000, the first million for the army and navy, the rest for "the support of the government," no part of which was to be raised by a land-tax; and "other temporary supplies" to be voted by Parliament. To this was added a provision that to the Council, now re-named the Privy Council, none should be appointed without the consent of Parliament, and none removed without that same consent, to which were added provisos to the effect that the control of the armed forces remain in the hands of Cromwell during his lifetime, and after . . . . . general officers . . . . . a somewhat curious provision to be of much consequence in the not distant future.

Such, with the usual provisions for the adoption, encouragement and support of the "true Protestant Christian religion as it is contained in the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, and no other," with a provision that a Confession of Faith be agreed to by Protector and Parliament, according to a Trinitarian doctrine, were the principal features of this fourth—and last—effort to provide something in the nature of a written constitution for the revolutionary government. It marked the end of a long evolution from the simpler systems which had begun with the army's *Heads of the Proposals*, put forth almost precisely ten years before, while Charles I was still alive, in an endeavor to secure a constitutional arrangement which would limit without destroying the power of the crown. Events had moved far since those early days of experimentation. They had gone from monarchy to commonwealth, from commonwealth to protectorate, and while it has been argued that the *Humble Petition and Advice* with its additional provisions limited the power of the Council, so far from lessening that of the Protector, his authority was actually increased, first by confirming him in his office and the command of the armed forces for life, secondly by the power of naming his own successor; and thirdly by authority to appoint the members of the "Other House." To such a point had fifteen years of revolution and civil war brought Great Britain—and Oliver Cromwell. It was exemplified in the ceremony of investiture. He held the sword and sceptre of state; only the crown was wanting, and he could have had that, had it not seemed too dangerous to his real authority. Of that there was no question. He had risen from *primus inter pares* to unquestioned primacy, to be in fact, if not in name, "a king and something more."

The oath which he took, indeed, left virtually everything save the

maintenance of the Protestant religion and the laws of England in his hands, and there was no reason to believe that he had any intention or desire to interfere with either.

*Oath taken by the Protector*

I do, in the Presence, and by the Name, of God Almighty, promise and swear, That, to the utmost of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the True, Reformed, Protestant, Christian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and I will endeavour, as Chief-Magistrate of these Three Nations, to encourage the Profession and Professors of the same. And that, to the Utmost of my Power, I will endeavour, as Chief-Magistrate of these Three Nations, to maintain the Maintenance and Preservation of the just Rights and Privileges of the People, and to preserve the Peace, Unity, and Knowledge and

His privy councillors took a like oath, with an added promise of loyalty to the Protector and of secrecy as to proceedings in the Council:

*Oath taken by the Council*

I *A. B.* do, in the Presence, and by the Name, of God Almighty, promise and swear, That, to the uttermost of my Power, in my Place, I will uphold and maintain the True, Reformed, Protestant, Christian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and I will endeavour, as Chief-Magistrate of these Three Nations, to encourage the Profession and Professors of the same. And that, to the Utmost of my Power, I will endeavour, as Chief-Magistrate of these Three Nations, to maintain the Maintenance and Preservation of the just Rights and Privileges of the People, and to preserve the Peace, Unity, and Knowledge and

that I will be true and faithful to the Protector of the said Three Nations, and will not attempt any thing against the Person or lawful Authority of his said Highness, and shall keep secret all Matters that shall be treated of in Council, and put under Secrecy; and not reveal them but by Command or Consent of his Highness, the Parliament, or the Council; and shall in all things faithfully perform the Trust committed to me as a Counsellor, according to the best of my Understanding, in order to the good Government, Peace, and Welfare of these Nations<sup>225</sup>

Finally, the members of Parliament too were to take a similar oath

*Oath taken by the Parliament*

I *A. B.* do, in the Presence of, and by the Name of, God Almighty, promise and swear, That, to the uttermost of my Power, in my Place, I will uphold and maintain the True, Reformed, Protestant, Christian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New

<sup>224</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 571, cp. Masson, iv, 142, v, 121

<sup>225</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 572.

that I will be true and faithful to the said Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, or attempt any  
 tector, and shall endeavour, as much as in me lies, as a Member of Parliament, the Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the People<sup>228</sup>

Thus equipped and authorized, the Protectoral establishment set forth on a new phase of the government of the three nations

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid*

## CHAPTER XI

### THE RECESS

#### I. THE NEW COUNCIL

JUNE 26-SEPTEMBER 26, 1657

With the departure of the members of the House from Westminster after the adjournment on June 26, 1657, the government of the country was left wholly in the hands of the Council, unhampered by any threat of Parliamentary interference. They were not even dependent on Parliament for revenue, save for extraordinary expenditures and the necessity of giving an account of the cost of "the supply of the sea and land forces" when the House re-assembled. It was characteristic of the situation in which they found themselves that their first concern was with that infinite detail of administration which falls to the lot of men in such a position. It is a common but erroneous conception that such men spend most of their time and energy in far-reaching and important policy-making. That is, of course, their main business, but in fact most of their activities are devoted to settling endless details of often apparently slight importance, yet upon which, in the last resort, success or failure so largely depend, however much those details influence or are influenced by broader interests.

That was especially true at this moment. Though one of the most notable features of the investiture ceremonies had been the absence of representatives of foreign powers, save for those of France and the Netherlands, with which the Republic was in the field of foreign affairs. Two days before the investiture had come news of the landing at Plymouth of an ambassador extraordinary from Portugal,<sup>1</sup> and on June 10/20 the English resident in Lisbon, Maynard, had delivered to the queen-regent Cromwell's letter condoling with her on the death of the late king and congratulating the new ruler, together with a less agreeable demand from the Protector for payment of half the customs duties according to the treaty.<sup>2</sup> It was reported at the same time that the Turkish envoy from Algiers had already

<sup>1</sup> *Mass. Pol. Trans.* 12-13

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, vi, 387; cp. art. XXV of treaty of July



left London with a satisfactory reply to his requests, together with a present of 200 pieces of eight and a bolt of scarlet cloth. Giavarina, who reported this, added that the English consul took a Spaniard who had been enslaved to Leghorn and allowed him to escape and that the Protector would have to return the man or pay ransom for him. It was, said the Venetian, important to England to keep on good terms with the Turks for commercial reasons,<sup>3</sup> which explains the Protector's complaisance toward them. In other directions it appears from his account that England was not so fortunate, as there was a rumor that the Muscovite ruler had refused to receive the Protectoral emissary.<sup>4</sup> Advices from the Hague indicated that Cromwell was keeping watch on Gothenburg and Elbe with two or three men-of-war, ostensibly convoys, cruising off that coast to frighten Denmark, since these ports, with Hamburg, were essential for English

finally of Mazarin's design to besiege Dunkirk and put it in English hands.<sup>5</sup>

But what effect had the investiture of Cromwell as Protector for life had upon the people and upon foreign powers? Reports as to that naturally differed widely, yet not, perhaps, so widely as might have been expected. Giavarina, no doubt in bad temper at not being present at the festivities, wrote that

On the conclusion of the ceremony the Protector returned to Whitehall with great pomp and a great following, but it was not followed by any great number of people, as is customary on such an occasion, only when his Highness came out of the doors for a mournful function. This is clear evidence of the dissatisfaction of the people, for although they turned out in countless numbers to see the ceremony they would not open their mouths to utter what did not come from their hearts and which they could not express with complete sincerity.<sup>6</sup>

Ludlow, writing much later, noted that there was a feast for the members of the House and the officers, which Lambert did not attend, having, as Ludlow says he was informed, advised Cromwell

<sup>3</sup> *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 79, same to same, M.

<sup>4</sup> Thurloe, vi, 371

<sup>5</sup> Hyde to Ormonde, Bruges, June 26/July 6, Macray, II, 319, no. 965

<sup>6</sup> *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 79, same to same, M.

previously that "if he accepted the crown, he could not assure the army to him."<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the Royalist, Sir Allen Broderick, who was then in England, wrote to Hyde,

There is at present a general tranquility in this nation, the Protector pleased with his new investiture and augmented power, his own party (whom they call Royalists) satisfied that they have advanced him in despite of all opposi-

no less cause of triumph in their own opinion, that they have had it in their

ciled, and Lambert, whether satisfied or not, is very silent; Fleetwood and Desborough since this settlement declare themselves more absolutely the Protector's friends than before, and by them the army (where the supernumeraries are disbanding) secured beyond the danger of any considerable revolt, should the greatest of hazards happen by Lambert's defection, of which I cannot discern in them the least apprehension at present.<sup>9</sup>

So far as Lambert was concerned, it is apparent that a breach with Cromwell was in the making, if it had not already occurred. Lambert had not merely absented himself from the investiture feast, but he had virtually retired from any share in public affairs to his house at Wimbledon, and it was suggested to the Protector that he get rid of the General, who was reported by one of Thurloe's agents as having "engaged" with some of the officers, presumably against Cromwell.<sup>10</sup> Lambert's antagonism was doubtless not lessened by the formal proclamation of the Protector, set for July 1, which was, to all intents and purposes, carried out in the same form both at Westminster and in the City as the proclamation of a new king—messengers, trumpeters, king-of-arms, officers and soldiers, serjeants-at-arms, City officials, and all, in royal fashion.<sup>11</sup> Nothing, indeed, was lacking but the title and the crown

That done, business began again. On the next day, July 2, Nieuport appeared once more to assure the Protector that "there were no ships at all set forth under their [the Dutch admiralty] jurisdiction, which should be provided with Spanish commissions," to which the Protector replied, naturally, that "he was glad to understand so much, and that it should appear, that he would be always

<sup>8</sup> Ludlow, II, 29.

<sup>9</sup> "Binnington," endorsed by Hyde, "Mr Hancock" (i.e., Broderick), to Hyde, 322, no 973

<sup>11</sup> *Pub Intell*, June 29–July 6. The proclamation in Dublin did not take place until July 9, the news of the investiture having reached there only on July 4 (*ibid.*, July 20–27).



his summoning his son Richard from country seclusion to take a more active part in public affairs, and it is perhaps notable that while the Protector disavowed all idea of influencing the university authorities in the choice of his successor, that post was promptly conferred upon Richard:

*To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Convocation of our University of Oxford*

OLIVER P

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—We greet you well. Amongst the many parts of that Government which is entrusted to us, we do look upon  
self, and withal judging that the continuance thereof in our hands may not be so consistent with the present constitution of affairs,—

We have therefore thought fit to resign the said Office, as we hereby do; and to leave you at freedom to elect some such other person thereunto, as you shall conceive meet for the execution thereof.

And therefore we desire that you do proceed to the election of a  
not doubting but you will, in your choice, have a just regard to the advancement and encouragement of piety and learning, and to the continuing and further settling of good order and government amongst you, which you may easily find yourselves obliged to have principally in your consideration and design, whether you respect the University itself, or the good of the Commonwealth upon which it hath so great an influence. And although our relation to you may by this means in some sort be changed, yet you may be confident we shall still retain a real affection to you, and be ready upon all occasions to seek and promote your good.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d day of July 1657.<sup>16</sup>

Foreign affairs still continued to bulk large in the activities of the English government. From the Continent Lockhart wrote Thurloe that he was glad the Protector had not acquiesced in Mazarin's latest request for another levy, it was too expensive in view of the results  
That enter-  
vantage to the

<sup>16</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, App 31, from Oxford University archives entry in the Statute Book, *Acts of Convocation, 1647-59*. Richard was chosen Chancellor on July 18, 1657, which, as he was still not well or widely known and had taken no part in public affairs, the protection himself.

<sup>17</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, June 30/July 10, Thurloe, vi, 375.



[Titus] has ever had any trust from the King; wishes he were as ignorant of the business of Sexby and Spain," so Titus wrote to Hyde.<sup>21</sup> So little did the government fear a plot at this time that it actually freed Harrison, Rich and Lawson,<sup>22</sup> and Sexby remained at large for some three weeks before he was gathered in by Thurloe's agents.<sup>23</sup> Broderick seemed to have been right. After the nervous days of the debate over kingship, all parties appear to have acquiesced in the settlement, in the hope that, at least, it might bring peace to the country.

At any rate immediate measures were taken to satisfy the army. From Edinburgh, Monk wrote the Protector to ask that Scotland might keep two-thirds of the excise money until the remainder of the £90,000 arrears had been paid, adding that in the last two years £34,000 had been paid on arrears.<sup>24</sup> From Henry Cromwell and the Irish Council came information that the monthly charge on the army list was £27,170, which was soon to be reduced by some £4,000. The

England £67,373," prompt payment of which was urgently requested.<sup>25</sup>

It is obvious from these figures, as from like deficiencies in the payment of the forces in England and elsewhere, that the soldiers had a real grievance, which, especially in view of the breach with their hero Lambert, "the soldiers' soldier," and the "army's darling," it was essential to

the Protector in regard to the revenue, and more specifically with respect to army arrears. His requests for information were full and definite. He wanted to know, in particular,

What is the publique revenue of Scotland arising from rents, excise, customs, or any other wayes, certaine or casual?

charge by salanes, allowances, and contingencies are?

What the yearly charge of the guarrisons in Scotland doth, according to the assessment there, amount to?

Whether, as affaires now stand, any reducement may with conveniency be

Macray, III, 323-24, no 978

<sup>21</sup> He was arrested on July 24 as he was embarking for Flanders "in a mean habit, disguised as a countryman" (*Cromwelliana*, p. 168) and died in the Tower on Jan. 13, 1658, having apparently lost his mind (*ibid.*, p. 169).

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, p. 386.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, p. 386; Dunlop, II, 665; Thurloe, VI, 661, 681.

<sup>24</sup> Mentioned in Herbert to Thurloe, July 29, *ibid.*, pp. 424-25.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, and Henry C. to Thurloe, July 15, *ibid.*, p. 404. The letter to Scotland was misssent to Ireland, thence to Scotland, but was intercepted by pirates, and a duplicate was apparently not received until after August 8 (*ibid.*, pp. 424, 444, 469-71).

made in the expences of the civill-government there? And in what particulars? and in what proportions? and how the whole affaires may be put into such a way of management, that the publique may be eased of all such expences, as shall be found not absolutely necessary?<sup>28</sup>

In connection with the settlement of affairs in Scotland, on July 8 the Protector confirmed to the University of Glasgow under the Great Seal, "all the churches formerly belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Glasgow, and also of the vacant stipends whereof the masters are titular,"<sup>29</sup> together with £200 sterling a year from the deanery.<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile he was proclaimed Protector at various places outside of London—on July 9th in Dublin,<sup>31</sup> on the 10th in Norwich,<sup>32</sup> on the 11th in Gloucester<sup>33</sup> and Reading.<sup>34</sup> And meanwhile, too, he gave a secret audience to Simon de Petkum, the Danish resident, who appeared to present a letter from his master explaining the reasons for a rupture with Sweden and justification of the breach. All but the secretary were excluded from the conference, even the Master of Ceremonies, "there being many they would not trust to know, as being partisans of Sweden."<sup>35</sup> On the next day, July 9, Schlezer appeared with a memorial to congratulate the Protector, and incidentally to call his attention again to the situation of Brandenburg.<sup>36</sup> All this posed a difficult problem, with the Protector friendly to Sweden, endeavoring to keep peace among the Protestant powers, which seemed determined to fight each other, to maintain friendly relations with them all, especially . . . sue his military and naval operations . . . against Spain. These last, indeed, were still not going well, for Lockhart reported that the French were still besieging Montmédy, and that the English were still with Turenne about Vervins, Estre le Pont and la Capelle,<sup>37</sup> and still no nearer Dunkirk.

Meanwhile Nieupoort had an audience of which he wrote,

Tonight after the Secretary of State had given me the answer which you will learn from my letter to the Greffier, he said that the Protector considered as very important the proposition made by me concerning the defensive alliance between the three neighbouring towns [*sic* states?] and he asked me

<sup>28</sup> *Math and Co. v. The City of London*, 1672.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 1672. *Univ. Press* (1931), p. 41n.  
<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 1672. *Glasgow*, pp. 134-35.

<sup>31</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, July 20-27.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, July 13-20.

<sup>33</sup> *Hist. Miss. Comm. Rept.* 12, App. IX, pp. 512-14.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, App. VII, p. 193.

<sup>35</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 10/20, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 86.

<sup>36</sup> Thurloe, vi, 389-90.

<sup>37</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Paris, July 12/22, Macray, iii, 333, no. 998.

to report confidentially to you that the Lord Protector is in the process of  
upon this being done without mistake, that he has already made some de-

election like this, that I could assure you truly that as soon as the Council is  
stabilized, which he believes will be next week, His Highness would recom-  
mend to it that the Marine Treaty with the Republic of the United Nether-  
lands ought to come to an end [be concluded?] and that he would promote a

all matters.

A very important gentleman of Parliament came to bid me farewell this  
morning and told me, among other things, that the day before yesterday

government; and when His Highness heard one of these mentioned, he ob-  
jected most seriously that this man had been a promoter of the war between  
England and Holland and that he did not have a high opinion of people who  
had such tendencies<sup>38</sup>

During this comparative lull in affairs the Protector was busy con-  
sidering the appointment of what was now to be called the Privy  
Council, though the Council itself seems not to have met. The oaths  
were administered to those already designated, except for Lambert,  
who, according to Giavarina,

now sh...

[on Saturday, July 11] and spoke as follows that the division and opposition  
of some votes gave great advantage to the enemies of this state who were only  
waiting for opportunities and openings to renew the war and rekindle the  
flames that were burnt out, and so he ought to obey Lambert replied that no  
one had been more ready

covered some mystery which he would not venture to interpret, unless his  
Highness wished to dismiss him and take his commission If that was what he  
wanted he had only to send one of the meanest of his fellows and it should be

Ludlow's account of this breach between Cromwell and Lambert  
follows the same lines, but, as is to be expected, differs, though only  
in detail This oath, he says,

<sup>38</sup> Nieupoort to de Witt, July 10/20, De Witt, *Brieven*, III, 398-99

<sup>39</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 17/27, *Cal S P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 68.



Major-General Lambert refused, whereupon Cromwell sent for him, and told him that in the present posture of affairs, he desired him to surrender his commission. To this the Major-General answered, that having no suspicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it, but if he pleased to send for it, he should deliver it.<sup>40</sup>

To these reports the Genoese envoy, Bernardi, contributed his piece of gossip to the effect that on the next day

The story may or may not have been true, and even if true, there is nothing which connects it with Cromwell. Certainly there was no basis in fact for it. At all times Lambert had been much concerned over the payment of the soldiers, he had advanced money from his own pocket to pay his regiments; and the business was not in his hands but in those of the Treasurers-at-War. The issue lay deeper than that. Lambert was a proud man whose vanity must have been deeply hurt not only by the elevation of Cromwell to supreme power but by the preferment of inferior men like Fleetwood and Desborough. He was no politician, but he was more of a statesman than many who were among Cromwell's closest advisers. He had opposed the Western Design and the attack on Spain, and not without good reason. He had done his part up to this time as a mem-

<sup>40</sup> Ludlow, II, 29.

<sup>41</sup> July 30/Aug. 9, *Atti della Soc. Ligur.*, xvi, 438-39, quot. in Dawson, *Cromwell's Understudy*, p. 271.

To these "Western" designs, the "court" of Fleetwood and Desborough (Diary, II, 94). There were also scurrilous jests about the "court" as to the relations between the Protector and Lady Lambert alleged as part of the reason for the quarrel (Heath, *Chronicle*, p. 390).

ber of the Council; but it is easy to see why he hesitated to take an oath which committed him irrevocably never to oppose the Protector. Sooner or later a breach seemed inevitable, and now it had come. Like so many such incidents, it had long been expected, yet when it came it was something of a surprise even to those most closely identified with affairs. Thurloe, who was reputed to be no friend of Lambert's, wrote to Henry Cromwell that some thought Lambert would surrender his commission voluntarily, others that "it will be of noe prejudice or inconvenience at all" for the Protector to demand it, but as Thurloe went on to say,

... it is a great mistake and error: a little tyme will give light in these thinges.<sup>43</sup>

There was not much time, for it was later than even Thurloe thought—or at least wrote. Apparently the Protector had his conference with Lambert on July 11, which was probably unsatisfactory to both of them. He summoned the Council to meet on July 13 at ten in the morning. Then it would seem that Desborough, Fiennes, Lawrence, Mulgrave, Lisle, Rouse, Strickland and Fleetwood were present and took the oath and Cromwell recommended that Thurloe be added to the Council, which was done, and he also took the oath. Lambert did not come; Pickering and Sydenham were apparently not yet invited;<sup>44</sup> and the Protector wrote at once to Lambert to ask his resignation from his various posts.

*To Major-General Lambert*

SIR,

I have sent this bearer, Mr William Jessop, to you, for your commission as Major-General, as also your other commissions, to whom I desire you to deliver them, enclosed and sealed up in a paper

Your loving friend,

July 13, Monday, 1657.

OLIVER P.<sup>45</sup>

Or, as Giavarina described the episode in somewhat more detail, Cromwell sent Lambert the letter,

asking for his commission, but assuring him that until he should be provided with other employment suited to his merits, which his Highness would not let from his memory, he should continue to enjoy the pay of Lieutenant general. Without loss of time Lambert immediately handed to the secretary [Jessop]

<sup>43</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, July 17 [12?], Thurloe, vi, 411-12.

<sup>44</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1657-8), p. 26.

<sup>45</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 131, from Mss. of Sir W. H. B. Folkes, Bart., cal. in *Hist. Mis. Comm. Rept.* 3, App., p. 247. Cp. *Clarke Papers*, iii, 113.



Privy Council almost exactly reproduced the old. Some, including Henry Cromwell, expected that the Protector's close advisers, William Pierrepont and Chief Justice St. John, would be members, but if they were invited they evidently declined.

Whatever the effect on the government of Lambert's refusal to take the oath and his consequent dismissal from his employments, it was a catastrophe for Lambert. He had been colonel of two regiments, which were now given to Fleetwood and Falconbridge; commander of the cavalry, which Desborough inherited; Lord of the Cinque Ports; an Admiralty Commissioner, and a member of the Council, all of which it was estimated, brought him an income of £6,500 a year,<sup>53</sup> in lieu of which he was presently allotted an allowance from the Protector of £2,000 a year. What was worse was that from being, as it were, the second man in the government, he sank at once into obscurity. It is not easy to determine the effect of his dismissal on public opinion. Though it was reported three colonels resigned,<sup>54</sup> the officers of his regiments wrote to assure the Protector of their loyalty; and though Thurloe was an interested witness, he testified that a fortnight later a meeting of the officers in London displayed no resentment over Lambert's dismissal.<sup>55</sup>

Whatever there was of truth in the charges that it was Lambert's fault the army had not been paid—and there seems no ground whatever for that accusation—steps were taken at once to set that matter right. Thurloe had written Henry Cromwell that "The armye, for ought I c . . . in a very good posture, and quiett at least, is not ruiy satisfied."

With the Privy Council meeting three times in this eventful week of July 13, the Protector being present at all three meetings,<sup>56</sup> there was obviously much to be done to get the new government into running order. The Council records themselves give little indication of what that business was. The members considered and approved an order for continuing the army committee and "for the more orderly payment of the assessment",<sup>57</sup> took up a few petitions;<sup>58</sup> ordered the "Treasury Commissioners to stop issuing money for any other purpose than for the army, navy, or civil government without leave from

<sup>53</sup> "A Second Narrative of the Late Parliament," *Harl. Misc.*, III, 452, quot. in Firth, *Last Years*, II, 5.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp. liv, 26-30.

<sup>57</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp. 13-20.

<sup>58</sup> *Treas. Commis.* (July 14), July 16, Edw. Rand of N. *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp. 28, 29, 31.

his Highness and the Council",<sup>59</sup> and, incidentally, gave one Walter Strickland license to remain three months longer in England by renewing his security given to Major-General Robert Lilburne.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, as if to demonstrate further the conflict of the important and the relatively unimportant business which continually struggled with each other in the Protector's affairs, on the same day he wrote to demand Lambert's resignation, he also wrote to recommend a schoolmaster to the town of Oswestry.

*To Our trusty and well-beloved the Bailiffs and Free Burgesses of our Town of Oswestry. These*

OLIVER P

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—We, being informed that the Free School of our Town of Oswestry is now void of a head school master settled there, by reason of the delinquency and ejection of Edward Paine late school master thereof, have thought fit to recommend unto you Mr. John Evans, the son of Matthew Evans late of Penegoes in the county of Mont-

forthwith settled and invested there accordingly; which Act of yours we shall be ready to confirm, if it be adjudged requisite and proper for us. And not doubting of the performance of this our pleasure, we commit you to God, and rest

Given at Whitehall, this 13th day of July 1657<sup>61</sup>

If the matter of Lambert's dismissal, the letter to Oswestry, which seems so incongruous in this connection, and the other details of public business in this eventful week were not enough, Cromwell had to endure another talk with Wariston.

*Wariston's conference with the Protector, July 15*

After sermon I went to Whythal, mett be providence with Mr Secretary himself and spak to him about my busines, and then with Mr Bacon about S[ir] J. St[ewart's] business Then I wayted on his Highnesse long in his roome and after long attending and much wearying at last I got accesse, and I thanked him for his favor and the mor of the opposition. He spak to me of I . . . world, and . . . yred me to informe him by letters and he would haive special reguard therto, asked about S[ir] J. Ch[arles]ley, read his petition, he knew his abilityes and posed me

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 549, cp *ibid.*, 1656-7, p. 36, security had been given July 23, 1656. The whole matter is obscure

<sup>61</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, App. 31 (2), from N. Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools* (1818), II, 369. Endorsed "This letter was received the 9th of September, 1657."

him? He spak about Lord Brodye his abilitye and tendernesse, and putting him on the Exchequer and making the maintenance honorable. He spak of Cassillis and Sutherland and of the little anent myself without ingaging himself. He spak about Greenheads busines and Colonel Ker, and of paying his 12 thousand merk and settling 200 pound sterling be year upon him, and asked if he would come up upon his sending for him, he would fayne employ him.

Commissione Church, Highlands and Yles, and our comission, 1650, for them to Gillespie, Brodye and me for them, and having s[c]hooles their and litle villages near the garisons, and they comanded to agayn.

He desyred me to give him from tyme to tyme full information of maters and of persons their cariages in Scotland and it should not meet me agayn; and desyred me to labour to bring in godly men. I spak long about the Session to him and for putting 6 Scots juges instead of 3 English. He spak to As I desyred that when his Highnesse mynded to chaynege the pryces he would hear me first and not doe it at information of ill willers. He kepted me to desner and caused Lord Richard salute me.

In this same week, on July 17, the Protector also wrote a general letter to those whom it might concern, especially to the Duke of Courland in regard to the freedom of commerce in that disturbed region of Europe:

### *Letter of Safe Conduct*

To all and each of the members and subjects of our Commonwealth, especially to the Admirals, naval commanders, generals, prefects, tribunes, Captains, and also legates in residence, deputies and Public Ministers and whatsoever others whose concern it is, by these presents we proclaim

on different occasions that we should grant him in authoritative form the free right of navigation on this side of the Line [of Demarcation] and the power of exercising trading rights on land and sea.

We, influenced to it by clear considerations, have granted, and by the authority of these presents do grant to the aforesaid Prince and Lord James

<sup>82</sup> "In the matter of the appointment of clerks."

<sup>83</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 92-93

not only on this side of, but also beyond the Line [of Demarcation] in whatsoever of our territories or dominions [rights] that heretofore have been granted, or hereafter shall be granted, to any Prince or people confederate with this Commonwealth, always conforming to the validity of the laws and statutes of the Commonwealth

Wherefore we order and will that All and each who are in our Commonwealth and of whatever condition and standing under it permit the ships of

everywhere as friends and to allow them to enjoy the use of this favor of ours free from harm and inconvenience, under penalty of Our Displeasure

We order furthermore all and each of Our Officials mentioned above already established or later to be established that on every fair and honorable

and Semigallen, and assist his efforts according to their resources with well-considered and suitable plans and serve him with their influence and foresight.

Finally, we order that in the attested copies thus our judicial decision along with the letters of Safe Conduct of the aforesaid Prince granted to his subjects enjoy authority and faith equal with the Autograph and Original.

For the faith and authority of all and each of which we have signed these Our Letters Patent with our own Hand and to them have caused to be affixed the Great Seal of England

Given from Our Palace of Westminster on the 17th day of July in the year 1657.

OLIVER P.<sup>44</sup>

On July 16 or possibly on the 20th the Protector knighted John Claypole of Northamptonshire, the father-in-law of Elizabeth Cromwell,<sup>45</sup> and apparently Richard Cromwell had come up from the country, as Wariston notes, probably for his installation as Chancellor of Oxford, which took place on the 29th.<sup>46</sup> The Protector and his wife had meanwhile gone as usual to Hampton Court, and meanwhile, also, on July 15, he had been proclaimed in all the market-towns and in Edinburgh. Whatever the effect in the market-towns, the proclamation in Edinburgh was not a popular success. As one observer wrote:

There was the day before 25 or 30 Lords in towne, some of which staid in towne and did nott come, as Earl of Weemys, Lord Kingston, etc, and the

<sup>44</sup> Trans. of Latin in Mattiesen, *Die Kolonial- und Überseepolitik Herzog Jakobs von Kurland* (1939), p. 401.

<sup>45</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, xxi, 220, *Merc. Pol.*, July 16-23, *Pub. Intell.*, July 20-27. He was also created a baronet.

<sup>46</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, iii, 93, *Merc. Pol.*, July 23-30.

rest went out of towne because they would nott bee present, though such noblemen as were in towne were invited, and of 5 or 6000 Scottsmen that were present nott one Scotchman open'd his mouth to say God blesse my Lord Protector, butt the souldiers gave severall acclamations, or shouts, for they could easily bee distinguished, for the souldiers stood in armes by themselves, and the people stood neere to heare his Highnesse proclaymed, and the Petition and Advice read, butt itt was done with as much solemnity as the place would afford. The magistrates of the towne were very forward and made a good appearance with their scarlett gownes lin'd with furre, and had their citty trumpetts. The army had the partes went on foote with the rest from the Parliament yard to the Crosse. The Councill have given out orders to have his Highnesse proclaymed in all marktett Townes in Scotland<sup>67</sup>

But Cromwell was not rid of Wariston, who, as the latter recorded, arrived again at Hampton Court

just whyl my Lord and his Ladye was at their musik, yet my Lord seing me caused sett in a chair to me and chalenged me for not coming in before desner and took me be the hand very kyndlie. But S[u] Th Pryde cam in and, as wee thought, jumbled the Protector, yet at last he called us in and looked soure upon it, which maid me affrayed<sup>68</sup>

On Friday the 17th, an order was signed appointing commissioners to treat with the Swedish Advocate Walter Walker, Will. The Swedes, who had arrived in February, were, besides Barckman, whom Bonde had left behind, Johann Georg Pritz and Joachim Potter,<sup>70</sup> and to this group was entrusted the task of drawing up an Anglo-Swedish agreement, which, under the circumstances, was a delicate as well as an important document

There were, however, matters of more importance to be considered. The first was the choice of the members of the "Upper" or "Other House," which the Protector had been authorized to call, but over whose choice he seems to have delayed until almost the last possible moment, though the problem was undoubtedly present in his mind at this time. The second was the matter of the English troops in France and the conduct of that campaign. Thurloe wrote Lockhart that the Protector was surprised at the importance the French at-

<sup>67</sup> Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 362.

<sup>68</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 94.

<sup>69</sup> Thurloe, VI, 864. This doc't (of Mar 11, 1658) is signed only by Walker and Turner, but Skynner signed another of Dec 14, 1657, relating to the same business (*ibid.*, p. 686).

<sup>70</sup> Address to Thurloe, June 19, signed by Barckman, Pritz and Potter (*ibid.*, p. 361).



tached to siege of Montmédy;<sup>71</sup> and Lockhart wrote in turn that a design had been discovered among Reynolds' men in favor of Charles II, as a result of which some of the leaders had been executed and the "debauched" soldiers would be "decimated."<sup>72</sup> In connection with the departure of Morgan, Monk wrote Thurloe to get the Protector's order for "monies for fire and candle, and the order for 6s a day for colonel Daniell, for supplying of major-general Morgan's place in his absence," not forgetting to include a request for a supply of straw for the horse, there not being enough near by—which provides at once a comment on the poverty of the districts and on the difficulty of keeping the English army of occupation supplied with even the simplest of requirements.<sup>73</sup>

That the Protector had assumed the prerogatives of kingship was indicated by the fact that on Monday, July 20, he created Colonel Charles Howard of Gillesland, Cumberland, Baron of Gillesland and Viscount Howard of Morpeth—one of the two hereditary peerages he conferred.<sup>74</sup> On that same day he ordered the judges in Ireland to hear the complaint of Dr. Henry Jones, guardian of an orphan, Gerald Wes(t)ley,<sup>75</sup> which they did without delay. There was, too, a report at this time that he had sold the Newhall estate in Essex to one Powell,<sup>76</sup> one of several such reports, one of which was true, for the estate was later conferred on General Monk. On Tuesday and Thursday, July 21 and 23, the Privy Council, now reinforced by Sydenham and Skippon, who had taken the oath,<sup>77</sup> met to discuss financial matters. An assessment of £60,000 a month for three months, beginning the 25th of the preceding March, was ordered, with a further provision that Maidstone be paid £5,000 out of the first prize-money for the Protector's household expenses, and Embree £3,000 toward the repair of the Protector's residences. In addition to this a committee was appointed "to consider the whole affair of the Protector, particularly the payment of his Highness's household expenses, and Council's contingencies, the payment of public officers, and the allotment of the revenue to the army and navy, and how the £300,000 for Government charges may best be raised."<sup>78</sup> All this was part of the reorganization of the new, or as it came to be called, the "second" Protectorate; and as an indication of the altered position of the Protector

<sup>71</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, July 16/26, Macray, III, 334, no 1005

<sup>72</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, July 19/29, *ibid*, p 338, no 1014

<sup>73</sup> Monk to Thurloe, July 14, 15, Thurloe, VI, 400-1, 402

<sup>74</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* 15, App VII, p 160, Burton, I, 261-2

<sup>75</sup> 614-15

<sup>76</sup> *Sotheby cat.* for Feb. 13-15, 1928, item 448, case in *Cal. S. P. Irel* (1647-60), pp. 655-57.

<sup>77</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p 40

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, pp. li, 32

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33

himself, an order was passed providing for "coats" for his Highness's watermen and a livery for the masters of barges, with Cromwell's arms for a badge, after the fashion of the old monarchy, and, incidentally, of the once great families which could afford such luxuries.<sup>79</sup> It was a small but significant testimony to the heightened authority and dignity of his position

There was, in fact, much business to be attended to under the new Council of State. The Council of State was established by the Council of State and Advice. The committee on revenue was ordered to consider how to pay George Alkinton £565 for a jewel for Blake, in the form of four diamonds "case fashion" enclosing Cromwell's portrait.<sup>80</sup> There was the usual list of petitions to be considered,<sup>81</sup> with augmentations and provision for uniting parishes,<sup>82</sup> for now that the episcopal system had been abolished, much of the business which had formerly been done by the bishops fell upon the Council and the Protector. Jamaica bulked large in Council affairs at this moment. On July 23 Desborough was ordered to attend the Protector, with Thurloe, with a report of the Admiralty Commissioners, "that the fleet at Jamaica is in such a condition of the fleet at Jamaica and the state of the provisions on the island, and gave the commissioners power to recall "such of the eleven ships remaining with Lieutenant-Gen. Brayne at Jamaica" as were unfit and to order six "nimble frigates" fitted for sea to carry 750 men "to be continued in those seas not above twelve months and then to be relieved with the like number, two to be sent with all convenient speed, two others within three months, and the rest three months after that." It was ordered also that £2,000 be sent to the commander-in-chief, with 100 barrels of powder and both great and small shot, "the Lord Protector having only respect to securing the island and answering the occasions thereof and to cruise on the Spanish coast to annoy the Spanish fleet in their passage out and home." This was obviously the result of the arrival of the *Marston Moor* from Jamaica in the week of July 6, with unfavorable news from Brayne,<sup>84</sup> which was in sharp contrast

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34

<sup>81</sup> John, Earl of Tweeddale, for freedom from feu and blanch duties from estates he held on mortgage, with ref. to Council (*ibid.*, p. 31), Oswestry, Salop, for order for collection to rebuild church, wrecked by Parliamentary garrison (*ibid.*, p. 32), Col. John Carter, gov. of Conway, Sir John Reynolds and others requesting 40 men with arms and horses (*ibid.*, p. 39)

<sup>82</sup> *Cal. S. P. Col.*, ix, 118-19, *ibid.* (1574-1660), p. 456

<sup>84</sup> Brayne to Cromwell, Apr. 18, Thurloe, vi, 211-12, Brayne to Thurloe, Apr. 27, *ibid.*, pp. 235-36

to the official pronouncement in the government controlled news-sheets "that all things go well at Jamaica, and that our forces are in very good health upon the Island . . ."<sup>86</sup> There is, in fact, hardly to be found anywhere a better illustration of the domination of the press by the Protectoral government and its use as "propaganda" than this extraordinary discrepancy between the facts and the news. Moreover it is notable that, even in the face of Blake's recent victory, the government apparently decided that it could not afford to go on with the "propaganda" now that the plunder of the Spanish fleets had fallen so far short of expectations.

Even amid these affairs the Protector was not free from the old Resolutioner-Remonstrant quarrel in Scotland. On Thursday, the 23rd, Wariston noted that he was to have an audience with Cromwell but after a long wait—which was apparently due to the business before the Council—he "got him not," and so gave his petition to Thurlow.<sup>87</sup> On the day following Sharp reminded Broghill twice to "deal with the Protector as M<sup>r</sup> Secretary had promised to me, that this reference might be waved, and a di[s]mission given to us in the terms I wrot formerly. He [Broghill], told me he had done so, and the Protector had sayed to him he would not proceed to any determination, though he had been much importunated to it."<sup>88</sup> That, if anything, was an understatement, and it is possible that the question came up again, for Broghill spent that week-end at Hampton Court with the Protector, "with whom he will stay till Monday."<sup>89</sup> While he was there, apparently, Cromwell signed an order for the straw for the horse regiments in Scotland, in whose behalf Monk had earlier petitioned.

### *Order*

Understanding by Colonel George Monck who commands the forces in Scotland under us, that those partes of the country where the horse of the . . . be inconvenient for the troopers to fetch itt soe farre off as they must bee enforced for the ease of the country wherfore wee thinke fitt, and order the said Colonel George Monck to quarter the severall troopes of the army soe in the country as convenientlie hee may for the ease of the country and safty of the troopes, that they may have sufficient straw for the relief of the cattell in winter and supply of the troopers, and to order the country people to bring in the straw that shall bee soe ordered to bee laid on by the commissioners of Assesmentes and collectors of each shire, and that such straw as shall bee

<sup>86</sup> *Pub Intell* Intv 6-12

<sup>87</sup> Sharp to Douglas, July 25, *Register of Consultations*, II, 54

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, p. 60.

necessary for the supply of each troope within their respective bounds bee brought in by the country people to their quarters, for which they are to bee paid after the rate of five pence each threave

Given under our hand att Whitehall,  
the 24th day of July 1657

OLIVER P.<sup>20</sup>

In such fashion the Protector spent his time and energy, both of which were now running short. It was not all he did. At this moment Lockhart was sending Thurloe a plan for the siege of Montmédy, which was still going on and which was still immobilizing the English

was through with it<sup>20</sup>—for there were few people of any consequence in the British Isles who would have had less interest in or knowledge of such a military situation than the inexperienced young man who had just been summoned from retirement to take some place in public affairs, and was not yet even a member of the Council. But amid all this unsatisfactory medley of affairs there was one piece of good news. On this same Saturday, July 24, Sexby was caught as he was about to return to Bruges after his three weeks' visit in England; was sent to the Protector to be questioned, and thence to the Tower.<sup>21</sup> This relieved the Protector of at least one danger; for though as a plotter Sexby was no great success, he remained a potential danger, if only by his talents as a pamphleteer.

Though the Protector did not attend the Council meeting on Tuesday, July 28, this was a busy week for him. On Sunday, the 26th, he sent to Monk confirmation of the appointment of James Dalrymple, Lord Stair, to the Scottish bench in place of Sir James Learmouth, Lord Balcomie, who had died just a month before,<sup>22</sup> and on the 28th he signed two documents, which have come down to us. The first, which was probably only one of many, was an order for an assessment of a tenth part of their estates on the members of the late King's party, the other was an order to the Scottish authorities to proclaim throughout Scotland the Acts of Parliament recently enacted.

<sup>20</sup> Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 364.

<sup>21</sup> *Cal S P Ven* 1657, 26/Aug 5, Thurloe, vi, 422.

<sup>22</sup> *Cal S P Ven* (1657—

him close messenger in dated Aug. 1657, *Cal S P Ven* 1657-8, p. 420.)

*To the Commissioners for securing the peace of the Commonwealth in the County of Somerset*

[Substance only]

To assess and levy upon the late King's party a tenth of their real and personal estate.

Whitehall, July 28, 1657

OLIVER P<sup>re</sup>

*To our trustie and welbeloved the Commissioners and Barons of Our Exchequer in Scotland*

OLIVER P

Right trustie and right welbeloved Wee greet you well, And will and Commaund you that vnder Our great Scale of Scotland you cause Our writts to bee issued and directed to the Sheriffs of Our severall Counties of Scotland, Commaunding them, the Statutes and Acts of Parliament hereafter menconed by Vs made and orde<sup>n</sup>ed to be put in good c<sup>o</sup> this Common-wealth with the assent of this p<sup>ar</sup>l<sup>ia</sup>me<sup>nt</sup> and by a<sup>u</sup>thortie thereof, in there full Counties, and in the Cities, Boroughs, Market Townes, and other publike places in there Baylywicks to cause to bee pub-

the Prizes of wines; An Act for givinge licence for transporting fish in forreigne bottomes, An Act for the assuring, confirming and settling, of lands and Estates of Ireland, An Act for discovering, convicting and repressing of Popish Recusants, An Act and declaracon touching severall Acts and Ordinances made since the Twentieth of Aprill 1653 and before the thurd of September 1654 and other Acts etc.; An Act for the quiet enioying of sequestred Parsonages and Vicaradges by the present Incumbent; An Act against Vagrants and the better observacon of the improvement and advancinge the Receipts of the Excise and new Impost, An Act for the continuering and establishing the subsidie of Tonnage and Poundage, and for reviving an Act for the better packing of Butter, and redresse of abuses therein, An Act for Indempnifying of such persons as have acted for the service of the publike, An Act for the better ordering of the borders of England and Scotland, and for disposing of the lands and other felons; An Act for the Attainder of the traitors and other persons who have been in the service of the late King and for soe doinge this shalbee yo<sup>r</sup> warrant Given at Whitehall the 28th day of July 1657<sup>th</sup>

<sup>18</sup> With seal. In Sotheby's cat of the libraries of E. W. Hope Johnstone and others, July 6-7, 1931, item 149

<sup>19</sup> *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi, pt. 11 (1872), 909. Endorsed "Edr Eliventh Sep<sup>r</sup> 1657 Pro. and Red in presence off the Com<sup>rs</sup> off Exchequer and ane order ordand to be past p<sup>u</sup>pon and recordit in p<sup>r</sup> bookis Sa<sup>r</sup> Disbrowe P<sup>re</sup>"

the commissioners in Scotland to pay the moneyes for fire and candle," which Monk had requested, "to be paid out of the customes and third part of the excise."<sup>96</sup> The Council meeting of July 28 was chiefly notable for the fact that Sir Gilbert Pickering took the oath and his seat as a member of the Privy Council. Otherwise it transacted routine business,<sup>96</sup> among other things the question of lifting the ban on imports of saltpetre in response to an application to the Protector on July 23 from the customs commissioners and from Maurice Thompson and others,<sup>97</sup> evidently in that line of business. He was, indeed, much concerned at this moment with such commercial matters. On Wednesday the 29th he received "several of the Committees . . . about the charter for settling the trade" [with the East Indies], and "he was 'much affected with the busines and had declared himselfe very freely therein', and desired them to wait on him again" that afternoon, for which purpose Alderman Wood, Mr. William Vincent and Mr. Nathaniel Wyche were named.<sup>98</sup> This question of a new charter for the East India Company was, indeed, important, the more so in that there was, as at other times, a strong party in the City demanding that the Company's charter either be not renewed or that others, "Independents" or "interlopers," be permitted to share in the profits of the Indian trade, which was of such interest to powerful mercantile interests. In the meantime he took occasion to issue a pass for Or-

### Pass

Wee doe permitt the Lord of Ossory with his servants and necessities to pass into France for the recovery of his health, he first giving good security to Sr. John Barkstead, Lieutenant of our Tower of London, that he will not,

OLIVER P<sup>99</sup>

There was still some discussion of the new or second Protectorate. It was reported that at the beginning of the week some seventy army

<sup>96</sup> Mentioned in letter of Monk and the Council to Cromwell, Aug. 20, Thurloe, vi, 470.

<sup>97</sup> . . . installed as Whitehall.  
Ceremony described in *Pub Intell*, July 27-Aug. 3.

<sup>98</sup> Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 155-56.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 156-57.

<sup>100</sup> . . .

officers in and about London held two or three meetings to consider the settlement of the government. Such a meeting seemed to portend trouble for the Protector, but in fact its conclusions appear to have been entirely satisfactory to him, for according to a report of the meeting, "not a discontented expression fell from them, but the contrary, so that there is little doubt but the army will stick to his Highness in all events." The officers were supposed to have agreed that the settlement was better than any previous system and to have decided almost unanimously to support Cromwell. They seem not to have been surprised at Lambert's removal or at the appointment of Desborough to the command of the cavalry—at least according to Thurloe, who was, however, at best not an impartial witness.<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, it was also reported, on no less doubtful evidence, that Lambert was trying to make trouble in the North and raising men to surprise Hull.<sup>101</sup> That report seems, at least, highly improbable. So far as is known, Lambert seems to have spent his time at his house at Wimbledon, taking no part in public affairs, save as a member of Parliament, busying himself with his flowers, his painting, social activities, and presently with some minor, though profitable, official duties and no longer leading opposition to the Protector.<sup>102</sup>

The only real trouble for the moment came from two widely different directions. It was apparently at this time that John Rogers published from Carisbrooke Castle his *Jegar Sahadutha, an Oyled Pillar set up for Posterity against the present wickednesses, hypocrisies, blasphemies, persecutions, and cruelties of this Serpent power (now up) in England*,<sup>103</sup> which, as one may gather from the title, was not designed to be of any assistance to the Protector, echoing as it did, among other things, Rogers' vivid recollections of the prison whence he had just been released. At the other end of the same time like expressions from the distance against the Parliament which had just passed the extreme act against them by which, as Giavarina reported, unless they renounced the Church of Rome and all its works they would be "convicted of being Papists and their names will be sent to the exchequer and they will be at once sequestrated, which means that two thirds of their goods will be forfeit to the state." More than this, "if a Protestant marries a woman known to be a Catholic, he will be sequestrated until he . . . takes this oath," and "if Protestants who hold the goods of Catholics do not make it known within three months

<sup>100</sup> The *Journal of the Proceedings of the Council of State*, p. 47; Thurloe to Swift, *ibid.*, p. 425.

<sup>101</sup> Dawson, *Cromwell's Understudy*, pp. 274-76.

<sup>102</sup> Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, no. 906.

after being summoned to do so, they will lose a third of their own revenues." Moreover, stringent penalties were to be imposed on any English subject who attended mass at the chapels of the foreign envoys.<sup>104</sup> All this, of course, could not be charged against the Protector, who had apparently been opposed to such drastic legislation on

foreign powers. It was, in fact, something of the same kind of legislation against them as that which caused England to make war upon Spain

August 3, with the Protector present at part of each meeting, approving numerous orders.<sup>106</sup> The business differed little from the common routine of such bodies—a petition from the Vintners Company to be allowed to sell the stocks of wine on hand, despite the recent Act of Parliament, with which the Council refused to interfere,<sup>106</sup> agreement with the farmers of the customs and excise, orders to the committee on the ejection of scandalous ministers to execute the ordinance "effectually and speedily"; consideration of the expenditure for the Protectoral household, which had already exceeded the allowance of £12,000 a quarter made for it, and discussion over the situation of Guernsey; with like matters.<sup>107</sup> Among these problems the petition of the master of the Swedish Company of Africa's ship, the *Johnsburgh*, to be allowed to sell his cargo of elephants' teeth and gold in England because of the danger of capture by the Danes, took the discussions into a wider field.<sup>108</sup> Meadows and Jephson were named as envoys respectively to Denmark and Sweden and provision made for supplying them with funds for those delicate missions.<sup>109</sup> The appointment of Meadows had already been made and was acceptable in every way, but no one then or since has been able to discover why Jephson, however good an officer, was suitable for such a mission as that to Sweden, especially at such a time as this, except for his devotion to Cromwell, nor does it appear from the event that it was a particularly fortunate choice.

In continuation of these foreign passages, the Protector was advised to write to the Grand Signior and Vizier Basha to demand restitution of the *Resolution*, laden with some £30,000 worth of merchandise, the property of the merchants of the Levant Company, which had

<sup>104</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 17/27, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), pp. 89-90.

<sup>106</sup> *Cal. S P Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 111, 50, 52-56.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51, 55; cp. Charleton to Leveson, Aug. 4, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 5, App. p. 165.

<sup>108</sup> *Cal. S P Dom.* (1657-8), p. 54.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52, 555.



been taken by Tripoli men-of-war contrary to the treaty. Besides this "His Highness imparted another petition from the said merchants, that several Spanish ships have gone towards the Straits to intercept our merchant ships, and that 2 English ships have been set upon, and one sunk, and begging protection for the trade, but was reminded that directions had already been given in that behalf"<sup>114</sup> It appears from this that then, as always, eternal vigilance was the price of success in this far-flung trading empire, and that even Blake's recent exploits and the presence of a squadron off the coast of Spain were no guarantee of safety to commerce in an age when reputable trading, privateering and sheer piracy merged one into another so as to be often all but indistinguishable. But one thing was certain—not since the time of Elizabeth had the government taken such care to defend and extend its commerce throughout the seven seas as during the Protectorate, as almost every meeting of the Council testified.

Apart from such circumstances, on August 4 an "exemplification" to the mayor and burgesses of Gloucester by the Protector in accordance with an Act of 1656, and on August 7 he addressed a letter to the Deputy and Council of Ireland.

### *Grant*

[Substance only]

"To the Mayor and Burgesses of Gloucester, for the public worship of God, the education of children in learning, and for such other public and charitable uses as the Mayor and Burgesses may deem fit"<sup>115</sup>

August 4, 1657

*To Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Our Deputy and Council of Ireland*

We are informed by the Lord Broghill, That towards the conclusion of the Rebellion in Ireland, Capitulation was made with some Irish Rebels for their transportation into Spain, but that the Commissioners of Parliament, then there in chief authority, not esteeming it advisable to transport men openly upon the public account, the said capitulation had like to have remained in-

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55. Giavarina reported that on Aug. 7 "the presidents of the Turkey Company have been before the Protector to inform him of the capture made by the Tripoli pirates and its reception at Rhodes, all having taken place with the consent of the Divan of Constantinople, as the Tripoli ships are in the pay of the Sultan" (*Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 101).

<sup>115</sup> *Cal.* in W. H. Stevenson, *Cal. of the Records of the Corp. of Gloucester* (1893), p. 45; *C. J.*, vii, 464, cp. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1656-7), p. 3.

effectual, and the nation pestered with those Rebels, which several Officers  
 to the said  
 vanced unto them, to victual the Irish so  
 capitulations which they could make (and afterwards did make with one Col  
 Mayo employed by the King of Spain for Irish Levies) were not performed in  
 Spain, that then the said Commissioners would pay the freight and other  
 charges of those Vessels which should transport the said Irish, and after a  
 convenient time should be satisfied for such disbursements out of the respec-  
 tive Arrears of the said subscribing Officers proportionally to their subscrip-  
 tions, Provided always that upon the King of Spain's failure the said Officers  
 should have letters of mark, to repair themselves of such breach of Capitula-  
 tions, That in pursuance of this Overture the said Commissioners did advance  
 eleven hundred pounds towards the transportation of the said Irish, who ac-  
 cordingly were transported into Spain, and Capitulations being unperformed  
 there (the Spaniards only promising to pay what was due upon the arrival of  
 their next plate fleet), the Ships returned and the Commissioners of the  
 Parliament paid above a thousand pounds towards the discharge of their  
 freight, and suspended the payment of the rest in expectation that the Capitu-  
 lation would be soon after performed, there being then an Agent to follow the  
 business in Spain who gave every day hopes thereof, but at length the Wars  
 breaking out between Us and the Spaniard all expectation from thence ceased,

his liberty and having his estate ruined by them

We are further informed that because no mutual contract was subscribed  
 between the said Commissioners of Parliament and the said Officers, that  
 you have hitherto scrupled to pay the residue of that debt, which is about a  
 thousand pound[s], to which the Lord Broghill tells me that such a formal  
 agreement was declined lest it might have manifested what was intended to

that part. He further says that it is certain so much money was paid, and if  
 there can be produced the capitulation by which the same was paid, these  
 allegations of his will be found therein, and if no capitulation can be pro-  
 duced, then so much money, unless for this Agreement, has been paid upon

if you are not fully satisfied of it, We esteem it reasonable and just that the  
 residue of the money due to the said Owners be paid unto them with fitting  
 consideration of their damages in forbearance, and afterwards that the said  
 Subscribing Officers give security to pay in convenient time proportionably  
 out of their arrears what shall be due unto the public.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.<sup>113</sup>

Whitehall,

the 7th August, 1657

<sup>113</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 132, and Dunlop, II, 669-70

This dull routine of administrative detail was enlivened at this moment by the discovery of what appeared to be another attempt to assassinate the Protector, this time it would seem by a Colonel Gardiner, *alias* T. Thomas, possibly the Colonel Gardiner employed in England by Hyde and imprisoned at the time of the attempted insurrection in February, 1655.<sup>113</sup> A certain Mrs. Peter (Margaret) Holme deposed that on Saturday at Hampton Court "first Mrs Bickerton in the park delivered her petition going into the gate of the house, this informant [Mrs Holme] delivered her petition to his Highness hard by the bowling-green by the gate before his Highness came upon the bridge, after whom, a little nearer the house, the Lady Crosby delivered her petition." Gardiner was at the inn where these petitioners stayed and on Monday morning he got up at five and waited for Peter Holme to come down; then "espying his Highness standing at the Lord Deputy's door, the said Gardiner moved, that they might go see his Highness," then, entering a coach, Gardiner observed "My lord (meaning his Highness) is so thick, that sure he . . . " though Holme, . . . into his pocket.

After dinner, his Highness having gone to London, they took a boat and followed him, and on their return noticed that Gardiner had two pistols, both loaded "About 9 o'clock this informant [Mrs. Holme] standing at the gates of the Toy to see his Highness pass, the said gentleman [Gardiner] came up near to that side of the coach where his Highness sat, and the coachman driving speedily away, the gentleman came not nearer than within three yards of the coach," before it drove away Tuesday night Gardiner appeared again and said he had come from St James's Park; and Wednesday morning he was reported in the Stone Gallery at Whitehall, where he was identified and apprehended.<sup>114</sup> To this Giavarina, who seems to have taken much interest in the case, added that when Gardiner was examined he declared that he regretted nothing so much in his life as his failure to carry out his intentions. He admitted having received a pension from the Spaniards and that there were many others in London who received money for the same purpose, who had sworn the death of the Protector, though even under torture he refused to give their names.<sup>115</sup>

Such was the evidence of what seemed to have been another attempt to kill the Protector, and if there is one thing more notable than another in these various plots it is their futility. If the conspirators were really such, if they had been willing to sacrifice their own lives, they could, so far as one can see from this distance in view of

<sup>113</sup> Macray, III, 6, 9, 20

<sup>114</sup> *Formations of Memory and Power in the English Revolution*, VI, 441-42, cp. *ibid.*, p. 447.

<sup>115</sup> *ibid.*, p. 103

the testimony, have killed him without any great difficulty. They were brave enough at a distance. As Father Peter Talbot wrote to Hyde, *Seigneur* who was then in prison, had been "betrayed both in . . . though Cromwell should poison him, the business is not yet lost, . . . There are endeavours from divers parties to cut Cromwell off . . . and no party will declare against him until some garrison lead the way, the matter of £2,000 to the Governors of some garrisons would do the deed. If they do not declare, it is absolutely necessary that the King go in person with what forces are promised, in November or December."<sup>116</sup> It is no wonder that there was some doubt as to whether these conspirators were in earnest, or whether the plots were genuine. Even in the correspondence of those who were supposed to be concerned in them there is a constant strain of unreality, demands for money; exhortations to others to risk their lives, and great appearance of mystery where there was obviously no mystery at all. Only one thing seemed certain—it was that the assassins, if they were really assassins, would not risk their own lives, and so long as that was true the Protector was reasonably safe from their machinations. Some of their plans, indeed, were so fantastic as to make men even at that time doubt whether they were serious, and it seems probable that they actually contributed something to Cromwell's ascendancy, for their discovery was often so fortunately timed that there arose a natural suspicion in certain quarters as to whether they had not been contrived by the government itself.

The Protector seems not to have been greatly disturbed. He examined the witnesses in many cases himself; he went about his business as usual, and he seems to have exposed himself to casual petitioners with little thought of being killed. On the very day of the examination of . . . 5, he gave audience to an envoy from the Elector Palatine, Karl Ludwig, probably a certain George Frederick, Baron von Eilenburg, who had arrived at the end of June. The chief, if not the only, record we have of his mission is from the pen of the industrious Giavarina, who wrote,

Fleming, the Master of the Ceremonies, fetched him from his house in the palace coach, in which he took him back after the interview. It consisted of . . . of some business. The Protector received him graciously, expressed his regard for the Elector and promised to appoint a deputation soon to deal with his affairs. The Elector calls him [Eilenburg] gentleman of his chamber. He is a Swiss by birth, of the canton of Berne, more of a soldier than a politician, having spent all his time amid arms. He has no suite, a clear sign that he will not stay long

<sup>116</sup> Talbot to Hyde, Ghent, Aug. 8/18, *Clar. St. Papers*, III, 357, cal. in Macray, III, 349, no. 1049.



with vigorous assistance if Sweden will pay the men promptly as well as give them special and distinctive treatment." This, it appears, was one reason for the decision to send Nieupoort to Sweden, and the Venetian ambassador was to be "directed to the destruction of the House of Austria, which means the extirpation of the Catholic faith."<sup>119</sup> Nieupoort's mission was to be directed to the destruction of the House of Austria, which means the extirpation of the Catholic faith. Nieupoort was being sent to Denmark to endeavor to "moderate the animosity against Sweden."<sup>120</sup> These seem as good reasons as any for his mission at this moment. The French had been acting in a conciliatory manner by the French ten days earlier,<sup>120</sup> which contributed to easing the tension between the governments of France and England. To this Nieupoort added his testimony.

This afternoon I told the Protector in confidence that France seeks only to obtain the renewal of the alliance with the Republic of the United Netherlands and I asked to have his considerations concerning this proposition, to which he replied that he was not in a position to do so. He then spoke of the United Netherlands and towards Protestantism in general, and he closed his discourse with the words that soon he would send a man of good reputation to their High Mightinesses and that he would communicate further with me on this subject in due time.<sup>121</sup>

And, as if this were not enough to occupy the attention of English administrators and diplomats, on August 9/19 was signed a treaty between England and Sidi Mohammed el Hadji, "King of Asowia and Governor of Tetuan," agreed to on the part of England by Captain John Stokes in command of the fleet off the coast of Spain.<sup>122</sup>

It seems apparent that Cromwell's health was not good and that he was taking as much time off from his duties as possible. He had not returned from Hampton Court on Tuesday, August 11, and there was no Council meeting.<sup>123</sup> That body, however, met on Thursday and Friday, with the Protector present at both sessions,<sup>124</sup> after which he left for Hampton Court again where he stayed more than a fort-

<sup>119</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 7/17, *ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>120</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 3-10.

<sup>121</sup> Nieupoort to the States-General, Aug. 11/17, *Brieven*, III, 409-10.

<sup>122</sup> Tetuan, some time before the end of October, 1657 (Thurloe, VI, 633-34). See App. I (4) for treaty. On July 5/15 Stokes wrote that "the General came from Sally, having concluded a peace with those people" (Powell, *Blake*, p. 462).

<sup>123</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 115.

<sup>124</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 11, 61, 66.

night.<sup>125</sup> While he was at Whitehall he signed some letters on Tuesday, one to Montagu, the others, which were very possibly not sent, in the form of protests against the seizure of the ship *Resolution*, which had been captured by Tripolitans and carried into Rhodes. These protests were made at the request of the Turkey Company,<sup>126</sup> and, as was noted by the copyists, were signed by him "in a tremulous hand".<sup>127</sup>

*For General Montagu, on board the Naseby, in the Downs*

SIR,

we have thought fit to let y<sup>e</sup> know that we have received your letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> inst. and that you do cruise up & down the coast as you shall judge most convenient, taking care of the safety, interest and honour of the Commonwealth

I remain,

Your very loving friend,

Whitehall, 11th August 1657.

OLIVER P.<sup>128</sup>

*To the Grand Seigneur*

[Substance only]

Oliver, by the Grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the dominions and territories thereto belonging, to the High and Mighty Emperor, Sultan Mahomet Han, Chief Lord and Commander of the Mussulman Empire, Sole and supreme Monarch of the Eastern Empire, greeting.

Would be very unwilling that the amity and traffic between "both nations" should be disturbed, desiring nothing more than a continuance and increase of that friendship which hath been established, yet this has been too frequently interrupted by pirates who find retreat and succour in his Majesty's dominions. An instance whereof (to omit many others) appears in the late surprisal of an English ship called the *Resolution*, bound for Scanderoon, which has been assaulted by ships of Tripoli (part of his Majesty's fleet) and carried into Rhodes, where ship, goods, and all on board of her have been seized. Cannot pass over so barbarous and dishonourable an act, and so manifest a breach of the peace, and presumes so much of his Majesty's wisdom and justice that he will order complete restitution, and also, for his own satisfaction and redress of all former injuries has given orders to his Ambassador at the Porte

<sup>125</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 118

<sup>126</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 7/17, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 101, *supra*, Aug. 6.

<sup>127</sup> Cp. Lomas-Carlyle, iii, 497n.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, CCXIX, from *Cromwelliana*, p. 168. Orig then owned by T. L. Parker, now in Br. Mus. (*Add. MSS.* no. 12,098) Signature only by C. Copy in *Lonsdale MSS.* pr. in *Hist. Mis. Comm. Rept.* 13, App. VII, p. 89.

his resolution  
Westminster, August 11, 1657.

*To the High and Excellent Lord, the Vizier Azem*

[Substance only]

On the same subject Remonstrates against this act of violence and injustice, and demands punishment of the offenders, restitution of the ship and goods and release of the master, mariners and passengers, otherwise the Sultan must expect ruin and desolation of all trade, besides confusion and danger to his own state.<sup>120</sup>

[August 11, 1657]

By this time all the members of the new Privy Council except Wolseley, who did not return until the end of August, and Montagu, who was at sea, had taken the oath, and it was rumored that they would all be created barons.<sup>120</sup> Besides this, the appointing of August 21 as a day of fasting and humiliation on account of the "present visitation by sickness, that has spread much,"<sup>121</sup> and presentation of one Thomas Davies to the rectory of Llantrysant, county Anglesey,<sup>121</sup> there was not much of consequence in this second week of August. The epidemic—possibly some kind of influenza, or "plague"—was present also in districts as widely separated as Italy and Courland, and though pronounced "not contagious but violent" was "more destructive in the country than in this city." It was apparently not a new disease, but was "much more serious this year than previously and very deplorable"<sup>122</sup>

The Council's business on Thursday was chiefly concerned with money, on Friday with Scotland and Jamaica. Jephson was to have an additional £600 advanced to him for the expenses of his mission to Sweden; Meadows, £100 out of money for forces in Ireland; and Captain Thomas Ludington was to be paid £1,000 immediately for provisions to be sent to Reynolds' forces in France.<sup>124</sup> Two curious

<sup>120</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 133, from Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, 2nd ser., pt. III, p. 377. Orig. was in Mss. of G. H. Finch, at Burley on the Hill, and so probably not sent

the original draft—was despatched.

<sup>121</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 115

<sup>122</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 61, Crawford, I, 372, no. 3084

<sup>123</sup> Henfrey, *Numis. Crom.*, p. 185. Orig. noted there as owned by J. Hopkin of Great Grimsby.

<sup>124</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 21/31, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 105. Cp. *Pub. Intell.* and *Merc. Pol.*, *passim*; and Bradshaw's despatches, Thurloe, VI, *passim*

<sup>125</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 53, 61, 65-66, 555



cases interrupted the routine of business in these days. The one was that of a certain "Captain" John Bernard, condemned to death for "breaking the House of Collonel Winthrop." He had, according to *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 10-17, 1659, <sup>135</sup> he was possibly in the midst of the civil war,<sup>136</sup> and he was certainly the author of a petition for reprieve which he hastened to issue the next day after he was condemned,<sup>137</sup> but he had obviously fallen from grace, and his is one of the few cases of public punishment for crime noted among the soldiers of the old army, nor is it quite clear why his case should have attracted such attention—or what was the result of his petitions to the Protector, the Lord Mayor of London and others.

The second unusual incident was a report that various persons—or children, according to Whitelocke—"were gotten aboard a certain ship (which is an evill course too often practised) by a sort of people which are commonly called *Spirits*, and who usually go up and down for that purpose"; having considered this, the Council ordered solemnly "that the Master of the ship do forthwith set on shore all such persons, as are unwilling to go the Voyage intended by the said ship,"<sup>138</sup> all of which seems a small matter to take up the time of so august a body—and a lame and impotent conclusion. Apparently nothing was too great or too small to escape the attention of the members, who amid these affairs *the order* raised by the vintners or wine merchants who *the order* prohibiting the sale of their wares, and a committee was appointed to "consider what . . . [they] have offered to his Highness" and to report on their petition to be allowed to dispose of their stocks.<sup>139</sup> This was not, as might be supposed, a matter of sumptuary legislation, for the Puritan government was not opposed to the consumption of spirituous, vinous or maltous liquors, except in ale-houses where Royalists might congregate; but it was rather, apparently, an effort to cut off trade with Spain and her colonies, as a war measure and to get more money for the treasury.

From such activities Protector and Council turned to a more serious question. On Monday, August 10, the news of Blake's death, three days before, reached London, and the Council immediately ordered the Admiralty Commissioners to make arrangements for the burial of the Admiral in Westminster Abbey "with the same preparations as made for the funeral of Gen. Deane, Greenwich House to be

<sup>135</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 10-17.

<sup>136</sup> *Thomason Cat.*, 1, 390, 813.

<sup>137</sup> Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.*, no. 871.

<sup>138</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 10-17; *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 13-20, Whitelocke, p. 665.

<sup>139</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 62.

prepared for the reception of his body",<sup>140</sup> but although Badiley died on August 11,<sup>141</sup> no such provisions were made to honor him, despite the fact that his achievements in the Mediterranean, if less spectacular, had been of scarcely less importance than those of Deane or even Blake.

It was a fitting time to pay honor to England's heroes at a moment when war seemed to be the chief industry in Europe. The great Peace of Westphalia had been signed some nine years earlier and it was at least a measure true, but all about the circumference of the continent war was still going on. Not only was England at war with Spain; but Sweden with Poland and Denmark. France was fighting Spain not only in the Low Countries but elsewhere. Austria, Hungary, Transylvania, Brandenburg, Courland and even Russia were girded for further conflict which threatened to break out at any moment. Spain was still at war with Portugal, Venice with the Turks, and Savoy, as usual, prepared to join whichever side seemed to promise her the most advantage. Europe was full of veterans of the Thirty Years' War, trained to no trade but fighting and plunder and prepared to serve almost any one who would pay them. As Clarendon had described Falkland in the English civil wars, men went about "ingeminating peace, peace, when there was no peace." It was, then, a fitting time for an English ruler whose motto was "Pax quaeritur bello." He sought peace continually in his own words, but it was a peace to be found only through war, and a peace only on his own terms. And it was chiefly the terror of his name and of the forces at his command which gave him the position which he occupied. There is every indication that he was breaking. It was inconceivable that he could ever lead troops in the field again. His fighting days were over; but his will was unbroken, and while he lived he was a force to be reckoned with, especially in the disturbed state of Europe, and even more because of the land and sea forces at his disposition. Blake's death pointed the moral of English power which threatened every sea-coast in Europe, and now Reynolds' troops, though as yet of small importance in the field, held another danger for the Continent, itself peculiarly unfitted to challenge such a force as that at the command of the Protectorate.

Apart from these measures of state, some time in this week of August 10, probably on the 14th, Thurloe was sent with Desborough and Colonel Jones "to conclude with the Earl of Warwick [Robert

<sup>140</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 60-61, cp. *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 10-17, *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 6-13.

<sup>141</sup> Whitelocke, p. 665; *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 10-17.

Rich] the marriage between his grandchild" and Frances Cromwell.<sup>142</sup> The settlement provided that the Earl's estate should be settled on his grandson; Frances was to have a dowry of £15,000; and if she should survive her husband, she was to have £2,000 a year for life.<sup>143</sup> There was more than mere romantic interest in these marriages of Cromwell's daughters. His sons had married commoners of no great family eminence, but with the marriage of Mary to Lord Falconbridge and Frances to Robert Rich, the house of Cromwell began to take its place among the nobility, and, as his daughters' settlements showed, the Protector had not merely achieved office but fortune in the course of his career.

For his part, the Protector, still at Hampton Court, gave no audiences during the week, but foreign affairs none the less bulked large in the events of the day. Schlezer was reported to have left London, and Giavarina suggested that his departure was the threatened rupture of Brandenburg with Sweden, which, in fact, occurred soon after. After long delay the Portuguese ambassador, Don Francesco de Mello, finally arrived in England and made his official entry into London on August 31.<sup>144</sup> Meanwhile, Thurloe was assuring Nieupoort of Cromwell's intention to conclude a maritime treaty with the Netherlands, promising to ride to Hampton Court and "faithfully report to his Highness all what I had proposed."<sup>145</sup> French affairs did not go so well. Lockhart was said to have had a seven-hour conference with Mazarin, spending much of his time, apparently, in reproaching the French minister for using the English contingent against Montmédy instead of against Dunkirk as had been agreed. He went so far, indeed, as to threaten the withdrawal of the English troops, which brought Mazarin to agree to satisfy the Protector.<sup>146</sup>

It is evident that Cromwell's health was growing worse. He remained at Hampton Court "for more rest and to be away from affairs of state, a slight purge being ordered by the physicians, and to drink some medicinal waters not far from that spot, for the sake of his health which has not been entirely satisfactory for some time past, as he is subject to frequent catarrhs which weaken him considerably and cause him a good deal of inconvenience and disturbance,"<sup>147</sup> and

<sup>142</sup> Nieupoort to Ruysch, Aug. 21/31, Thurloe, vi, 477

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 573

<sup>144</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 14/24, Sept. 4/14, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), pp. 102-3, 107-8, 113-14, 115. Schlezer's departure was reported to have been the result of a rupture with Cromwell's funds (*Urk. u. Actenst.*, vii, 779-80).

<sup>145</sup> Nieupoort to Ruysch, Aug. 21/31, Thurloe, vi, 477-78.

<sup>146</sup> Honeywood to Sir W. Vane, Hague, Aug. 14/24, *ibid.*, p. 461

<sup>147</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 21/31, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 104.

there was additional  
In his absence, business fell almost entirely into the hands of the Privy Council, whose meetings went on twice a week as usual,<sup>148</sup> though nothing of any considerable importance was done without reference to the Protector. On the other hand, three Papists who had been apprehended in Shrewsbury—William Astley, Charles Gifford and one Allanson—were committed to the Tower for having in their possession commissions from Charles II, dated March . . . forces and begin insurrection.<sup>149</sup> Some time before this the deputy governor of Dover Castle had apparently permitted his prisoner, John Lilburne, to be present at his wife's expected confinement; but the Protector ordered him on August 19 to return to prison within ten days. . . . Lilburne to do, for exact . . . removed a thorn from Cromwell's side.

The Protector and his wife seem to have remained at Hampton Court from August 14 to September 2, but he seems, none the less, to have kept his hand on affairs even in that enforced seclusion. The embassies of Meadows and Jephson were being prepared and instructions were being drawn up and letters addressed to the rulers through whose domain . . . at any time during . . . tance of their missions and the disturbed state of Europe:

*Secret instructions to Major-general Jephson, delivered to him 22 August 1657*

George Fleetwood since, have in his majestie's name very much pressed us to ayd and assist him in his wars by money, ships, and men, or such of them as our own occasions would best permitt, enforcing their desires from the great difficulties wherein his majestie is involved, by haveing the Muscovite on the one hand, and the kinge of Hungary on the other, takeinge with and faveringe his enemye in Poland, . . . and all that he hath on this side the Balticke-Sea, and that as they are

<sup>148</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 118.

<sup>149</sup> . . . Chiefly "Army and Receipts General Committee" for the new assessment, augmentations, and petitions.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 549, *Merc. Pol.*, Aug. 20-27, *Clarke Papers*, III, 115, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 105.

<sup>151</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 148.

labouringe to divert the prince of Transylvania, who came into the assistance of Sweden, and to force him to marche back for the defence of his cuntries against the Tartars, whom the enemies aforesaid doe dayly stirre up to invade him, soe they use all endeavours to seperate the elector of Brandenburg, and to joyne his arm[ies] with them against him and his interest, insoemuch, that it would be impossible for him to subsist in the midst of all those enemyes

2. You shall further informe his majestie, that wee have allways had a deepe sence of the condition of his affaires, and although wee were not, nor are in a condition to contribute money, (our late civill-warrs at home, and since that our warrs with the Lowe-cuntries, and now with Spayne, having in a great measure exhausted this nation) yet wee were not unwilling to consider our owne affaires, in order to [give] such assistance as wee were able to afford him, and might consist with the treaties wee have with other states and kingdomes. But yet find none them impowered to negotiate sh[ould] be in termes of that assistance, which is now knowne and agreed upon before wee imbarque in a busines of soe great consequence, wee were not able to come to any resolutions thereupon.

3. For in case either of the said persons, or both, wee could not understand from the said persons, what places of safe retreat for our men, or secure harbours for our ships, should be put into our actions of this kinde without first haveinge assurances therein.

4. Furthermore, this assistance beinge desired by the kinge, and wholly upon the account of his interest, the expence and charge of such an undertaking is to be considered, if not in present, yet hereafter, when it shall please God to direct the course of his affaires.

5. And that you shall be desired to be done on

what was writt to him from hence by the Lord George Fleetwood, touchinge the puttinge of the dukedome of Bremen into our hands, you shall endeavour to acquaint the ayde men in a forreine warre, without some place of strength and securitie to have recourse unto

7 And if you shall find the king disposed to consider and treat with you upon this subject, and desirous to have us undertake it, you are impowred to agree, that wee will undertake to secure for him the dukedome of Bremen, and such stronge holds there as he hath put into our hands, and shall forthwith send over forces both horse and foot to take the possession thereof, and shall likewise keepe such ships of warre upon those coasts as shall be necessary for the ends aforesaid.

8. And that at any tyme upon demand of the crowne of Sweden, beinge first payed the charges wee shall bee att over and above what shal be leavyed

## THE RECESS

shall be then in our hands and possession to the crowne of Sweden, but you shall not minister hands.

the field, and which of them, as also what contribution may be had in the countreyes towards the defrayinge the charges of an armye, with what else may be necessary to be knowne of the place as to the aforesaid purpose, that you may be the better able to judge, whether it will be for the good and service of this nation to accept of the delivery thereof into our hands upon the grounds aforesayd

10 In case a treatye be entred upon, there will be many more perticulers tions upon the generall propositions, you shall forthwith dispatch them unto us, with such other matters as shal be offered to you on his part, that you may receive further directions thereupon; and in the mean tyme shall proceed as farre as you are warranted by these instructions<sup>128</sup>

### *Instructions unto Philip Meadowe, esq. upon his repair to the King of Denmark*

OLIVER P.

You shall after the receipt of these instructions with as much speed as may be, repair on board the ship appointed for your transportation and make for that place where the King of Denmark resides or shall be either in Holstein or elsewhere.

And being arrived there, shall at your first audience assure the said King in proper and fitting terms of our affection and good will towards him and that as there hath been in former times a firm amity and good correspondence between England and Denmark to their mutual profit and advantage so there being through the blessing of God a peace renewed and settled between Us and his said Majesty and our respective people and dominions that We on our part shall in no wise break and infringe the same, but shall inviolably and further that We are willing the increasing and augmenting the said allegiance and that We have confidence of the same inclination and

that We have received his letters and manifest concerning the war lately arisen between him and the King of Sweden the notice whereof although we took as an act of friendship and good will yet there could have been nothing more

<sup>128</sup> In the handwriting of Secretary Thurloe. Pr. in Thurloe, vi, 478-79.

unwelcome to us than the news of a war broke forth between those two Crowns, being both in amity and friendship with us and of one and the same profession in Religion whose power and forces being conjoynd might have

Popish party do with one consent arm against the Professors thereof in all parts of the world and it is certain for the advantage of Spain who is up.

King of Hungary and that Austrian family, the head and chief pillar of the Popish state than this rupture at this time.

Besides his Majesty cannot but be sensible of the great disturbance and disorder it will negocially make in gation especially in the Baltic Sea, to the great prejudice of his neighbors and of none more than of this Commonwealth—it being well known what need We have of the commodities of those parts in reference to our shipping.

And therefore that We might so much as in us lies endeavor to prevent those prejudicial effects of this unhappy war We have sent you unto his Majesty and you are hereby authorized to offer to him our friendly and best

God reestablished between them, be firmly kept and observed.

As you shall find any fit occasion admitted to you in private with the King himself you shall assure him of our true and sincere affection towards him and his affairs and that we do not judge it the interest of the Commonwealth under our government that he should be oppressed by any of his neighbors whatsoever or that any of his dominions territories or privileges should be wrested from him or put in danger to be so thereafter in any time to come and that we look upon this state and Denmark in regard of their situation being so far distant from each other that there can scarce any jealousy arise between them, and yet are near enough to succour and otherwise accommodate each other as also in respect of the commodities of their respective countries, and for many other reasons more fit and convenient to be united in an amity and friendship than most other states in Europe, and that therefore we with his Majesty that we may grow into a mutual confidence and thereby take away the occasion of those misunderstandings which these two states have been or may be brought into by the artifices of others and that he shall not find any Prince or state in Europe a more faithful friend to him and his interest than we shall be.

You shall likewise insinuate that his being allied with Us and other Protestant Princes and states which are his neighbors round about him will be of greater use and much more secure than any alliance he can have with Spain, the King of Hungary, or any of that Austrian family who have and always will prove a broken reed to such princes or states as lean upon them and never

give assistances to any but such as they intend to devour by the help they give them and you shall endeavor that his Majesty will not during the war \*\*\*\*\* Prince or state as may render a peace with Sweden the more hard and difficult.

In case our interposition be accepted you shall communicate the same to Major Guill. Jepson, our envoy extraordinary to the King of Sweden, and communicate with him in what manner to prosecute the same with the best effect

You shall keep a good correspondence with the Amb. and public ministers of the princes and states residing with the said friendship and amity with us.

In case there shall be any \*\*\*\*\* the said King, you shall endeavor to \*\*\*\*\* contrary to the Amity which is between us

You shall give unto us frequent accounts of all you shall negotiate that we may from time to time give you such further instructions and directions as shall be necessary <sup>154</sup>

*To the most serene and potent Prince and Lord, Frederick III, by the grace of God King of Denmark, Norway, the Vandals, Goths, etc.*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT PRINCE

It is to our great sorrow that we learn by the receipt of ..... your Majesty ..... joined to us by a treaty ..... are mutually joined together by the common ..... for could anything more welcome or more pleasing have befallen the enemies of the Protestant religion than that

.....

others freely reap the benefit of the harm they do each other Whereby we ..... extinguishment of

..... end we have dispatched to your serene Majesty our most faithful and well-beloved Philip Meadowe as our envoy extraordinary, to present to your Majesty our offices for the reestablishment of mutual peace We therefore beg in most friendly fashion that your Majesty be pleased to grant him gracious audience and to

.....

preserve your Majesty. Given from our palace at Westminster the twentieth of August, in the year 1657

Your Majesty's good friend,

OLIVER P. <sup>155</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Such blanks with dots appear in the text of the document

<sup>154</sup> *For State Papers, Denmark, XVI, 243-45.*

<sup>155</sup> Latin original in the Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen, countersigned by Thurloe; pr. *infra*, App. II (10).



*To the King of Sweden*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, OUR DEAREST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE

The most honourable William Jephson, colonel of horse, and a senator in our Parliament, who will have the honour to deliver these letters to your Majesty, will make known to your Majesty, with what disturbance and grief of mind we received the news of the fatal war broke out between your Majesty and the King of Denmark, and how much it is our

mischiefe, and those calamities averted, which of necessity this war will bring upon the common cause of religion; more especially at this time, now that our adversaries unite their forces and pernicious counsels against the profession and professors of the orthodox faith. These and some other considerations of great importance to the benefit and public interests of both nations, have induced us to send this gentleman to your majesty, under the character of our extraordinary envoy Whom we therefore desire your Majesty kindly to receive, and to give credit to him in all things which he shall have to impart to your Majesty in our name, as being a person in whose fidelity and prudence we very much confide We also farther request, That your Majesty will be pleased fully to assure yourself of our goodwill and most undoubted zeal as well toward your Majesty as for the recovery of the

affairs Of  
of mind to give unquestionable testimonies upon all occasions. From our court at Westminster, August [20], 1657

Your majesty's good friend,

OLIVER P<sup>106</sup>

*To the City of Hamborough*

MOST NOBLE, MAGNIFICENT, AND RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,  
[OUR DEAREST FRIENDS]

Philip Meadows, who brings these letters [to] your lordships, is to travel through your city with the character of our agent to the [most serene] king of Denmark Therefore we most earnestly recommend him to your lordships, that if any occasion should happen for him to desire it, you would be ready to aid him with your authority and assistance. and we desire that this our recommendation may have the same weight at present with your lordships as formerly it wont to have; nor shall we be wanting to your lordships upon the same opportunities

From our court at Whitehall, August [c 20], 1657.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 431-32, Columbia *Milton*, no 92 Original in Swedish  
Thurloe Somewhat different version

<sup>107</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 434-35, with additions from Latin in Columbia *Milton*, no 98, cp. Masson, v, 371

*To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the city of Hamborough*

tor in our parliament, being sent by us to the most serene king of Sweden, is to travel through your city, and therefore we have given him in command, not to pass b  
our request,  
he shall think it requisite to crave the aid of your authority and counsel [or protection] Which the more willingly you shall do, the more you shall find you have acquired our favour.<sup>188</sup>

From our court at Westminster,  
August [c. 20], 1657.

*To the most Noble, the Consuls and Senators of the City of Breme[n]*

[MOST NOBLE, MAGNIFICENT & WORTHY, OUR DEAREST FRIENDS,]

How great our affection is toward your city, how particular our goodwill, as well upon the account of your religion, as for the celebrated splendour of your city, as formerly you have found; so when occasion offers, you sha  
accomplished colonel  
through Bremen with the character of our envoy extraordinary to the king of Sweden, it is our pleasure that he salute your lordships lovingly and friendly in our name, and that if any accident fall out, wherein your assistance and friendship may be serviceable to him, that he may have free admission to desire it, upon the score of our alliance Wherein we are confident you will the less be wanting, by how much the more reason you will have to be assured of our singular love and kindness for your lordships. From our court at Whitehall, August [20], 1657.<sup>189</sup>

*To the most Noble the Senators and Consuls of the City of Lubeck*

MOST NOBLE, MAGNIFICENT, AND RIGHT WORSHIPFUL, DEAREST FRIENDS

senator in our  
from your city to the [most serene] king of Sweden, encamping not far from it Wherefore we desire your lordships, that if occasion require, upon the account of the friendship and commerce between us, you will be assistant to him in his journey through your city, and the territories under your jurisdiction As to what remains, it is our farther pleasure, that you be saluted [in a most friendly way] in our name, and that you be assured of our goodwill and ready inclinations to serve your lordships. From our court at Westminster, August [20], 1657.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>188</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 433, with additions from Latin in *Columbia Milton*, no. 95, cp. Masson, v, 371 (summary).

<sup>189</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 433-34, with additions from Latin in *Columbia Milton*, no. 96, cp. Masson, v, 371 (summary). Original said to be at Lubeck.



particular, to prevent, if he could, any arrangement between either Sweden or Denmark and Spain, Hungary or the house of Austria. Beyond that, his promises of support to Sweden were of the vaguest character and his warning to Denmark as strong as he could make it without definite declaration of hostility. It was evident that he was much concerned with the effect of the Swedish-Danish antagonism upon English commerce in the Baltic, especially with regard to the naval supplies which Great Britain, like the Netherlands, drew so largely from that source. This, in fact, was the root of the matter so far as he was concerned; for Great Britain, unlike the Netherlands, was not so much concerned with the food supply drawn from that region. On such supplies would weaken, if it did not actually destroy, the chief weapon which gave her the position she occupied in European affairs; and that, at almost any cost, he was determined to maintain.

As usual, these considerable negotiations were again interrupted by the affairs of the Scottish church. On Saturday, August 22, Gillespie said he went to Hampton Court "to take his leave of the Protector who would not suffer him to return as yet."<sup>164</sup> He may have made two visits, but Sharp, who kept close watch on his antagonist, wrote "it is thought he gott no access, and he professed to one the other day, 'earand hath been (for all he must boast of his Court) to speak with Fleetwood and make way for that petition'"<sup>166</sup>

The Protector, indeed, had more to trouble him than the Scots. In the course of the week Richard Cromwell, hunting in the New Forest, was reported to have been shot by a fallow deer. Such an accident to the heir-apparent to the Protectorate was not a matter to be taken lightly. Cromwell's stay at Hampton Court produced another complication. The unfortunate Portuguese ambassador was unable to make his formal entry—so prized then by diplo-

<sup>164</sup> Sharp to Douglas, Aug. 28, *Register of Consultations*, II, 105

<sup>165</sup> Same to same, Aug. 27, *ibid.*, p. 108

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105

<sup>167</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, Aug. 27/Sept. 6, *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), pp. 84, 87, 88

heare and obey it." (Thurloe, VI, 493)

mats—until the Protector was back in Whitehall prepared to receive him with due formality;<sup>168</sup> and in general, although the Swedish and Danish embassies were being prepared and the letters to foreign rulers drawn up to be signed, public business lagged during his absence from London.

The Council, indeed, went about its duties as usual, with Wolseley, who took the oath on Tuesday the 25th, now in his place. It was busy with the details of the missions of Jephson and Meadows; arranged for the reception of Mello; ordered a day of thanksgiving for September 3 "in thankful remembrance of the memorable mercies vouchsafed to England in the victories of 3 Sept. 1650 at Dunbar and on 3 Sept. 1651 at Worcester." They ordered the Edinburgh magistrates to give that university £200 a year; and that Maidstone be paid £5,380/7/11 for the expenses of the Protector's household, the money to be drawn from that fertile, if incongruous, source of other expenditures, the sums designated for the forces in Ireland.<sup>169</sup> At the same time they ordered the arrest of one Henry Eversden, the printer of *A Letter of Adresse to the Protector*, "very derogatory to his Highness's honour," as was declared. This, it appeared later, came from the pen of that indefatigable and most independent Independent, John Goodwin,<sup>170</sup> who, though he seems to have prayed before the High Court of Justice and so committed himself there, as previously, against monarchy, was now no less incensed at the Protectoral system of "Triers," and was described as "against every man and had every man against him." He was an excellent example of the difficulties which Cromwell had to face in his endeavors to hold together a party whose members' principles seemed to be to dissent from each other as much as from the monarchy they had overthrown.

Among these elements the Scottish representatives continued to be not the least annoying. Having disposed of Gillespie, Cromwell's next move was to avoid Wariston, who recorded that on Saturday the 29th he was at Hampton Court seeking an audience, but, as he noted "I got only a salute of the Protector, and my desner, but sensibly found him shift . . . Wariston. On that same Saturday Jephson left for Sweden and on the fol-

<sup>168</sup> *Merc Pol*, Aug. 20-27, *Pub Intell*, Aug. 17-24, 24-31, *Cal S. P. Ven* (1657-9) p. 104.

<sup>169</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp. 78-79, 81, 83, 555. It was noted on Aug. 28 "that . . ."

<sup>170</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp. 8 . . . The pamphlet is signed "D. F.", cp. Abbott, *Bibliog of O. C.*, no. 882.

<sup>171</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, II, 97.



OLIVER CROMWELL

FROM A PRINT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE AUTHOR WITH SIGNATURES "TRANS  
CARELSE ENCUDIT" AND "VELDE SCULP" (16½" x 12½")



lowing Monday Meadows started for Denmark.<sup>173</sup> The original plan, as their credentials witnessed, had been for them to go together, but for some reason that was given up and Montagu sent a ship to carry  
 "the second while [?] went by way of Hamburg."<sup>174</sup>

Cromwell wrote two letters; one to his cousin's cousin, John Dunch, the other to Admiral Montagu, the former apparently in regard to some personal or family matter, the latter respecting that much disputed right of search and seizure, which the Protector again insisted upon.

*For my loving Friend John Dunch, Esquire*

SIR,

I desire to speak with you; and hearing a report from Hursley that you was going to your Father's in Berkshire, I send this express to you, desiring you to come to me to Hampton Court

With my respects to your Father, —I rest

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P<sup>175</sup>

[Hampton Court]

August 27, 1657

*[For General Montagu, on board the Naseby, in the Downs]*

SIR,

The Secretary hath communicated to us your letter of the 28th instant; by which you acquaint him with the directions you have

Spaniard, the declared enemy of this State

There is no question to be made but what you have directed therein is agreeable both to the laws of nations and the particular treaties which are between this Commonwealth and the United Provinces. And therefore we desire you to continue the said direction, and to require the captains to be careful in doing their duty therein

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P<sup>176</sup>

Hampton Court, 30th August 1657

was accompanied by the king of Sweden, Baron or Count Friesendorff,<sup>178</sup> who, according to Giavarina, was chosen "to

<sup>173</sup> Whitelocke, p. 665

<sup>174</sup> *Cromwell's Letters*, II, 116

<sup>175</sup> *Cromwell's Letters* no. 21, p. 534. Endorsed "From Oliver Protector, by his own hand" "Holograph, very tremulous writing. In the Morrison Collection" (Mrs Lomas' note) Pr also in Noble, *House of Cromwell* (1787), II, 444

<sup>176</sup> Lomas-Carlisle, CCXXII, from Thurloe, VI, 489.

<sup>177</sup> Thurloe to Henry C. Nieuport calls him "Ry-senborgh," which is incorrect (*ibid.*, p. 311, cf. *ibid.* *Ven* (1657-9), pp. 108-10, and *Urk. u. Actenst.*, VII, 782.



communicate to the Protector particular secrets which he [Charles X] would not trust to letters for fear of their being intercepted."<sup>177</sup> These "secrets" probably had to do with the relations between Denmark and Sweden, then approaching open war. Foreign affairs at this moment bulked even larger than usual in the Protector's life. Nieupoort's opinion as to the political situation was

that for several reasons mentioned by him [Thurloe] and from what has been said, the Protector is of the opinion that for his interest, the United Netherlands became involved in war and that he would like to see the United Netherlands also engaged in this affair.<sup>178</sup>

Reynolds wrote Thurloe that the reports of desertions from his forces to Charles II were grossly exaggerated. There had been, he said, only about twenty-eight, of whom some were already coming back, and only two were actually considered hostile to Cromwell.<sup>179</sup> On the other hand, Whitelocke wrote that new plots against the Protector were being discovered, and a little earlier Sir George Carteret, sometime governor of Jersey and now a vice-admiral in the French navy, had been sent to the Bastille on Lockhart's complaint that he was trying to seduce the English forces in France and possibly giving information to the Spaniards.<sup>180</sup> Moreover Lockhart, at Fleetwood's order, was in the midst of negotiating a treaty for a levy of 3,000 more troops for the campaign in the spring, which he wrote Thurloe he would conclude if the Protector favored it.<sup>181</sup> In the British Isles themselves, Henry Cromwell wrote that if Fleetwood, who had apparently been suggested for the command in Scotland, "thinks the command in Scotland a bettering of his condition in any sence, I thinke, that motion ought to be persued; beside, there may bee much other good in it"<sup>182</sup>—among other considerations not the least that Henry would be freed from the interference of his "brother," which had been a thorn in his side ever since he went to Ireland. And again Henrietta Maria reported to Brienne, who told Lockhart, that Cromwell had sent twenty-four priests to a desert island, but none the less, Lockhart wrote Thurloe, she made "her earnest sute to his highnesse, to give way, that they may come into France," to which Lockhart added his comment that if the story were true, there must be some reason for it beyond the mere fact that they were priests,<sup>183</sup> but there seems to be no record of any such transaction and the whole story

<sup>177</sup> G. Nieupoort to Cromwell, 16 Sept. 1657-8 (1657-9), p. 108.

III, 422

<sup>179</sup> Reynolds to Thurloe, Aug. 24/Sept. 3, Thurloe, VI, 480-81.

<sup>180</sup> Whitelocke to Cromwell, 16 Sept. 1657-8, *Dist. Nat. Rins.* "Carteret."

<sup>181</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, Aug. 25, *ibid.*, p. 482.

<sup>182</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Aug. 26/Sept. 5, *ibid.*

was probably a product of the too vivid imagination of the Queen Mother or her informant

Such were some of the affairs which pressed hard on the shoulders of a sick old man. Cromwell's health, so far from improving, seemed to grow worse.<sup>184</sup> He spent as much of his time as he could at home and came to Whitehall only when it appeared absolutely necessary. During the week of August 31 he did not get to London in time to receive the Portuguese ambassador, who was entertained at Westminster for three days in the Protector's name, on Wednesday "on purpose to receive him" which was in a few words, and the presentation of his credentials"<sup>185</sup> in the royal room at Whitehall, the Protector returned at once to Hampton Court, where, on Thursday the 3rd with some of his Council and officers he held a day of thanksgiving for Dunbar and Worcester and entertained the officers at dinner.<sup>186</sup> On Friday he came up to Whitehall again to receive Friesendorff,<sup>187</sup> and possibly for Blake's funeral which took place on that day, though there seems to be no record of the Protector's presence. The Admiral was buried in Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey, "attended in greate state by severall of the Councell, Comissioners for the Admiralty, officers of the army and navy, Lord Maior and Aldermen of London, and many other persons of qualitie, in the states barges . . . from the Tower to Westminster Bridge, where great gunns plaid all along, and after interment the land forces made very many laudable volleys."<sup>188</sup> It seems that Desborough was to succeed to Blake's offices,<sup>189</sup> but the actual conduct of the fleet appears to have been left in the hands of Montagu, where it belonged

In the meantime the Council met but once during that week, on Thursday the 3rd, and transacted no business of much importance,<sup>190</sup> and so far as the Protector was concerned the only record we have of his activities beyond his reception of the ambassadors was his expression to some member of the East India Company, possibly Martin Noel, of his displeasure that the Company had applied first to Nieuport rather than to him for trade in the South Seas, especially as he expected "an account of these and of the losses lately sustained

<sup>184</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 28/Sept. 7, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 106.

<sup>185</sup> Same to same, Sept. 4/14, *ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>186</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 118.

<sup>187</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 4/14, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 108, Carlbom, p. 148.

<sup>188</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 118.

<sup>189</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 87.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87, payment for trumpeters for the inauguration, 19 the first day, 30 the second (*ibid.*, p. 555).

through the Dutch in the several parts of India."<sup>191</sup> It is too much to say that the sceptre seemed to be slipping from his hands, but it is apparent from every piece of evidence that we have that his control of affairs was not what it had been even six months earlier. That was peculiarly unfortunate at this moment when the situation of the expeditionary force hung, as it were, in the balance. In sharp contrast to his letter to Thurloe the preceding week, Reynolds now wrote to Henry Cromwell that the number of the troops had been reduced from six to four thousand by sickness and desertion, that he himself wished to be recalled as the rations were unpalatable and pay not sufficient to buy more familiar food.<sup>192</sup> None the less he reported that he was pushing on toward Dunkirk and had notified Montagu who was to divert the attention of the garrison there by bringing up the fleet as had been previously . . . I mean- while to notify Cromwell or . . . not at hand.<sup>193</sup> All this, together with the attitude and actions of the French, obviously irritated the Protector greatly as his letters to Lockhart at this moment indicated.

[To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France]

SIR,

I have seen your last Letter to Mr Secretary,<sup>194</sup> as also divers others and although I have no doubt either of your diligence or ability to serve us in so great a Business, yet I am deeply sensible that the French are very much short with us in ingenuosness and performance. And that which increaseth our sense [of this] is, The resolution we had, rather to overdo than to be behindhand in anything of our Treaty. And although we never were so foolish [as] to apprehend that the French and their interests were the same with ours in all things; yet as to the Spaniard, who hath been known in all ages to be the most implacable enemy that France hath, we never could doubt, before we made our treaty, that, going upon such grounds, we should have been failed as we are!

To talk of giving us garrisons which are inland, as caution for future action, to talk of what . . . of words for children. If they will give us garrisons, let them give us Calais, Dieppe and Boulogne, which I think they will do as soon as be honest to their words in giving us any one Spanish garrison upon the coast into our hands! I positively think, which I say to you, they are afraid we should have any footing on that side, though Spanish.

I pray you tell the Cardinal from me, that I think, if France desires to maintain his ground, much more to get ground upon the Spaniard, the per-

<sup>191</sup> Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 161

<sup>192</sup> Reynolds to Henry Cromwell, Sept. 1, quot. in Firth, *Last Years*, 1, 279

<sup>193</sup> Reynolds to Montagu and to Cromwell, Sept. 3/13, Thurloe, vi, 497-98.

<sup>194</sup> Probably of August 4/14, as Lockhart's letters of Aug. 26 and 28 had not yet come to hand (Mrs. Lomas' note)

formance of his Treaty with us will better do it than anything appears yet to me of any design he hath! Though we cannot so well pretend to soldiery as those who are with him, yet we think that, we being able by sea to strengthen

France can give it, without any manner of impediment,—especially considering the Dutch are now engaged so much to the southward as they are.

of the held, as he cannot impede this work, so neither will he be able to attack anything towards France with a possibility of retreat. And what doth all delays signify but the giving the Spaniard opportunity so much the more to reinforce himself; and to the keeping our men another summer to serve the French, without any colour of a reciprocal, or any advantage to ourselves!—

And therefore if this will not be listened unto, I desire that things may be considered-of to give us satisfaction for the great expense we have been at with our naval forces and otherwise, which out of an honourable and honest aim on our part hath been done that we might answer our Engagements. And that consideration may be had how our men may be put into a posture to be returned to us, which we hope we shall employ to a better purpose than to have them to continue where they are.

I desire we may know what France saith, and will do, upon this point. We shall be ready still, as the Lord shall assist us, to perform what can be reasonably expected on our part. And you may also let the Cardinal know further, that our intentions, as they have been, so they will be, to do all the good

speed and surety, we have sent it by an Express.

Your very loving friend,

Whitehall, 31st August, 1657.

OLIVER P.<sup>165</sup>

[*To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France*]

SIR,

We desire, having written to you as we have, that the design be Dunkirk rather than Gravelines; and much more that it be so; but one of them rather than fail.

We shall not be wanting, at the French charge, to send over two of our old regiments of foot, and two-thousand foot more, if need be, if Dunkirk be the design, believing that if the Army be well entrenched, and La Ferte's Foot added to it, we shall be able to give liberty to the greatest part of the French

Cavalry to have an eye to the Spaniard, leaving but convenient numbers to stand by the Foot

And because this action will probably divert the Spaniard from assisting Charles Stuart in any attempt upon us, you may be assured that, if reality may with any reason be expected from the French, we shall do all reason on our parts. But if indeed the French be so false to us as that they would not have us have any footing on that side the water,—then I desire, as in our other letter to you, that all things may be prepared in order to the giving us satisfaction and the drawing-off of our men.

And truly, Sir, I desire you to take boldness and freedom to yourself in your dealing with the French on these accounts

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.<sup>106</sup>

Whitehall, 31st August, 1657.

And again the Scots pressed. On Monday, September 7, Wariston apparently addressed the Protector once more, but, as he says, Cromwell "could not speak with me in the morning. I wayted long until he cam back and he gaive me an evil ansuer that he had not leasure"<sup>107</sup>—which, taking all things in consideration, was not surprising to any one but the persistent Scot. The Protector could not be bothered about this quarrel over Scottish parishes. During his illness much more important business had piled up, but his vacation had done him good. When he returned to town on Tuesday, he was reported to be in perfect health again after drinking the mineral waters prescribed by his physicians for three weeks;<sup>108</sup> and he at once plunged into a whirl of activity. For the first time since August 14 he attended Council meetings on Tuesday and Thursday,<sup>109</sup> but was absent from the special meeting on Wednesday at which amendments were considered to a letter to the Scottish ministers "of both judgments," though it was sent apparently in his name and with his approval. It was at once an exhortation and a threat, and its tone reflected something of the annoyance which he evidently felt at the activities of the Resolutioner-Remonstrant representatives who had pursued him so persistently while he was trying to recover his health and strength.

### *To Ministers of both judgments in Scotland*

Wee cannot but take notice, espetially upon those addresses that have been made unto us, of those unhappy differences w<sup>ch</sup> have of late yeares fallen out amongst you, and being sensible of the evell effectes that are likely

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, CCXXIII, from Thurloe, vi, 489 (in Thurloe's handwriting).

<sup>107</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 97

<sup>108</sup> *Continuation of Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. 1, p. 109

<sup>109</sup> Among the petitions considered on 12 September 1657 was one from the Resolutioners and Remonstrants, and the ordering of new

be produced by those rentes and divisions, w<sup>ch</sup> are already made and daily creasing, if there be not a tymely closure of those breaches, and how much e interest of Godliness and the woike of Reforma<sup>on</sup> heretofore hath been ndred thereby, Wee hold it our duty to use our utmost endevor<sup>r</sup>, that those

ive thought it fitt and necessary to use our endevor<sup>r</sup> for the making up this each and healing those divisions that all that feare the Lord among you ay, w<sup>ch</sup> one hart and hand joyne together in the reforming of what is misse and the promoting not of the bare forme but of the power of Godliness id purity in the Churches and Church administra<sup>ons</sup>, Wee doe not thinke fitt to take notice of the first rise of these differences, nor of the meanes of ighting them, but doe earnestly exhort you as one step to the cure of this ell, to lay the same wholly aside and all the prosecu<sup>on</sup> that hath been ereupon and that the same be buried in oblivion; and lookeing on each her w<sup>ch</sup> the same affection as you did before that breach, you would both ke to that, w<sup>ch</sup> is before you and seriously mind the woike of Reforma<sup>on</sup> xording to yo<sup>r</sup> Duty, whereby ignorant, scandalous, prophane and ma- gnant persons may be ejected and kept out and such as are Godly and well fected may be encouraged; And to the end the Closure may be more firme d as an evidence of your cordiall inten<sup>ons</sup> herein, Wee w<sup>ch</sup> the advise of r Counsell, doe reco<sup>m</sup>end it unto you as y<sup>s</sup> which to us seemes most likely cement you, and to carry on the woike of God, amongst you, that you meet xgether as brethren w<sup>ch</sup> [an equal number of each judgment, in relation to e late differences<sup>200</sup>] to consider w<sup>ch</sup> love and in sincerity of hart, what may e the likeliest meanes to reforme whatsoev<sup>r</sup> shall upon an impartiall enquiry e found to be a misse and so reconcile all differences among you as may most on sist w<sup>ch</sup> the propagation of the Gosple and encouraging of the power of odlyness wherein [we expect you use your best endeavours<sup>201</sup>] And Wee hope e Lord may see direct and unite you as that there shall not be a necessity y yo<sup>r</sup> prudence and wise deportm<sup>t</sup> in this business, Wee shalbe prevented<sup>201</sup> eptember 8, 1657

To this he joined an

### *Additional Instruction to the Council in Scotland*

Whereas by a former Instruct<sup>on</sup> given unto you by us, you are authorized nd impowred by yo<sup>r</sup> Warr<sup>nts</sup> or Ord<sup>rs</sup> to allow unto such Ministers and pub- lique Preachers in Scotland, as you shalbe satisfied w<sup>ch</sup> as qualifed accord- 1654, their respective e Houses and all other dvantages and imunities belonging And to ord<sup>r</sup> he Collecto<sup>r</sup> or Collectors, Recevor Stipendes to

<sup>200</sup> "Added per order 9 Sept"

<sup>201</sup> *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, vi, pt ii, 765, in abbreviated form in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1657-8), pp. 89-90, with additions p 92

pay the same, And whereas there doe sometymes arise differences in the choice of Ministers You are hereby authorized and required not to issue any Warr<sup>t</sup> or Ord<sup>r</sup> for paym<sup>t</sup> of such stipend or arreares and other advantages aforesayd in cases where such differences shalbe, but unto such person or persons as shall bring unto you a testimoniall under the handes of . . . or more of the persons hereafter named <sup>202</sup>

September 9, 1657

If this sharp admonition to the Scottish factions did not precisely keep the peace, at least it relieved the Protector for a time from their eternal annoyance. On that same Wednesday he gave an audience to the Swedish envoy, Friesendorff, which Giavarina reported,

was also attended by General Flitod. Their conference lasted over two hours, and though one cannot discover the real object of this mission it may be safely assumed that it is to procure assistance, especially as it is known that his Highness has granted the Swede 2,000 infantry to be selected from the English. . . . this city Sweden will pay t . . . to be among the first chosen <sup>203</sup>

It seems that he informed Friesendorff that "for himself he desired no foreign conquests, but only desired that he might preserve his position within the kingdom, since he had found that they [the conquests] would not help the English nation, as was seen in those French conquests and latterly with Ireland—which took an enormous amount of money and people", <sup>204</sup> and it was reported by Friesendorff to Charles that he would work for peace between Sweden and Denmark, so that two such powerful leaders of Protestantism would not get into trouble between themselves <sup>205</sup>

It seems too that the Protector was also presented with a letter from Charles X Gustavus making overtures for a new treaty, though it was couched in the most general terms <sup>206</sup> That same afternoon the Protector also gave an audience to the Portuguese ambassador, and again Giavarina reported its content.

He presses for succour, and they say he will be granted 2,000 men for the present, with a promise of more in the spring. There is no doubt that Sweden and Portugal will receive assistance from this state, owing to England's con-

<sup>202</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 93; cp

<sup>203</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), pp. 109-10. Nieupoort vi, 511)

<sup>204</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 58, n 2

<sup>205</sup> The same . . . It is not . . . a letter of compliment. For the Friesendorff mis-

cern for their interests, with the former on the score of religion and a general desire for their prosperity, with the other to keep open the breach with the king of Spain, which the English encourage for their own particular interests.<sup>207</sup>

The active and inquisitive Venetian resident also reported at the same time the arrival of a "Hamburg gentleman who formerly acted here as resident for the Hanse towns . . . He comes for the affairs of Hamburg alone in connection with the sea and trade, but it is not known in what capacity"<sup>208</sup> All this was connected in one way or another with the general problem of English trade, which on Wednesday took another turn with the presentation of the paper Cromwell requested from the East India Company enumerating the "abuses and indignities put upon the English nation by the Dutch"<sup>209</sup> in the East Indies. In addition to this during this same week

the presidents of the Turkey Company presented themselves . . . to represent the injury done them by the delay over the matter of the ship taken by Tripoli pirates. Cromwell gave them fair words and promised that at the next meeting of the Council the affair should be despatched, intimating that it would be fair to get ships of war to guard the trade in the Straits, as Gibraltar, as

Nor did he forget, incidentally, to express to the merchants who had applied to him for redress a desire to have some Arabian horses sent to him to furnish England with a breed of that kind or to improve the English stock.<sup>211</sup>

The blame was not only on one side. This complaint may refer to the *Resolution*, but it appears that there was also a Captain William Ellis, "who, having at Alexandria contracted for carrying the Grand Signior's goods to Constantinople, ran away with them to Leghorn, to the great shame and scandal of the English, and disparagement of our ships," as the Levant Company complained. That complaint was promptly attended to, for it appears that the Protector wrote at once "to the Grand Signior of the care we are taking to do him justice, and punish the offender," renewed "his promise to send some ships to guard the trade in the Straits,"<sup>212</sup> though "somewhat too late"

<sup>207</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 11/21, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 110, *Merc. Pol.*, Sept. 3-10.

<sup>208</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 110.

<sup>209</sup> Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 163.

<sup>210</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 11/21, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 110.

<sup>211</sup> Ellis to Cromwell, Sept. 11/21, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 110.

<sup>212</sup> Cromwell to Grand Signior, Sept. 11/21, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 110.



sent—or at least promised to send—"some ships of war . . . to protect the trade,"<sup>213</sup> and wrote to Longland, the English resident at Leghorn,<sup>214</sup> and to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in regard to the recreant Ellis

*To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand, Great Duke of Tuscany*

MOST SERENE GREAT DUKE, OUR DEAREST FRIEND

The company of our merchants trading to the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean sea, by their petition to us, have set forth, that William Ellis, master of a ship called the *Little Lewis*, being at Alexandria in Egypt, was hired by the Basha of Memphis, to carry rice, sugar, and coffee, to Smyrna, for the use of the Grand Signior, but . . . promise given, [in the course of the voyage] he bore away privately from the Ottoman fleet, and . . . lading to Leghorn, where now he lives in possession . . . villanous act being of dangerous example, as exposing the Christian name to scandal, and the fortunes of our merchants living under the Turks to violence and ransac; we therefore make it our request to your highness, that you will give command, that the said master be apprehended and imprisoned, and that the vessel and goods may remain under seizure, till we shall have given notice of our care for the restitution of those goods to the sultan: assuring your highness of our readiness to make suitable returns of gratitude, whenever opportunity presents itself From our court at Westminster, September [c. 9], 1657.

Your highness's most affectionate,

OLIVER, P.<sup>215</sup>

The action taken in regard to Ellis is a good example of the care shown by the Protectoral government for English interests abroad. It was not only direct and extensive in its operation but, what was perhaps even more important, it was prompt. It was due in part to the natural concern for English prestige abroad; but it was not uninfluenced by the fact that the government needed the support of the City commercial interests, which had, for the most part, been on its side, which had contributed so largely to the success of the revolutionary movement, and which were absolutely essential to its continuance in power. As the person of the intermediary, Mr. Martin Noel, witnessed, the connection between the government and the merchants was close and profitable to both sides to an even greater degree than in the period before and after the Protectorate.

The news which began to come in from the far-flung interests of the Protectoral administration gave some indication of its interests

<sup>213</sup> Levant Company to Spencer Bretton, consul at Smyrna, *ibid.*, p. 96

<sup>214</sup> Levant Company to Longland, Leghorn, *ibid.*, p. 97

<sup>215</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, . . . no. 100; cp. Masson, v, 372 (summary), and *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 190

and fortunes. On September 7 Buckingham married Mary Fairfax to the great displeasure of the Protector who knew the fickle and treacherous character of the Duke too well to approve of his connection with General Fairfax, the most popular character in the army. Cromwell himself expressed his disapproval of the Duke's marriage. When the news of the wedding reached London, he despatched a troop of horse to Fairfax's house at Nun Appleton, near York, to seize Buckingham and take him to Jersey as a prisoner. Fairfax assured the soldiers that the Duke and his bride were not there and made his preparations to go to London to lay the case before Cromwell<sup>216</sup> and try to prove that his new son-in-law was "a better man then the world tooke him to be,"<sup>217</sup> which was unfortunately not precisely the fact, though Fairfax might have hoped so. In any event the marriage was a serious blow to Cromwell's power.

It was in part compensated for by other information. Maynard reported that the West Indies were near insurrection and that even the common people in Spain clamored for peace with England.<sup>218</sup> From the West Indies Doyley was writing to the Protector of Brayne's death and his own appointment to Brayne's post, but requested release from the command and recommended Colonel Barrington, "who is allied to your Highness," as a proper person for the undesirable position.<sup>219</sup> On the other hand, Turenne wrote the Protector that he was sending M. Philippe Talon, intendant of the French army, "to inquire into the affairs of the English in Dunkirk to blockade it on the land side while Montagu does the same from the sea, also firing some shots at the fort of Mardich, which is only a league from Dunkirk." Talon arrived the night of Sunday, September 13, and was "at once received by the Protector and an express was sent forthwith to fetch the Ambassador Bordeos, who was staying in the country some miles from London."<sup>220</sup> It was apparently about this time that the new Swedish envoy, Friesendorff, began to try to carry out his instructions, which, though he did not confide them to the English authorities in their entirety, were of far-reaching consequence. Those instructions, dated at Wedell on the Elbe, as of August 3, 1657, contemplated the acquisition of East Friesland,

<sup>216</sup> Whitelocke, p. 665, gives the date of the marriage as Sept. 24, Firth, *Last Years*, II, 56-57, Lady Burghclere, *Buckingham*, pp. 91ff. The matter was complicated by the fact that Cromwell, like Fairfax, was in possession of some of Buckingham's estates.

<sup>217</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Oct. 27, Thurloe, VI, 580.

<sup>218</sup> Maynard to Thurloe, Sept. 7/17, *ibid.*, pp. 501-2.

<sup>219</sup> Doyley to Cromwell, Sept. 12, *ibid.*, p. 512.

<sup>220</sup> Turenne to Cromwell, Sept. 11/21, *ibid.*, p. 510, Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 18/28, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), pp. 111-12.

Munster and as much of the Westphalian circle as the Protector could occupy and hold with his troops, and, if he desired to attack Danzig or even Austria, with the aid of Sweden, he might be given also the fortified post of Weichselmunde near Danzig, with a part of Pomerellen. This was a tempting bait, if Cromwell desired a foothold in Germany, though Charles would have preferred English aid for an attack on Denmark and offered North Jutland and adjoining territories, even positions on the Elbe and the Weser, if Friesendorff could not gain English assistance without such great concessions, including free passage through the Sound. If the Protector would not join in the conquest of Denmark, the Swedish envoy was instructed to fall back on the old plan of an attack on Austria, with some suggestion of an alliance between Sweden, England, France and Portugal, with possibly the inclusion of the Netherlands. As usual, Cromwell hesitated, delayed and evaded any definite commitment in such a comprehensive plan, and there seems to be no evidence that he ever seriously considered such far-reaching operations. There is, in fact, every reason to believe that, apart from any question of international morality, it was not probable that, with a war with Spain on his hands, with a treasury always at the point of bankruptcy, and with active military and naval operations going on in Flanders, he could commit himself to such a grandiose design. To be asked to send a fleet into the Baltic, to contribute subsidies and to relieve Gothenburg, which was then besieged by a Danish fleet, while at the same time continuing with his adventure in Flanders, was too much to ask from a government as harassed as his was both at home and abroad; and whatever his utterances to the foreign envoys, especially to the Swedes, there seems no reason to believe that he ever seriously considered re-enacting the part of Gustavus Adolphus, to which Charles X Gustavus' proposals would more or less have committed him. It is probable, that he felt he had as much on his hands as it was possible for him to manage. To accede to Charles' proposals would almost certainly have made a breach with the Netherlands, which were on the side of Denmark, and that was opposed to all of the Protector's policy. It was, then, under such circumstances that Jephson and Meadows were sent out on their missions to Sweden and Denmark, and at the same time Downing was despatched to the Netherlands to mediate between the Dutch and the Portuguese who meanwhile had become embroiled in a commercial war. All in all, the outlook for a great Protestant alliance was far from promising and Friesendorff's mission was virtually hopeless from the start. It remained to be seen whether Jephson and Meadows would be able to bring the Protestant Baltic powers to some kind of agreement.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>221</sup> See G. Jones, *Dipl. Relations*, pp. 55ff., and Bowman, *Protestant Interest*, pp. 67ff.

For the moment the Protector had enough to do to handle the situation in France and Flanders. On Monday evening, September 14, according to the inquisitive Giavarina, he gave an audience to Bordeaux who had returned to London, another on the next morning and still another on Wednesday after dinner at which Reynolds and Talon were also present.<sup>222</sup> . . . . . Dunkirk was about to begin . . . . . it was proposed to send some more English infantry to reinforce the English expeditionary force As Bordeaux wrote to Turenne,

Talon has come to ask, on behalf of Turenne, 4,000 men and munitions of war to undertake the attack on Mardyke General Reynolds,<sup>223</sup> who crossed the water with him, having made the first move and seen the Protector at Hampton Court . . . . . went to present . . . . . and memorial of necessary things without . . . . . That was given the next morning and having returned . . . . . ceive it, we only examined the map of the coast and the advantages which this region would . . . . .

declared that the proposition was quite satisfactory and at the same time that the detachment which was to be made for the service of Sweden of two regiments of old troops was delayed. The Protector seemed to us to be like his discourses, quite inclined to take advantage of the occasion Nevertheless I found him yesterday completely changed in the character of his face and in his discourses He recapitulated to me all he had said to me since the army of the king had moved from the sea-coast, touching on the non-execution of the last treaty, saying quite openly that, although he for his part was satisfied, we did not make use of it; that we thought rather of taking Cambrai, that the enterprise having failed, we had moved our forces before Montmédy and attacked Saint-Venant; all these sieges having put our army in no position to . . . . .

unable to save itself without great cost; that his other designs did not allow . . . . .

had incurred during this campaign, keeping a fleet always in readiness, besides that the treaty obliged the king to furnish what was demanded of him, and finally that his Council did not think it opportune for him to depart from the treaty. This discourse, in quite plaintive terms, obliged me to review all the considerations which prevented his Majesty's army from attacking toward the sea . . . The end of this conversation was that he would not fail

<sup>222</sup> C . . . . .

<sup>223</sup> J

came over in person and that he was heard to say that it was a woman that brought him here This gentleman, shortly before his departure, was engaged to a daughter of Sir Francis Russell, whose other daughter is married to Lord Henry Cromwell." (Nieupoort to de Witt, Sept 18/28, De Witt, *Brieven*, III, 429)

to continue in his good feeling for France nor to give her on all occasions all the assistance in his power, and an offer of some cannon which an artillery commissary in the king's army had seen in the English admiralty. Not seeing that he offered men, M. Talon, who was present at the audience, assured him immediately that he had taken express order to the army to come near the sea-coast, that this was the intention of his Majesty. So I left him with an expression a little more satisfied than it had appeared at first.<sup>224</sup>

This, with much more detail, Bordeaux communicated to the French minister, but it seems apparent that he felt the general impression left on the Protector by the apparently dilatory tactics of Turenne was most unfortunate; and he adds "His coolness surprises me still more when I recall the offers made to me by the Secretary of State of all the forces of England to further our designs on the places on the sea and the reputation which the acquisition of a place in Flanders would give him, the importance of which I did not forget to exaggerate."<sup>225</sup> In any event the conference had definite and immediate results. The Protector ordered Montagu to take all necessary preparation for an attack on Mardyke;<sup>226</sup> and by the 19th, the day on which Talon took his leave, another brigade of veteran troops was ordered to be sent to Flanders.<sup>227</sup>

With this came signs of renewed activity in every direction. The Council met four times, the Protector being present on Thursday and Friday, but the business of which there is record was insignificant,<sup>228</sup> though it seems apparent that the most important part of its activities and discussions, here as elsewhere, were not put into its minutes. It appears, however, that some of it was connected with Scotland, at least in point of time, for it was reported that on the 16th Thurloe and Colonel Jones consulted with the Protector about "that instruction to be sent to the Council"—possibly the one of September 9—whatever it was, something to which they were apparently opposed and which would therefore probably not pass as those two "have more of the Protector's ear than any other." The election of the magistrates of Glasgow Cromwell had ordered deferred "until he shall be more fully informed in this particular,"<sup>229</sup> partly on account

surrender his pension and a Council order for £200 "in discharge" of £100 a year—but appears to have been refused. (Cromwell, *op. cit.*, 9, p. 242)

<sup>229</sup> (Cromwell, *op. cit.*, 9, p. 242) *Memorabilia of Oliver Cromwell*, Glasgow (1588-1750), pp. 110-11. On Sept. 16 Samuel D'Arbigny, the commissioned keeper of the

of Gillespie's "ambitious interference,"<sup>280</sup> certainly without Monk's approval, for that commander expressed himself forcibly to the effect that "your highness would bee pleased not to signe either this or any other paper of the like nature to Glasgow or any other citty or burgh within this nation"<sup>281</sup>

The affairs of Scotland bulked large in the activities of the Protector and Council at this time, too large, certainly, in the opinion of Monk who added to his protest, "I should humbly advise, they may bee left to the free election of their fellow-burgesses rather than your highness should by command, or otherwise, in the least interpose therein."<sup>232</sup> The insistence of the Scottish officials was, however, bearing fruit, for on September 17, the Protector wrote to Monk, or possibly to the Council in Scotland, to order

to him as lord of the sessions, and clerke of the registers during the time he served in those places", with the latter "for his arrears as secretary to the council of both kingdoms" and "for the arrears of his pension, as master of requests"<sup>223</sup>

This seems to be connected with an effort to put Scottish financial affairs in some sort of order, as the civil list was presented to the Council in Scotland some time shortly before this.<sup>224</sup>

of many such, came at this moment

### *Presentation to a Sussex Living*

[Substance only]

Letters Patent of Oliver, Protector, presenting William Martin, clerk, to the Parish Church of S Andrew, Chichester, with the Parish Church of S Peter the Lesse, Pancrasse and S. Martyn, lately united by an Ordinance of His Highness the Protector<sup>256</sup>

Sept. 16, 1657

<sup>210</sup> G MacGregor, *Hist of Glasgow* (1881), p 237

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1. 9.

670-71

<sup>114</sup> Monk recommended Sir James McDowall as Judge of Admiralty (Monk to Thurlow, Sept. 15, *ibid.*, p. 517).

<sup>221</sup> *Lambeth Palace Mss* 945, no 19, cal in *Sussex Arch Coll* 33 (1883), 269. Martin was ejected in 1662. He was admitted Sept 23, 1657 (*ibid*, p 216). No signature.

*To the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers*

OLIVER P

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging to the Commissioners authorized by the Ordinance for Approbation of Public Preachers or any Five of them Grete Salutatione in Everlasting Remembrance that the Church of Gawceworth in the County of Chester now void by the relinquishment of Mr. Henry Newcome, the last incumbent, and to Our Presentation devolved by lapse to the end he may be approved of by them and admitted thereunto with all its rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever according to the tenor of the aforesaid ordinance. Given at Whitehall the eighteenth day of September 1657.<sup>238</sup>

William Povey of the office comprised the sum of the lesser activities which mingled with the greater affairs now pressing on Protector and Council in this month of September, 1657

Among those greater affairs of state, the arrival of Meadows in Denmark and his success in obtaining Frederick III's acceptance of Cromwell's mediation with Sweden was not the least important.<sup>239</sup> The most noteworthy business of the Council, which met five times in this week of September 21-28<sup>239</sup> was probably the matter of the Flanders campaign, sending over provisions and even coals for the army's use.<sup>240</sup> Three hoys were ready to sail, and the authorities were advised that

His Highness, understanding that the same war ship is appointed to convoy these and all the rest of the navy and which are not yet ready fears it may be too late to send it. He therefore desires you, if you possibly can, to appoint another convoy for those not yet ready, and let this sail away with those that come first.<sup>241</sup>

It is evident from this and like testimony that Cromwell was impatient at the delay in the operations on the Continent and wished to hurry them up by every means in his power. So far as Mardyke was concerned, his instructions came too late, for the place was taken on

<sup>238</sup> *Lambeth Palace MSS.* vol. no. 20. Cromwell's presentation to livings in *Lambeth MSS.* 945 to 1000. The nature, others not.

<sup>239</sup> It seems to be no other record of it. *Ibid.*, vi, 533, Frederick III's answer (in Latin), *ibid.*, p. 515.

<sup>240</sup> *Cal S P* 1657, for their other business, chiefly a Whitehall Sept. 30, finishing up the business of the commrs for public faith, with approval of orders.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>242</sup> Thurloe to Adm. Commrs, Sept. 22, *ibid.*, p. 107.

the 24th after only a few days' siege. That there was much conceit and new activity, however, was evident from the fact that on the day before the surrender of Mardyke Lockhart arrived suddenly from Metz; and Reynolds left before dawn that same day, having succeeded in getting the supplies ordered by the Council for Turenne and the English contingent.<sup>242</sup> Moreover the German engineer, Joachim Hane, who had earlier served as an intelligence agent for Cromwell in France and as a fortification expert in Scotland, was sent over "to superintend the works which they propose to erect there," though in fact all he accomplished was to survey the state of the works and report back to the Protector.<sup>243</sup> None the less this sudden activity after so long a delay in arriving at the English objective, Dunkirk, indicated that there was to be a real effort to take the place Turenne had immediately handed Mardyke over to the English, which, Bordeaux reported, greatly gratified the Protector.<sup>244</sup> But there, for the moment, the matter rested. Mardyke itself was of small military importance, save for the fact that it commanded a good harbor. Cromwell wished an immediate attack on Dunkirk, without which Mardyke would be hard to hold, and even offered to send over 5,000 regular troops if Turenne would attempt Dunkirk. But Turenne preferred to attack Gravelines first, leaving Mardyke in charge of a small English force, which was attacked almost at once by Don John,

Charles II and his brother James but failed. Turenne hastened to relieve. The fact was that, apart from the divergent interests of the French and English, there was a profound difference of opinion between Turenne and Cromwell on how to conduct a campaign, and that led to constant misunderstandings—to call them by no harsher name—and to a feeling on the Protector's part that he was being made the victim of bad faith.

In the midst of this activity in regard to the Dunkirk-Mardyke enterprise, he was interrupted by an irritating incident respecting the new charter for the East India Company. Though it had passed the Council and "although he has put the Privy Seal to it," it was objected to by Fiennes in the name of the Commissioners of the Broad—or Great—Seal, and the Court of the East India Company "opines that his Highness must be told of this, as the time is passing and the Company may be blamed if they 'sitt still and loose this yeere.'" In

<sup>242</sup> *Merc Pol*, Sept. 17-24, Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 25/Oct. 5, *Cal S P Ven.* (1657-9), p. 115.

<sup>243</sup> Same to same, Oct. 16/26, *ibid*, p. 122. Giavarina may possibly refer to Denohson who was sent by C. about Oct. 2, as per his letter of that date to Montagu, but F. vi, -47)

<sup>244</sup> Bordeaux to Brienne, Oct. 1/11, Guizot, *Cromwell*, II, 494.





full and ample power and authority and commission to affixe and hold Courte at such place and places as he or they shall judge most convenient for the ease of the people, and to exercise and discharge the place, office, and jurisdiction of Commissary within the shire, stewarty and limitts aforesaid, for proving of wills and testaments, granting administrations and executries thereupon, and administrating justice to the people in all cases proper, usuall, and competent for a Commissary or Commissaries to doe, and that as amply, fully, and freely as any person or persons formerly exercising the

commodities justly arising and belonging to the said office or offices, for doing, acting, and performing wherof, and of every part of the premisses, this our present commission shalbe authority and power sufficient to all intente and purposes And we doe, in like manner, impower and authorize the said William Rosse to nominate Deputy or Deputyes, Clarke or Clarkes, and all other officers necessary, for whom he shall be answerable, and to remove them or any of them [from their offices] to place other in their roomes, prohibit person and persons whatsoever, other then shalbe by him authorized and appointed, to exercise the office of Commissary or Commissaries within the shire, stewarty and limitts afforesaid, from and after the first day of November, in this present yeare of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and fifty seven, to the end that from and after that tyme the said William Rosse, or such as he shall authorize and appoint, may enter into the exercise of the said office, and have right to the benefitt and proffitt theirunto belonging, and that for all the dayes and yeares of his life. And we require and appoint our Commissioners of Exchequer in Scotland to passe this our Grant and Commission under the Great Seale of Scotland in common form *per saltum*, for which this shall be their warrant

Given under our hand att Whitehall, the 22th September 1657.

OLIVER P<sup>247</sup>

*To the most Serene Prince, the Lord Frederic-William, Marquis of Brandenburg, etc*

MOST SERENE PRINCE, OUR MOST DEAR FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE

By other letters to your highness, either already or shortly to be delivered by our ambassador William Jepson, we have imparted the substance of our embassy to your highness, which we could not do without some mention of will Nevertheless, th over your transcending deservings of the protestant interests which are spoken of with highest commendation; we thought it proper to resume the same subject, and pay our respect and veneration, not more willingly, or with a greater fervency of mind, but somewhat more at large to your highness and truly most deservedly, when daily information reaches our ears, that your faith and conscience, by all manner of artifices tempted, by devices solicited, yet cannot be shaken, or by any violence be rent from your friend-

<sup>247</sup> Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp 365-66.

to that condition, that in adhering to their alliance, it is manifest, that your highness rather consults the common cause of the reformed religion, than your own advantage. And when your highness is almost surrounded and besieged by enemies either privately lurking, or almost at your gates, although your forces are valiant yet they are not considerable; yet such is your constancy and resolution of mind, such your conduct and prowess becoming a great general, that the burthen and massy bulk of the whole affair, depend upon your sole determination. Wherefore your highness has no reason to question, but that you may rely upon our friendship and unfeigned affection, who should think ourselves worthy to be forsaken of all men's good work, should we seem careless in the least of your unblemished fidelity, your constancy, and the rest of your applauded virtues, or should we pay less respect to your highness upon the common score of religion. As to those matters propounded by the most reverend Frederic Schlezer, your counsellor and agent here, we could not return an answer, such as we desired to do, though with all

nothing which we account more sacred, or more earnestly desire, than to be as much as possible serviceable and assisting to your interests, so bound up with the cause of religion. In the mean time we beseech the God of mercy and power, that so signal a prowess and fortitude may never languish or be oppressed, nor be deprived the fruit and due applause. From our court at Westminster, September [23], 1657

Your highness's most affectionate,

OLIVER, P.<sup>24</sup>

*Wariston's conference with the Protector, Sept 25, 1657*

I got acces to the Protector and he spak to me how our busines stack with him, tho he thought the Remonstrators ever contending for the power of godlynesse and uthers for the forme, yet he thought the course taken not indifferent nor healing but wydening differences. He spak of moderat men as they better nor us, tho they differd from them from the Counsel which should haive an oversight of thes things, tho it would be called a depending of the Church on the State, which in sum things should be. He would look to the constitution of the Counsel. He inclyned to send some moderat ministers from this to aprove and eject ministers and agree differences. He spak of our lists given in without M Dikson or M Douglas. I told wee had given in none, that was his awen ordinance 1654, and no desyre of ours, but our ouverture was for joynt comitees, and of our desyres with the President to be comunicated to his highnesse and his Counsel, and earnestly desyred him to peruse them. I told how the godly men of both jugments was against Commissions from the magistr[at]es and that stopped the execu-

<sup>24</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 436-37, with additions and corrections from Latin in Columbia *Milton*, no 101, Masson, v, 371 (summary and part trans.), *Urk u Aetensk.*, vii, 782 (dated there as above).

such promising expressions

I thanked him for giving me the trust my predecessors had. When I spak of my publik debt tho it had 3[2] blanks, he sayd he behooved to advyse it with the Counsel and speak with Mr Secretary. I was both heavy and glayd after this parting, heavy that I fand my Lords temper alienated from what it was to us, and glayd that I got my leave to goe hom. He bad me be faythful in my particular trust and prayed the Lord to send me a good journey. . . I observe that a Scots post and parcel cam to the Protector afor I got acces .<sup>249</sup>

Wariston had every reason to congratulate himself on his persistence, for on September 26, the day following his audience, the Protector issued this

*Warrant to Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston*

[Substance only]

OLIVER P.

A warrant appointing Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston  
" . . . Clerk R . . . "

In other respects Wariston was not so fortunate, for, as he noted in his *Diary*, he received "the tuo Commissions for Exchequer and Session but without salaryes"<sup>250</sup> Nor was the Elect probably more cheered by expressions of esteem, nor promise him any material assistance but called attention to the fact that his forces were not considerable enough to meet the demands of the situation in which he found himself. Of them all probably Hodges and Ross were the only gainers by these various documents, and their rewards, it may be noted, did not come out of the Protectoral exchequer, which, as he took pains to point out to those who sought his aid, was not in a condition to disburse funds for continental war, however much he expressed interest and concern for the cause of Protestantism.

He was, in fact, quite naturally, far more interested and concerned with the event of the capture of Mardyke and Dunkirk than in these distant enterprises which could be of little or no advantage to England. Bordeaux was informed at once of the capture of Mardyke by the Protector and hastened to an audience to congratulate him. As he wrote to Brienne:

<sup>249</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 98-99.

<sup>250</sup> In *H. M. General Register House MSS*, Edinburgh, State Papers, 243; cal. in Henfrey, *Nums Crom*, p. 194.

<sup>251</sup> Wariston, *Diary*, III, 100.

The news which he sent me by one of the gentlemen of his chamber, of the capture of Mardyke, as soon as he had learned of it, made me want to see him to congratulate him on this acquisition and at the same time to inform him of the king's desire that his army might execute the last treaty before the end of the summer with signs of complete satisfaction and confidence in the sincerity of the promises of his Majesty, and, without going into the matter farther, he started teasing one of the ministers of the Council, who acted as interpreter for him, reproaching him that, as a pensionary of the States General, he was very much distressed by the capture of Mardyke. We spoke then of the situation of the place, of the ease of defending it since Spain had no naval forces, of the number of men it would be necessary to put in garrison, and of the small expense it would cost to maintain it. He did not mention any more that he might be desired to go to the States General to let him know about it, offering to communicate to me what was told him.<sup>253</sup>

To this Giavarina added that commissioners had been appointed to meet with the Portuguese ambassador, Mello, who brought a request for troops and supplies, which would probably be granted, though money was first needed for collecting the troops. In return for such assistance, he reported, the English wanted a port for shelter in the winter, which would probably be allowed them though it was unlikely that the Portuguese "would willingly leave one in their hands as the English are too dangerous once they set foot anywhere." The Danish resident, Simon de Petkum, he said, was complaining of the search of every Danish vessel which entered the Thames, "but he cannot get his complaints carried to the ears of the Protector, being prevented from conferring with the secretary of state under various pretexts." But Giavarina's chief grievance was the treatment of the Catholics who were "groaning under the last cruel act," the sole object of which, he said, was to raise money. As a result "some of the leading gentlemen, in the name of all the other Catholics, have recently offered the Protector 50,000*l* sterling that the execution of this act may be suspended, but as Cromwell demands 80,000*l* the Papists will have to meet together to see if their strength is equal to furnishing so large an amount."<sup>254</sup> What truth, if any, lies in the Venetian's report it is impossible to say, though he no doubt repeated the story as it was told to him by English Catholics, but there is no doubt of two things—the one was that the Protector needed the money, the other is that the Act against the Catholics, which Cromwell himself

<sup>253</sup> Bordeaux to Brienne, Oct. 1/11, Guizot, *Cromwell*, II, 494-95.

<sup>254</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Sept. 25/Oct. 5, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 116.

seems personally not to have favored, was embarrassing to him in his foreign relations, especially with France. However exaggerated these stories may be, however little we know, or ever can know, of the underground negotiations which went on, there are too many hints of such transactions to ignore them altogether. The government was hard-pressed for money; many of its members had been enriched by the plunder of the Royalists; and wherever one probes beneath the surface he finds a certain element of uncertainty as to whether there may not have been some truth in these many hints, not exactly of corruption but of a certain laxity of conscience in the conduct of business with the revolutionary government and many of its members. It is, one may say, merely the custom of that time—perhaps of all times—but whatever one may expect in such a period as, let us say, that of the Restoration, the many hints of money from the Jews, from the Catholics, from the East India Company, and from other sources, come as a surprise, if not a shock, in connection with the government of the “godly.” Yet it must be remembered that this government, after all, was that of a revolutionary party, that its chief revenue was derived from the plunder of its opponents, and that such periods and such governments always lend themselves to such practices

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## CHAPTER XII

### THE RECESS

#### II CREATION OF THE "OTHER HOUSE"

SEPTEMBER 26, 1657-JANUARY 20, 1657-8

Among the many problems which pressed upon the Protectoral government in the autumn of 1657 not the least was that raised by Parliament's recent legislation against the Roman Catholics. It had been ordered that all Catholics in Ireland should be expelled from the country by the first of January 1658. Some time in the last week of September Hurloe received orders to prepare plans for the long delayed settlement of that unhappy island. The thorny problem of its settlement had been attacked by the so-called "Act of Satisfaction" of 1653, which endeavored to meet the demands of the original Adventurers, who had advanced money for the redemption of the rebellion of 1641, and of the soldiers, a large number of whose pay had been provided for, in theory at least, by distribution of lands confiscated from its Irish proprietors. Though these had been ordered to transplant themselves to Connaught, it was naturally impossible to transplant the rest of the island to that province, and no less impossible to find enough land in the other three provinces to satisfy the claims of the Adventurers and the army. By the end of September that army had been disbanded, by the middle of October the survey had finished his great survey of Irish lands, and by the end of that year many of the disbanded troops had begun to take possession of the properties assigned them.

In consequence the Irish problem had changed its character. There had been established an English party and interest in Ireland, which found representation in Parliament under the terms of the *Instrument*. Henry Cromwell, who replaced Fleetwood in fact, though not in title, in September, 1655, was inclined to milder measures than his brother-in-law, and complained not only of the opposition of Fleetwood's partisans and the severity of Parliament's anti-Catholic legislation, but of his father's letter ordering that payment of quit-rents for the old proprietors and the soldiers be suspended, on the ground that this would wreck Irish finances. The anti-Catholic legislation, he wrote, in connection with the scheme of transplantation, had

moved the Irish to sell their cattle and buy horses, either to flee or of the quit-rents would reduce the income of could not, in fact, meet the expenses of ad-

those of David and his recreant son Absalom, whom Brayfield identified with Henry and so pinned upon the young Deputy that name which was more effective than all the arguments brought against Henry's rule<sup>1</sup>

It was small wonder that, in view of the Scotch and Irish situations, the new activity in the Baltic lands, the attack on Dunkirk, and like entanglements, Protector and Council were unusually busy at this moment. This Giavarina attributed to Lockhart's brief visit to London, noting that the Protector had been too occupied even to give audiences to foreign envoys, who had been waiting for some weeks;<sup>2</sup> but it is evident that it was not Lockhart's visit alone which kept him so busy. There were three Council meetings during this week of September 28, the last on Saturday at the Protector's lodgings, and he was present at the second and third meetings,<sup>3</sup> though as usual the minutes of the Council do not reveal what were probably its most important activities. There is some clue, however, in the documents of the time. Besides certain warrants,<sup>4</sup> he sent a letter to the governor of Mardyke, Colonel Samuel Clarke,<sup>5</sup> two orders to the Admiralty Commissioners; a letter to Montagu and a letter to Venice:

#### *To the Admiralty Commissioners*

proportion as they are able, putting all hands to work that can be had for the dispatch thereof, and as any considerable number can be ready, you are to

<sup>1</sup> For this extremely complicated and difficult situation see Thurloe, vi, 505, 526-

Petty, *Hist. of the Cromwellian Survey of Ireland* (ed. 1 A. Lacom, Dublin, 1851), Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cromwellian Documents*, vol. 1, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> One (unidentifiable) cal. in 1889 cat. of 1808 Birch's Sons. Cp. *Suffolk Deeds*, iii,

the Oak Tree which they intend to send to the plantations in the West Indies and Virginia.

<sup>5</sup> Mentioned in letter to Montagu, *infra*.



provide vessels and send them to General Montague before that fort, and the Ordnance officers are to assist herein as there shall be need.

Whitehall

September 28, 1657

[OLIVER P.]<sup>6</sup>

*For General Montagu, on board the London, before Dunkirk. These*

SIR,

This bearer, Christian Denokson, I have sent to you, being a very good artist, especially in wooden works,—to view the Great Fort and the Wooden Fort, in order to the further strengthening of them.

upon his return I may have a very particular account about what is fit to be done, and what timber will be necessary to be provided. I have written also to Colonel Clerke, the Governor of the Fort, about it. I pray, when he has finished his view, that you will hasten him back.

I rest,

Whitehall, 2d October 1657.

Your very affectionate friend,

OLIVER P.<sup>7</sup>

*To the Doge and Senate of Venice*

MOST SERENE DOGE AND SENATE

It is very wise to send an equipped fleet to the coasts of the . . . or repressing pirates and for protecting our naval interests and tradesmen, and to appoint to the command of the fleet . . . faith and

Serene Commonwealth ought to be informed in behalf of him, who is attending . . . your Serene Highness and Senate will kindly grant the fleet in all the ports of

<sup>6</sup> In Thurloe's handwriting *Col & P Dom* (1657-8) is the form *& P Dom* also 104 C . . . rection under his Highness's own hand" in accordance with which he had sent to Marylande "96 carpenters and others, laden 5 vessels (hoys and barges) with pallsadoes, timber, deals, etc." (*Col & P Dom* 1657-8 n. 16.)

<sup>7</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, . . . Signature only in C's hand, "very shaky" (Carlyle's note). Carlyle notes Denokson as "clearly some Dutch Vauban" and disclaims any knowledge of Clarke. Giavarina, however, wrote that the Protector had "personally engaged" and sent a German general . . .

carpenters and other workmen, who were followed . . . timber and other material" (*Cal & P Ven.* (1657-9), pp. 121-22.) Though Giavarina may not have known it, by the time he wrote Hane had returned. "Denokson" gives the impression that this man's name was roughly "Dennigson" or some such German, Dutch . . .

the Venetian dominion the opportunity whether of safely and freely calling, of weighing anchor and departing, or of holding fast anywhere for the time being, and will aid the fleet by whatever means possible, if the fleet or any ship of its number should either be carried out of its course by the violence of a storm into any places of your dominion or [should cast anchor] for refitting ship or for contrivance, and if it should land voluntarily for other things which are needed by a fleet of its class, things which should be supplied and purchased at a just price. Meanwhile we desire all things to be favorable and prosperous at home and in war for your Highness and the Serene Commonwealth.

Given from our palace of Westminster on the second of October, in the year 1657

Your good friend,  
OLIVER P.<sup>8</sup>

*To the Commissioners of the Admiralty*

These are to will and require you forthwith to fit and prepare the ships contained in the list or others of the same quality within written so as they may be fit to go to sea with three months victuals at least within 14 days at furthest. Given at Whitehall this 3<sup>d</sup> of October 1657

OLIVER P.<sup>9</sup>

... these various documents, none of them especially important in itself, that in spite of the insignificant records of the meetings of the Privy Council, a long period of comparative quiet was coming to an end. There was a prospect of action and, as usual, Cromwell rose to it. On Tuesday, Whitelocke recorded, "the Protector discoursed with much pleasure with me about the taking of Mardyke."<sup>10</sup> There were those, indeed, who regarded the easy capture of that place as due less to military than to financial measures. "those who pretend to know the truth maintain that Mardyke has been bought by the Protector for a small sum in sterling. Appearances do indeed indicate that there was some arrangement with the governors, . . . it is hard to believe that so important a post, defended by no insignificant force of troops . . .

<sup>8</sup> Latin original, countersigned by Thurloe, is the Venetian Archives, Collegio Secreta, Lettere, Principi, and printed in *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 119.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also *Diary of John Thurloe*. The enclosed "list of 20 ships" also specifies the

60-320  
50 guns, 260 men, *Essex*, 46-  
8-170, *Maidstone*,  *Foresight*, *Princess Maria*,  
each 36-160, *Tiger*, *Elizabeth*, *Dragon*, *Elias*, each 34-150, *Half Moon* and  
*Expedition*, each 30-130

5th rate: *Colchester*, 22-100.

Total 816 guns, 3960 men

<sup>10</sup> Whitelocke, p. 665.

should throw itself into the hands of the enemy the moment they appear, unless there was some previous arrangement."<sup>11</sup> If there had been some such arrangement, it would not have been surprising to those who recalled some of Cromwell's earlier activities, especially in Ireland and Scotland; but the fact was none the less that Mardyke was not an easy place to hold; that the defenders consisted of no more than 400 men and, Turenne reported, 242 officers;<sup>12</sup> and that Turenne had at his command an overwhelming force.

This, of course, was the great news of the moment, but the Protector's activities were not wholly confined to military and naval affairs. On September 30 he sent a message to his son Henry or the Irish Council that he "thought fit to let the members of Council know that William Montgomery should have . . . one full moiety of all lands, goods, debts," *etc.*, which had belonged to Montgomery's late father who had been killed by pirates in 1651/2,<sup>13</sup> and Thurloe appealed to Henry on behalf of Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Master of Magdalen College, Oxford, who wished to finish several books, so that the Protector desired a place worth £150 a year leased to him to assist him in his scholarly or polemical work.<sup>14</sup>

The capture of Mardyke was important less for the place itself than for the possession of the harbor which it commanded. The ubiquitous Giavarina reported that

The people do not manifest much gladness because they do not love Cromwell, except by force, and every one, even those who have a hand in secret affairs of state, says it is impossible to conceive the motive which has induced the French to allow the English to establish a footing on that side of the water. The English mean to fortify themselves in that post, and they are certain to do it so that it will need something to turn them out, as it concerns them too much to secure their stay.

They do not appear to be in a hurry to leave the moment, . . . They are content to remain here for the present, and to enjoy the great advantage as affording shelter for their ships exposed to the seas outside, while the current will allow them to come right up to Dunkirk to bring their guns to bear and enabling them to prevent craft of any kind from going in or out, to bring succour or anything else to the place.<sup>15</sup>

It was, in fact, difficult for many persons even at that time to see why the Protector had so set his heart upon possessing a bridge-head on the Continent, whether Mardyke, Dunkirk or the various places he had considered in France and Germany. Of his advisers many

<sup>11</sup> Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Sept. 29, Thurloe, vi, 539, p. 117.

<sup>12</sup>

<sup>13</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Sept. 29, Thurloe, vi, 539.

<sup>15</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Oct. 2/12, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 117.

were opposed to such a plan. Henry Cromwell seems not to have  
 . . . to avoid taking com-  
 . . . Cromwell nourished some  
 design of actually taking part in continental wars and politics, it is  
 . . . of the charge of treason which brought Clarendon's fall, Mardyke  
 and Dunkirk were actually never of any advantage to England, save  
 as tokens of conquest, and though the capture of Gibraltar, which  
 . . . generals, would have been, as it proved, of far more advantage, it seems  
 not to have been seriously considered by the Protector.

any rate he went on with his designs in the North Sea and Baltic regions. Barckman, who had left early in August, was back with letters for the Protector but was not able to present them, "access to his Highness being impeded owing to the important affairs which keep him busy at all hours in the Council"<sup>16</sup> At the same moment at Wismar in Pomerania, Jephson was delivering to Charles X Gustavus the draft of the Anglo-Swedish treaty,<sup>17</sup> and thus far matters seemed to be arranging themselves peaceably enough. But Talon instructed Bordeaux to notify the Protector that the Dutch were furnishing the Spaniards with two ships of salt and wine and that they planned secretly to help Spain win back Mardyke;<sup>18</sup> and one of Thurloe's intelligencers reported that the Dutch intended to assist Denmark with money, while pretending to arrange a peace between Sweden and Denmark, "but most here doe believe, that they incited and procured this warre" Negotiations for a maritime treaty with the Dutch, he went on to say, would continue, but the Dutch would consent to no new conditions and would "not have any novelties put upon them." The Swedes, he added, "esse hard for assistance," and the Protector who . . . by the Protestant cause . . . thinks a peace betweene the two northern crownes is best for that."<sup>19</sup> The anonymous intelligencer was perhaps even more intelligent than he knew, but his information could have been no news to Thurloe, save in that it served to confirm what the English government already knew, or at least suspected. It was evident from the

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>17</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Oct 26-Nov. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Talon to Bordeaux, Oct. 3/13, Thurloe, vi, 548

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 546-47.



mon Executioner" of London who "was apprehended for harboring of Rogues, and committed to prison, . . . a knot of them were taken in his house, both Highway-men and others,"<sup>26</sup> which indicates that collusion between law-enforcers and law-breakers was no modern phenomenon. To this was added the case of Captain Robert Nixon, lately in command of the *Worcester*, who was accused of "divers high crimes and misdemeanours" including having "defrauded his Highness and the State of above £100,000"<sup>27</sup>—an echo, perhaps, of the charge that some of Blake's officers and sailors had made too much out of the prizes taken from the Spaniards. The Blake incident was not yet at an end, however, and at this moment was complicated by the Dutch. The "marine treaty" with them was now nearing completion. On October 7 the English commissioners wrote Nieupoort that they were sending him the articles which they hope would "appear just and reasonable";<sup>28</sup> but on the next day the Dutch ambassador advised the Protector that there was a part of the Dutch fleet off Lisbon, not to help Spain against Portugal, as apparently had been suggested, but to get restitution for wrongs and damages inflicted by the Portuguese upon the Dutch.<sup>29</sup> His three-hour conference with the Protector on that day had to do no doubt in part with this<sup>30</sup> but more especially with the terms of the pending treaty; and it is evident that Dutch activities in the North Sea, the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the farther East, were producing a situation of extreme tension, which might—as it had before and would again—very easily lead to hostilities, which the Protector was anxious to avoid.

on... judge. Giavarina had written some days earlier that "The people do not manifest much gladness because they do not love Cromwell, except by force";<sup>31</sup> but at this moment that exceedingly dull but fulsome panegyrist of Cromwell, George Wither, published his *Sudden Flash* . . . discovering some reasons wherefore the stile of Protector should not be deserted, a production which reflected more courtly than poetical

<sup>26</sup> *Pub Intell*, Oct. 5-12.

<sup>27</sup> *Cal S P Dom* 1656-57, 226-27. Nixon had been captain of

from Blake's expedition. (Powell, *Blake*, pp. 296-97, 463.)

<sup>28</sup> Comms. to Nieupoort, Oct. 7, Thurloe, vi, 558 [554].

<sup>29</sup> Nieupoort to De Witt, Oct. 8/19, *Cal S P Dom* 1657-58, 117.

<sup>30</sup> . . .

lasted about three hours I succeeded in erasing many sinister impressions from the mind of the Protector and that within a few days I shall succeed in bringing the Marine Treaty so far that it can be signed" (De Witt, *Brzeven*, iii, 436, Oct. 9/19).

<sup>31</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Oct. 2/12, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 117.

qualities, against which might be set a comparison between Claudius Tiberius and Oliver Cromwell from the pen of one who cautiously signed himself Peter Negesch. This, written in Latin and therefore appealing to but a small audience in England, found prompt translation into Dutch. With the publications, chiefly Fifth Monarchist, of men like Medley, Rogers and various anonymous authors, attacking Cromwell, it indicates at least that opinion was sharply divided and inclining, on the whole, away from the Protectoral system. The Royalists, whether Episcopalian, Catholic, or even Presbyterian, oppressed as they were in mind, body and estate, were in no position to express their opinions under the strict censorship of the press, and the fate of those who ventured to voice their displeasure was not such as to encourage any criticism of the government. As a result there are few periods when it is more difficult to assess public opinion than in this last twelvemonth of the Protector's life, but there is much reason to believe that the very rigidity of the control of the press is some indication that popular opinion was definitely unfavorable to him and to his policies.<sup>32</sup>

This was, of course, not true of all of them. However much the Fifth Monarchists and some of the other sects may have disliked him, in general, no doubt, the Dissenters as a class were on his side, as he was on theirs. He paid, indeed, much attention to their interests, both large and small, and did what he could to encourage individuals among them. In the case of the Rev Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen, who had applied for money from Irish lands to assist him in the preparation and publication of his scholarly—or polemical—works, Henry Cromwell wrote at once in answer to his father's suggestion, made through Thurloe, accepting the suggestion, adding "And to let you know how willingly I contribute my endeavours to this good worke, I tell you, that all the church-lands of Ireland were converted to : . . . that his Highnes might upon fitt occasions dispose them for the encouragement of eminent divines in those other labours besides preaching, which concern their function," adding cautiously however, that "whatever is disposed off this way, must be reimbursed hither, this being parte of the £70,000 revenew."<sup>33</sup> This grant to Goodwin was, in fact, of more significance than it seemed, for it was an example of Protectoral policy to which Henry Cromwell, and even Fleetwood, objected. "Ireland," wrote Clarendon, "was the great capital out of which all debts were paid,

<sup>32</sup> So far as the censorship of the press is concerned, the establishment of English journalism that the government felt it was not safe to allow public opinion any outlet

<sup>33</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, Oct. 7, Thurloe, vi, 558 [554], cp. Firth, *Last Years*, ii, 161.

all services rewarded and all acts of bounty performed," and it seemed that the Protector was not above following the example of his royal predecessors and successors. Though Cromwell, unlike Charles I and still more unlike Charles II, was apparently not greatly interested in either science or literature, he was, in one way or another, concerned with encouraging men of learning, both directly and indirectly, the more so—or perhaps only—if they belonged to the "godly" party. A week or so before this incident of Goodwin, one William Cooper wrote to Henry Cromwell that he "had the honour and opportunity to present this booke, with its author Mr. Henry Philips, a godly man, . . . to his Highnes . . . who with a very favourable countenance accepted both, and promised his thorough perusal of it, and to recommend it to his generalls at sea, and commissioners of the admiralty and navy, for promoting the honest and seasonable designe of the booke, gave encouragement to present it to your excellency also . . . because it encourageth and helpeth on the naval interest of this British island."<sup>34</sup> This was, in all probability, Philips' "Geometrical Sea-man. or the Art of Navigation performed by Geometry," which first appeared in 1652, and which may possibly have gone into another edition or was now for the first time called to Cromwell's attention. Such books, like Gage's account of the Spanish-American possessions, which had earlier attracted his attention, were always certain to gain his approval, as bearing on his principal concern in life, the extension of British power, especially on the sea.

Beyond this, his devotion to music—and horses—and to religion, his interests were limited almost wholly to politics and war. These at this moment bulked large in his life, though there is little documentary evidence of either at this time. The Council held three meetings during this week of October 12, with the Protector present at those of Tuesday and Wednesday, but not on Thursday.<sup>35</sup> On Tuesday he and the Council dined with Tichborne, the out-going Mayor of London; whose successor, Chiverton, was presented to and approved by the Protector on Thursday.<sup>36</sup> The other business of that week, so

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<sup>34</sup> Cooper to Henry Cromwell, Oct. 6, Thurloe, vi, 551, cp. Thomason *Catalogue*, i, 860.

<sup>35</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp. lii, 127.

<sup>36</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, Oct. 15-22; see also *Pub. Intell.*, Oct. 5-12, *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), p. 122.



far as the records go, was of no great importance. Lisle, Wolseley, Jones, Pickering, Strickland, Fiennes and Thurloe were appointed commissioners to treat with the newly arrived Portuguese ambassador<sup>37</sup> On Monday the Protector signed an ordinary warrant for supplies

*To the Commissioners for the Admiralty*

OLIVER P

These are to will and require you forthwith to appoint a ship to receive on board of her 4000 coats, 4000 pair of breeches, 4000 pair of stockings, and 4000 pair of shoes which are committed to the charge and care of Mr. Richard Creed to transport and land the same at the Fort of Mardike for the use of the English Forces under the command of Sir John Reynolds. Given at Whitehall 12th of Octob 1657<sup>38</sup>

On Tuesday he wrote to his son Henry, who had brought lieutenant-colonel Alexander Brayfield before a court-martial, which sentenced him to be cashiered. This document was of a different character. Brayfield, a member of the Hewson party in the Irish army, had made himself extremely objectionable to Henry Cromwell, who was disliked by the Hewson group, not only by fastening the nickname of "Absalom" on Henry, but was, as Henry wrote, "a busie and turbulent person . . . a promoter of seditious papers . . . allwayes takeing too great a liberty in censuring the government and governors of these nations."<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, Thurloe seems to have defended Brayfield as "a sober Independant, and noe wayes factious,"<sup>40</sup> and the Protector evidently accepted Thurloe's judgment as his letter testified.

*For the Lord Henry Cromwell at Dublin. These*

HARRY CROMWELL,

I have seriously thought of your letter, and thank you for your care expressed in the business which I imparted to you under the caution of secrecy, of which I suppose you will hear more hereafter

I am sorry you wrote me some sad apprehensions of some enemies of yours to be about me, truly none dare appear so, and I am persuaded if you think your B. Fleetwood to be so, you are mistaken. It were dangerous for you to think so and he not be so, and safer for you to be mistaken, for indeed none (I hope) can wrong you with me, and though all things answer not, be you humble, and patient, place value where it truly lies, viz, in the favour of God, in knowing Him, or rather in being known of Him. If your heart be truly here, you cannot miscarry

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127

<sup>38</sup> Original, signed by C., is in the Library of Congress at Washington, D. C.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127

I am sorry to hear of your business. I do not know what to say. If you can, I pray you give a remedy

Your loving Father,

OLIVER P.<sup>41</sup>

October the 13th, 1657

In this case, at least, Henry Cromwell did not follow his father's advice, for he let the sentence of the court-martial stand, though after the Protector's death Brayfield seems to have been made colonel of the regiment of Cooper, who was transferred to another command, and was later included in a list of thirty officers excluded from the Act of Indemnity at the accession of Charles II.<sup>42</sup> It may be that, as the Protector suggested, Brayfield was unfairly treated, but, however honest and loyal he may have been, it seems evident he was regarded very differently in Ireland than he was in England. Nor is it without some coincidental interest to note that at this very moment, on October 12, Barkstead secured a confession from Sexby to the effect that he was "guilty of the whole business of Sindercomb, as to the design of killing the Lord Protector," that he had "furnished Sindercomb with about £500 in Money, and also with Arms," that he had been "with Charls Stuart, and acquainted him that I was an Enemy to the Lord Protector, and received a large sum of Money from the Spaniard to carry on my said Design, and to make what Confusion I could in England, by endeavoring the killing of the Lord Protector."<sup>43</sup> Two days later he confessed that *Killing no Murder* was his work, but insisted that the case for destroying the Protector "was altered, the parliament having settled the government on him," though when pressed to explain why he had stayed in England after that event, he "seemed to fall into his former distraction" and "could not discover any further,"<sup>44</sup> and of his mind and died, which may give some clue to the trustworthiness of his "confession"

<sup>41</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 134, from *Add Mss* 36,652, f. 1, pr. in *Eng Hist Rev.*, xvi (1901), 347-48 "Holograph, very neatly and firmly written", "Endorsed His Highness' Majesty's Secretary of State".

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 670.

<sup>43</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Jan 18-25, 1658.

<sup>44</sup> Thurloe, vi, 560.

Protector by an alliance with the house of Stuart, especially since Giavarina reported, enlarging on Schlezer, that Cromwell apologized for delay in restoring the Elector's pension until Parliament, which had stopped it, could meet again.<sup>52</sup>

One thing, at least, was settled. On Monday, October 19, the Protector finally granted a new charter to the East India Company under the Great Seal,<sup>53</sup> and that problem which had long troubled the members of the Company, and many men beside, was determined in favor of the Company and against the independent or "interloping" interests which wished a share in the East Indian trade. Meanwhile the Council went its dull round, meeting three times during this week, with Cromwell present for at least a part of each meeting.<sup>54</sup> Its recorded minutes reveal even less than usual of interest but it seems evident that important matters did not often find their way into those records. The only matter of consequence they note was the confusion of the accounts of the Protectoral household and government. A warrant to Maidstone for household expenses, sent to Whitelocke to sign,<sup>55</sup> was voided apparently as the result of an order from the Admiralty Commissioners, and the amount due for the previous three weeks was ordered paid to the Navy Treasurer "for navy purposes," while another warrant was issued "to pay the arrears out of any but customs and excise money in the Exchequer . . . also to continue the weekly payments [for household expenses] . . . out of Customs moneys."<sup>56</sup> The strength of the Protectoral system obviously did not lie in its finances; and while it has been observed that Cromwell's government was carried on honestly and economically, neither then nor since has it been possible to unravel the tangled web of its financial arrangements. They took the money where they could find it and spent it according to the most pressing demand of the moment.<sup>57</sup>

Various circumstances more or less connected with the fleet and its commander broke the monotony of the Council routine. On Saturday, October 24, Montagu was present for the first time and took the

<sup>52</sup> Giavarina to Deane, Oct. 16/26, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 130-23.

<sup>53</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. . . .

was presented to the vicarage of C

130)

<sup>55</sup> . . . (1657-8), p. 113, Whitelocke, p. 665.

<sup>56</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 132.

<sup>57</sup> Cp. Ashley, *Fin. and Comm. Policy of* . . . A. Shaw, in *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, iv, 454-55, and introd. to *Cal.* . . . The continual protests over the arrears due to the army and navy show how hard pressed the government was, and the endless petitions for salary arrears, like that at this moment from Wm. Mills, messenger to the Drury House Trustees, for £80 salary arrears due for four years, show the same weakness (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 131).

oath,<sup>58</sup> and it appears from a letter from Stayner that he had had some message from the Protector to send Lady Vavasour to Dieppe on the *Assistance* and bring back the Countess of Holland. He re-

vessels at Calais,"<sup>59</sup> and in a later communication the arrival in the Downs of two Frenchmen bound for London to see the Protector.<sup>60</sup> Whatever the object of these journeyings to and fro, it is apparent that travel was especially brisk between London and the ports on the other side of the Channel at this moment, most or all of it connected, no doubt, with the military and naval operations, to say nothing of the diplomatic negotiations then being carried on with unusual activity.

Those military operations, in particular, had taken on new life. On October 22, the day after Lockhart left for France, the Spaniards, numbering some 4,000 foot and 1,000 horse, besides 2,000 picked officers, and many "persons of quality," including Charles II, his two brothers, James and Henry, the Marquis of Caracena and General Maisin, sallied out of Dunkirk to make a night attack on Mardyke, but after a brisk engagement they were driven off by the English garrison, supported by the ships.<sup>61</sup> Turenne, informed of this attack, hastened to the relief of Mardyke, and though he found the Spaniards gone, remained near by until the new fortifications were ready; but the

not treachery  
moment Desborough was reported as going into the North where "ther is somewhat that troubles Cromwell,"<sup>62</sup> and a certain Sarah Shephard testified at great length but to very little definite purpose of various individuals who were bitterly opposed to the Protectorate and declared that before Christmas day "if the king came to London but with a crowne of gilded leather upon his head, the soldiery would all throw down their arms at his feet," with like wild and more or less harmless talk<sup>63</sup> such as was no doubt rife in certain Royalist circles at all times, but more especially now when it was known that Charles had forces as close to England as Flanders. This was perhaps the more important in that not only had the Flemish campaign not progressed beyond the taking of Mardyke, but Portugal was pressing

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136

<sup>59</sup> Stayner to Admiralty Commrs, Oct. 21, *ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 443

<sup>61</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Oct. 19-26, Giavarina to Doge, Oct. 30/Nov. 9, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 126. His account is almost verbatim that in the *Pub Intell.* The news

*Various coll.*

11, 348 (*Harford Mss.*)

<sup>62</sup> Information of Sarah Shephard, Oct. 21, Thurloe, vi, 569-70



for that the enemy refuses to discharge him upon any other conditions, than by exchange of some other person of equal value and reputation to himself,

change some one of their number, whom the enemy will accept for so stout a seaman taken in your service, our countryman, and the only son of a most sorrowful father. Lastly, that whatsoever is due to him from the republic, upon the score of wages, or upon any other account, you will take care to see it paid to his father, or to whom he shall appoint to receive it. The effect of our first request, or rather of your equity, was this, that the whole matter was examined, and upon an exact stating of the accounts the debt was agreed, but perhaps by reason of more important business intervening, no payment ensued upon it. Now the condition of the miserable creature admits of no longer delay; and therefore some endeavour must be used, if it be worth your while to desire his welfare, that he may speedily be delivered from the noisome stench of imprisonment. Which, as you flourish no less in justice, fame and victorious success, innate humanity and freewill, without any hesitation, without any incitement of ours. Now that you may long flourish after a most potent enemy subdued, we implore of the Almighty. From our court at Westminster, October [22], 1657.

Your highness's most affectionate,

OLIVER P.<sup>W</sup>

In the preceding months the northern situation had become peculiarly difficult and complicated, and English interest in it increased as the missions of Jephson and Meadows indicated. Charles X and his ally Rakoczy had easily overrun Poland during 1657 but they had not broken Polish resistance, and with the entry of Austria into the war on the side of Poland, Charles X's difficulties were greatly increased, especially when on June 1 Frederick III of Denmark entered the war against him. He turned, therefore, against the Danes, expelled them from Bremen and seemed likely to conquer Denmark itself. In the meantime the Elector of Brandenburg, caught in the midst of this conflict, and feeling that Charles X was doomed, agreed to aid the Poles in return for recognition of his sovereignty over ducal Prussia which he had held as a fief from the king of Poland, and endeavored to take further advantage of Charles X's dilemma to obtain the cession of western Pomerania. It was small wonder that the Elector, if he had been willing—or able—to accept the Swedish offers, he might

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *ibid.* (1657-9), pp. 123-24.

well have involved his country in war against the power which he always declared the chief enemy of Protestantism, the house of Austria. From this situation, as it happened, Charles X was finally able to extricate himself by a combination of daring, good fortune, and what must have seemed a miracle, in the ensuing winter, but at this moment, with Austria, Poland, Denmark and Brandenburg arrayed against him and the Dutch hostile, England seemed his only resource.<sup>68</sup>

The prospect of aid from that direction, however, was not great. During the last week of October, the Council held its meetings as usual on Tuesday and Thursday, the Protector being present on Tuesday.<sup>69</sup> According to the generally

the energies of this government are now devoted to Flanders, and the Council discusses nothing else, as Cromwell is too much concerned in

that, the Venetian re-

Even in the Council itself "many suggested the demolition and abandonment of Mardich, while others maintained that they should do everything to hold it."<sup>70</sup>

The situation was not eased by receipt of letters from Jephson and Meadows explaining the difficulties of their missions, and a committee was appointed to consult with the Protector about them, especially with respect to a reply to Jephson by the next post;<sup>71</sup> while the commissioners who had been named on October 22 to treat with the Dutch in regard to the maritime treaty reported on a paper, presumably from Nieupoort, as to the Anglo-Dutch-Baltic situation, and were instructed to answer him "according to this day's debate"—of which, incidentally, no record remains. That the reply was not unfavorable, especially to Nieupoort, who was apparently trusted both by his master, de Witt, and by Cromwell, is indicated by the Council's advice to the Protector to order the Dutch ambassador, "in some fitting form

ences and rivalries throughout the world, Dutch and English were agreed on at least one thing—the Baltic must be kept open for their trade. Cromwell inclined toward Sweden, the Dutch toward Denmark, the one favored Portugal, the other was on the brink of war with that power; but neither could view with equanimity the closing of the Sound by either Sweden or Denmark, and the Dutch, at least, were determined to keep the port of Danzig open for what even Crom-

<sup>68</sup> Firth, *Last Years*, I, 314 ff.

<sup>69</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1650-51) no. 1, 138-39.

<sup>70</sup> *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), pp. 126-27.

<sup>71</sup> *101a*, pp. 142, 558. There is a certain humor in the fact that amid the discussions

well had agreed was their "bread-basket." They had relieved that port from Swedish attack once, they were prepared to fight Sweden again, as they presently did, for *et cetera*, and though England was not in such straits, she was almost equally unwilling to have her trade cut off in that region, however friendly the Protector was to the activities of Charles Gustavus.

With this and a statement of accounts as of November 1, which totaled £52,932/15/16, of which £28,836/4/10 was for ambassadors *etc.* and £20,938/8/2 for administrative expenses,<sup>73</sup> went consideration of another problem which had long troubled a government which depended so largely on the sea. This was the question of the fisheries. There the English engaged in the fishing trade competed not only with the Dutch, especially in the North Sea, and with the Norman and Breton fishermen in the Atlantic, but with all the sea-faring peoples who carried the fish to various markets. On October 15 the Council had discussed the complaints of the merchants, seamen and fishermen of Devon, Cornwall and Great Yarmouth of the recent Act of Parliament which provided for exportation of fish in foreign bottoms but had failed to provide customs exemption for Englishmen "loading fish in the ships and vessels of this Commonwealth," and was, apparently, not in accord with the Navigation Act of some years earlier. The complainants prayed that the custom "may be suspended until the sitting of the Parliament," with the result that the question was passed on to the Customs Commissioners, who ordered their officers to "take entries of the fish laden by natives in native ships, and respite the duties on bond for their payment 10 February next." This was apparently done by the Protector himself acting under the advice of Whitelocke, whom he consulted in the matter.<sup>74</sup>

To this was added, again, the question of Ireland, where the problem of the appointment of a Lord Deputy had long been under consideration. Fleetwood had left Ireland in September, 1655, and Henry Cromwell had taken over his duties but not his title. Henry had done well in spite of opposition from the more "godly" followers of Fleetwood, notably Hewson and his officers, and he now received his reward, when on Wednesday the 28th the Council met, "the affaires of Ireland were resumed, and the setlinge of a deputy and counsell were considered of: and after some debate," as Henry was informed, "the counsell here have, upon his highnes's nomination, consented, that your lordship be the deputy."<sup>75</sup> The Protector was reported to have spoken of Henry "with a kind of delight and satis-

<sup>73</sup> Thurloe, vi, 587-97.

<sup>74</sup> Whitelocke, p. 665; *Merc Pol*, Oct. 15-22; *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 129.

<sup>75</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Nov. 3, Thurloe, vi, 599.



faction,"<sup>76</sup> and the instructions, dated as of November 10, were made out.<sup>77</sup> A fortnight later, on November 24, Henry was formally inducted and as his first act conferred the honor of knighthood upon that Colonel Matthew Thomlinson, who by a curious chance was the person who had guarded Charles I to and upon the scaffold and to whom, in consideration of his kindness to the King, Charles had entrusted his order of the Garter as almost the last act of his life.

It was not until the 27th of November that the Duke of Buckingham was committed even by Thurloe who reported to Henry Cromwell: "Things here are puttinge into the best posture wee can to prevent a suddaine irruption; and warninge is given to the severall quarters of the army and garrisons, to be aware of a surprise, and to be carefull of their charges." In the meantime Fairfax had reached London and on October 27 was

with his highnes, to desire favour on the behalfe of the duke and his new wife; the duke being now sought for to be committed to the island of Jersey H.H. dealt freindly with him, but yet plainely, and advised him to doe that now, which he should have done before, that is, consult with his old freinds, that had wente alonge with him in all the warrs, what was fitt for him to doe, and to listen noe more to those, who had brought him into this evill, and to looke upon them as those, who are enemyes both to his honor and interest My lord Fairefax laboured to justifie himselfe as well [as] he could, and was willinge to beleeve, that the duke was a better man then the world tooke him to be and so his highnes and he parted.<sup>78</sup>

Giavarina heard that Fairfax got the order for Buckingham's arrest "suspended with an assurance that the duke should not be molested on any account, but giving an assurance that he should appear at the opening of the next parliament to obtain an accommodation and his permanence in England, the father-in-law acting as surety for the behaviour and loyalty of the son-in-law"<sup>79</sup>

There was every reason for the Protector to be suspicious of Buckingham, especially if there were Royalist designs, whether Anglican or Presbyterian, on foot, and still more especially if Fairfax was inclined to take the side of his new son-in-law, as he appeared to be

<sup>76</sup> Sir F Russell to Henry Cromwell, Oct. 27, 1658, *Clarke Papers*, iii, 121.

<sup>77</sup> *Cal S P Irel* (1647-50), ii, 100, dated this Nov. 16, but this is almost certainly wrong.

<sup>78</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Nov. 24, 1658, *Clarke Papers*, iii, 122.

<sup>79</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Nov. 27, 1658, *Clarke Papers*, iii, 127-28. It was also noted that "Lord Fairfax hath this last weeke twice attended his Highnes, and the Lady Fairfax on her Highnes and severall of the Councell did by his Highnes' command visitt them both" (*Clarke Papers*, iii, 123, Nov. 3).

None the less Cromwell seems to have heeded Fairfax's plea, for Buckingham and his new wife were permitted to take up their residence at Whitehall under the close supervision of the Protector's own personal intervention which preserved Buckingham for the time. Indeed, on or before November 17 Fairfax had been advised that the Duke had been banished by order of the Council; that the Protector so far from encouraging Buckingham's arrest had promised that he should have his liberty and was only prevented from giving him an audience by the press of public business and the Protector's ill-health, and Cromwell communicated Fairfax's plea to the Council, which decided to advise Fairfax of the Parliamentary resolves as well as of the grounds of the Council's proceedings, tempering this with the "Council's civil respects to his lordship's own person."<sup>81</sup> On December 1, "on his Highness's delivering . . . a paper of reasons concerning the Duke of Buckingham's liberty," the Council found it "inconsistent with their duty to advise his Highness to grant the duke his liberty."<sup>82</sup> The treatment of Buckingham by Cromwell, in view of this situation, was characteristic. The Duke was not arrested and in so far Fairfax was conciliated; but though nominally at liberty, Buckingham was, in effect, confined to York House and the Council's objections were met; but, as the event proved, this was only a temporary measure to control the activities of that extremely slippery person, concerning whose character popular opinion was more nearly right than Fairfax.

It was more or less in that connection that the Protector now wrote to Charles Gustavus in behalf of Sir William Vavasour, who had been engaged in enlisting men for Swedish service.

### *To Charles Gustavus of Sweden*

#### MOST SERENE AND POWERFUL KING

We have found out how highly your Majesty has prized our recommendation both at other times and quite recently in the case of the noble William Vavasour, Knight and Baronet. Although he seems to be sufficiently recommended either by your kindness—he was presented with a pension by the recent Kings of Sweden, and now has also been enriched with an office by your Majesty—or by his own talents, since, however, we observe the special obedience, an indication of his agreeable disposition, by which he seems to have wholly consecrated and devoted himself to your Majesty, and since we greatly rejoice that someone is obtained from us who can usefully serve your Majesty, so, just as we have willingly granted him the pleasure of enlisting soldiers to serve under your banners, we are unwilling for him, who

<sup>81</sup> Burghclere, *Buckingham*, p. 93, Gibb, *The Lord General*, p. 240.

<sup>82</sup> Council proceedings and <sup>2</sup> to Fairfax, [c. Oct. 10], Thurloe, vi, 616-17.

<sup>83</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), p. 196.

is now once more returning with his companies to your Majesty, to set out without the protection of our letters. Therefore we ask your Majesty that he may now also find the same ready and open access which formerly you opened to him to your favor on our recommendation; and that whatever generous bounty was conferred on him by the recent kings may remain fixed and unchanged, and that anything owed to him from past times, whether pensions or stipends, be paid. Meanwhile we thank, and as often as the occasion is offered, will repay your Majesty for the honors which out of regard for us you have heaped upon him. May God grant your Majesty either a most happy peace or continued victories. Given from our palace of Westminster on the 29th day of October, in the year 1657

Your Majesty's good friend,

OLIVER P.<sup>83</sup>

At the same time, besides signing letters patent presenting one Nehemiah Beaton to the rectory of Lurgesdale, Sussex,<sup>84</sup> he also seems to have written to Meadows a letter to be transmitted to Frederick III of Denmark in regard to some "merchants' business," which was apparently attended to by Meadows without the necessity of invoking royal aid or at least delivering the letter.<sup>85</sup> But the main business, as for some time past, was the situation in Flanders. During the first week of November, the Council met twice on Wednesday the 4th, with the Protector present, and once on Thursday, when he was not there.<sup>86</sup> Giavarina, who seems to have had some contact with one or more of its members, reported that

The Council has laboured this week . . . on the question of demolishing or keeping the fort of Mardich. After a long debate they decided to keep it, even those who seemed to differ having come to this opinion, another attack of the Spaniards having been repulsed with loss, though less serious than the first. . . . This week again troops and supplies of all kinds have been sent to those parts, and not a day passes . . . determination here to prosecute . . . could not be realised in the last campaign, every effort will be made to ensure it in the next.<sup>87</sup>

With this, as usual, went demands for more money. On this same Wednesday, November 3, Sheriff Chandler and others of the London authorities were called before the Council and

<sup>83</sup> Latin original, countersigned by Thurloe, is in the Riksbibliotek in Stockholm. "Parlamentets och Protektorernas originalbref till svenska konungahuset 1645-1660", pt. *infra*, App. II (11).

<sup>84</sup> Oct. 30 *Lambeth Palace MSS.* no. 945, m. 53, cal. in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. III (1883), 270. Beaton was admitted Nov. 4, 1657, and ejected from Little Horsted in 1662 (*ibid.*, p. 219).

<sup>85</sup> Meadows to Thurloe, Nov. 22, Thurloe, vi, 625.

<sup>86</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. liii.

<sup>87</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Nov. 6/16, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 128.

"... informed them that there was a large sum due from the City of ... be paid in before 25 March last,—the necessities of the army requiring it,—and they are to represent to the Lord Mayor, and the rest of the Assessment Committee, the desire of his Highness and Council that they would use their interest for the speedy bringing in of the arrears"<sup>88</sup>

It appeared also that his Highness and the Council were not satisfied with the patent for the "ballast office," which contained "several unusual clauses," so that the Admiralty Commissioners were instructed to send for the patentees.<sup>89</sup> Of far wider interest and importance was the consideration of petitions from the Piedmontese Protestants and religious exiles from Poland, for whom the Council ordered collections taken up<sup>90</sup>—a cause which, according to the officials of the next reign, was used not for the Piedmontese nor the Poles but as an excuse for the collection of funds for a new rebellion, and became, in time, a scandal. It is notable, also, that the Council granted the petition of John Lilburne's widow for arrears and continuance of his pension of 40s a week,<sup>91</sup> which, it would appear, had been paid to him even through the period of his attacks on the government. With this went the usual list of minor matters. At Whitelocke's insistence the Protector referred to the Council the petition of "poor Lord Ruthyn" for relief.<sup>92</sup> If such small matters were not enough to engage the Protector's personal attention in the midst of great matters of state he seems to have become involved in the case of a certain Thomas Fitch, ejected in July 1655 from Sutton Courtney rectory. For some reason Cromwell took an active part in the case, which he ordered to be reconsidered. Despite this and the report of the ministers and commissioners that Fitch was probably "godly for the main" and might be "able to do further service," Fitch had apparently not been reinstated, and sent in a petition to the Protector which he referred to the Council, which in turn referred it to the commissioners for public preachers, "to certify his fitness to be restored to liberty to preach the Gospel."<sup>93</sup>

Of such business, great and small, was the Protector's life made up. At this moment the documents relating to it were, indeed, small. On

<sup>88</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 149.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, *Merc. Pol.*, Nov. 5-12, Giavarina to Doge, Nov. 6/16, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 129. A draft declaration was reported on in Council Dec. 24, 1657, and ... 3 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 229-30), declaration dated by

<sup>91</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 148.

<sup>92</sup> Whitelocke, p. 665.

<sup>93</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 150-51, see the Protector's order, June 2, 1656, to the ejection commrs. to reconsider Fitch.

November 3 he issued letters patent appointing Stephen Warger to the vicarage of Fering, Sussex,<sup>94</sup> and three days later, he answered the petition of some twenty-eight East India merchants for a frigate to be stationed at St Helena to convoy ships thence, against threat from the Spaniards:

[*To the Council*]

Wee recomend the answeringe of this peticon to the Comiss of our Admiraltye desireinge them to doe heerein what they may for the incoragement of the East India trade Given att Whitehall this 6th of November 1657

OLIVER P<sup>th</sup>

These were not all, nor even the most extraordinary details which pressed upon the Protector in these days. Some of those details have to be documented to be believed. . . . Mrs Mayern, daughter and heir of Sir Theodore Mayern, the great and rich Doctor of Physick," who, incidentally, had examined or, as we should say, "psychoanalysed" the Protector many years before and had described him as "*valde melancholicus*." It appears that the Marquis came with letters from no less persons than Turenne and Louis XIV to the Protector in a more or less laudable effort "to make up his small fortune by this lady's great estate," "which he succeeded in doing, though not without "many late and troublesome jounies between Chelsey and Whitehall" on the part of Whitelocke who was called in by the Protector in this extraordinary enterprise.<sup>96</sup> Another remarkable and even more elusive figure which now appeared was that of a certain "H. Ulrich," who came to London "ostensibly as a student," but "never fails to deal with affairs of state," especially, it would appear, when they had to do with the canton of Zurich, and, among other activities, greatly disturbed Mr Pell, the English representative in Switzerland, who was much puzzled over the doings of the mysterious Ulrich described as the "son of the prime minister" and his relations with the Protector.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>94</sup> *Lambeth Palace Mss* no 945, m 55, cited in *Sussex Arch Coll*, LVIII (1883), p 222.

944, lists an ALS to the Admiralty Commrs, Nov 6, in regard to the East India Co, possibly this one though it does not seem probable. There may have been two copies. . . . ns was apparently Turenne's nephew

*Cal S P Ven* (1657-9) pp 128-29 Giavarina

(Vaughan, II, 32)

and was to act as Meadows' secretary to Denmark (*ibid*, pp 132-33) but was prevented by his arrest for a debt to his landlady, which Pell paid (*ibid*, pp 139-40, 144, 147-48, 168, 172, 183)

More understandable than these ephemeridae which fluttered across the Protector's view at this time were the negotiations with France. On November 3, by the Protector's order, Thurloe wrote to Bordeaux "to sollicite in the court the sending over of commissioners" to consider under article 24 of the recent treaty the "damages suffered by sea, from the year 1640 unto 1655," in which connection nothing had been done and petitions had come to the Protector from "many poore persons reduced to extremity by the losses they then sustained from the French."<sup>98</sup> At the same time Thurloe was also instructed to write to Reynolds to accept a commission from Turenne for the command of Mardyke<sup>99</sup>—which, incidentally, would relieve the English of any immediate responsibility for any miscarriages that might occur. Now, amid these more serious matters, was the lighter side of life neglected. In sharp contrast with them—and with his usual communications—Lockhart wrote to advise the Protector to send over his agent to stock up on Burgundy.<sup>100</sup> Captain Rooth advised the Admiralty Commissioners that he had returned with Mr. Richard Baxter, his Highness' gentleman of horse, from Rotterdam, where they had picked up an Arabian horse which they had brought as far as Gravesend;<sup>101</sup> and Longland wrote to ask safe-conduct under the Protector's seal for two English ships under the Tuscan flag to go to Vera Cruz to bring back supplies for the Grand Duke, as a personal favor from one sovereign to another.<sup>102</sup> Moreover it appears that the Falconbridge-Mary Cromwell match was assured, as "his estate is about £5,000 *per annum*," and "he is a person of good abilities."<sup>103</sup>

This was not the only addition to the Cromwell family. During the week of November 9 the Council met once on Monday, twice on Tuesday the 10th, and once each on Wednesday and Thursday,<sup>104</sup> but the Protector was absent, probably because he was busy with the ceremonies attendant on the marriage of his daughter Frances to Robert, Lord Rich. Those ceremonies began at Whitehall on Wednesday the 11th, when "Mr. Scobell, as Justice of the Peace, tyed the knot after a godly prayer by one of his Highnesses divines." Next day was the wedding feast at Whitehall, "where they had 48 violins

<sup>98</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, Feb. 16/26, 1657-8, Thurloe, vi, 807.

<sup>99</sup> Same to same Nov. 1/11 *ibid.* no. 602-6.

<sup>100</sup> Lockhart to "

<sup>101</sup> Rooth to Ad

7-8), p. 453

<sup>102</sup> Longland to Thurloe, Nov. 9/10, Thurloe, vi, 500-10.

<sup>103</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Nov. 3, *ibid.*, p. 600.

<sup>104</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. liii. On Nov. 10 the President of the Council wrote

petition (*ibid.*, pp. 156-57), and on Nov. 12 ordered that the remainder of the money collected for the Piedmontese Protestants (£17,872/1/3) be put out at interest (*ibid.*, p. 161).

and 50 trumpets and much mirth with frolics, besides mixt dancing (a thing heretofore accounted profane) 'till 5 of the clock," the next morning<sup>108</sup> It was on this occasion that the story was told of the Protector who "threw about sack posset among all the ladies to soyle their rich cloths, which they tooke as a favour, and also wett sweet-meates, and dawbed all the stooles where they were to sit with wett sweet-meates; and pulled of Rich his perucque, and would have throwne it into the fire, but did not, yet he sate upon it."<sup>109</sup> The whole affair was "magnificent and sumptuous,"<sup>107</sup> as were the gifts.

apiece, with like gifts from other sources including a quantity of "Barbary wine"<sup>108</sup>

Though Ludlow declares that because "this alliance was not at all grateful to some persons about him, he contrived to appear averse to the match, and then by the management of Sir Edward Sydenham it was brought about that the young couple were married without the knowledge . . . which contrivance Sir Edward was for a time for . . . that seems in the highest degree improbable, not only in view of the detailed descriptions of the marriage ceremonies but the fact that the banns had been published three times<sup>109</sup> and that the negotiations for the match had been carried on for some time and were known to the general public.

These festivities were interrupted by larger affairs. Apparently on November 10 the Protector signed a warrant for Walker and Turner, the English commissioners named to treat with those of Sweden, to the effect that, as expressed in their memorandum,

His Highness's special will and pleasure is, that the English commissioners, to the plenary effect and execution of this convention, should straightways proceed and go on to the cognizance and full determinating of the aforesaid differences, without any further dispute of the powers moving any scruple whatsoever . . . yet so, that the term prefixed to that meeting not to exceed the space of three months, which are to be computed from the 10th of November<sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup> W. Dugdale to John Langley, Nov. 14, *Hist Mss. Comm. Rept.* 5, App p 177 (*Sutherland Mss.*).

<sup>109</sup> From Richard Symonds' pocket-book, *Harl Mss* no 991, f. 23, in *Gent Mag*, lxxxvi (1816), pt. 2, p 498, and in *N & Q*, ser. 4, ix (1872), 385. This story would seem impossible were it not for the fact that as a young man the Protector seems to have been much given to such horse-play

<sup>107</sup> *Comm. Rept.* 5, App. p. 183 (*Sutherland Mss.*).

<sup>108</sup> *Comm. Rept.* 5, App. p. 183 (*Sutherland Mss.*).

<sup>109</sup> Ludlow, II, 38, and Firth's note there.

<sup>110</sup> Thurloe, vi, 800, 865.

The day before he had issued another order to Fiennes and Lisle to attend to the important business of summoning a jury of goldsmiths to assay the coin of the realm, according to the ancient custom:

*To our R<sup>e</sup> Trusty and R<sup>e</sup> well beloved Nathaniell Fiennes & John Lisle,  
Lords Commission<sup>rs</sup> of our Great Seal of England*

Whereas amongst other weighty Affaires of the Commonwealth, the care of Assaying and Trying of the moneys & Coyne thereof by the Standerd of England, according to the Antient Custom of y<sup>e</sup> Realme, being not y<sup>e</sup> least, Wee, Judging it necessary That y<sup>e</sup> Tryall and Assay of the s<sup>d</sup> Money & Coyne be forthw<sup>th</sup> made, Doe therefore hereby signify our will and pleasure to be comanding you forthw<sup>th</sup> to cause a Tryall and Assay to be made of the Pix, now being in the Mint w<sup>th</sup>in the Tower of London, by a Jury of Goldsmiths of our s<sup>d</sup> Citty of London, of integrity and experience, to be Impanelled and Sworne on a day certain, to be by you in that behalf appointed, in the Place accustomed w<sup>th</sup>in our Pallace of Westm<sup>r</sup>; and that y<sup>e</sup> Lords Commission<sup>rs</sup> of our Tre<sup>a</sup>ry, The Justices of the sev<sup>l</sup> Benches, and Barons of the Excheq<sup>r</sup>, or some of them, bee then there present and Counselling and Assisting unto you in y<sup>e</sup> due execu<sup>co</sup>n of this our Service

Given at Whitehall this 9<sup>th</sup> of Novemb<sup>r</sup>, 1657.

OLIVER P.<sup>111</sup>

On the 12th or 13th, toward the end of the Dutch ambassador, Nieupoort took his leave. He had been delayed not only by those festivities but much more by waiting to see "what turn the naval treaty would take," which, Giavarina reported, had been held up by "the extravagant claims of both parties," without arriving at any conclusion.<sup>112</sup> Nieupoort not merely had the entire confidence of de Witt but had commended himself greatly to the Protector, who wrote a letter in his behalf in a strain unusual even for the extravagant compliment of the time

*To the States General of the United Provinces*

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS, OUR VERY DEAR FRIENDS AND ALLIES

There is now returning to you the most Excellent Lord William Nieupoort, a State Adviser and Secretary General of North Holland, a Pensionary of the town of Schiedam and now for several years your Envoy Extraordinary with us, but he is returning under such circumstances, his leave of absence having been requested by you for a time only, that we hope he will shortly come back. For he has conducted himself in his official duties with us with such fidelity, alertness, discretion, and fairness that we could not desire, nor you either, greater merit and honesty of every sort in a Legate and

<sup>111</sup> Henfrey, *Numis Crom*, p. 120, from a copy in *A Book of Entries* in the records of the Royal Mint

<sup>112</sup> Giavarina to Doge, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 131. *Merc. Pol*, Nov. 12-19, and *Pub Intell*, Nov. 9-16, say he went to Gravesend on Nov. 14



excellent man. A man of such spirit and zeal for maintaining without dissimulation and deceit peace and friendship with us that, while he is in charge of this Legation, we cannot see that any cause of offense or uneasiness could arise or spring up between us. And indeed we should regard his departure with more dissatisfaction, especially in the present tendency of events and circumstances, if we had not been most firmly convinced that no one could better or more reliably set forth by word of mouth either the state of affairs on both sides or our good will and substantial zeal toward your Highnesses. Therefore, that you may be willing to welcome this gentleman on his return as most distinguished in every way and deserving the best recognition from our republic and his own, is our request. In this way we too have sent him from us with a certain reluctance, honored with the most sincere expression of our appreciation, May God grant to his glory defense to this orthodox church, success to your fortunes, lasting life to our friendship. Given from our palace at Westminster, the 12th day of November 1657.

Your good friend,

OLIVER P.<sup>113</sup>

The marriage of Frances Cromwell to Robert Rich was followed almost at once by that of Mary Cromwell to Lord Falconbridge. Nothing could have been more different than these two functions. Unlike that of her sister, Mary's marriage was performed quietly at Hampton Court, where the Protector and his family had apparently gone on the 18th, and where the first ceremonies were held the next day in the presence of her parents "and many noble persons." Moreover, since Falconbridge, unlike the Rich's, had been—and perhaps was still—an Anglican-Royalist, and the women of the Cromwell family had always been attached to the Established church, Mary was married, not by a justice of the peace but by the Reverend Dr. Hewitt, "an ordained minister, according to the forms of the Book of Common Prayer"—the marriage was performed quietly. . . . was much interested in the affair, especially as it was in such sharp contrast to the circumstances of Frances Cromwell's marriage. He wrote that while the ceremony was performed "secretly" at Hampton Court, it would

"be celebrated here later, and they are preparing the same splendours as adorned those of the sister recently." In that he was mistaken, and presently wrote that "Viscount Falcombrige his intention to spend . . . than on the other, the latter pointed out that it would be throwing money away on superfluities and he would prefer to have the money paid to himself, and he would devote it to things which . . . It appears that this reply pleased . . . h Falconbridge, con-

<sup>113</sup> Latin original in Algemeen Rijksarchief, St. Gen. 6916, at the Hague. Received Dec. 6, 1657. Translations in Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 441, and Columbia *Milton*, no. 104, vary slightly, but the sense is the same.

sidering him a solid man for this reply, and not given to vanities, and so he gave him the money to spend, and there will be no further ceremonies." The Venetian had earlier observed that "While the Protector is much better pleased with the alliance he is about to make than with that recently contracted, there is more astonishment over the coming than at the late union. Rich . . . has always believed in the Protector's power." *History of the Protectorate*, ed. Falcombridge . . .

the king . . . They say that after the marriage Cromwell will give him a seat

his pleasure at the alliance. In view of his Highness's partiality for this new

by the Protector,

cover his designs,

giving him his daughter and reserving such great honours for him."<sup>114</sup>

There . . . toward . . . been an honest, attractive young man of more than usual ability and charm, and deserving of the favor of the Protector. He was not, indeed, made a member of the Council, much less governor of the North, but he was among the ten lords summoned to the "Other House" of which a list was at this moment being prepared by the Protector—and he was one of the two who came, Eure being the other. This matter was giving the Protector great concern. As Thurloe wrote he was "now upon the difficult worke of nameing another house; the Lord be with hym in it, . . . A mistake here will be like that of warre and marriage; it admits noe repentance"<sup>115</sup> It would seem that he did not even attend a single Council meeting from November 4 to 28,<sup>116</sup> and was probably chiefly concerned with this important list

Besides this, on November 16 the Council approved new instructions to the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland

### *Instructions for Ireland*

OLIVER P Instructions<sup>117</sup> given by us with the advice of our Privy Council to our dearly beloved son Henry Cromwell our Deputy of Ireland and such

<sup>114</sup> . . .  
133-3.  
Hewitt, the Protector assenting "in compliance with the importunity and toly of his daughters" (*History*, xv, 51). Davenant seems to have composed an *Epithalamium* in . . . entered in the Stationers' Register on Dec. 7, . . . seems to exist (A. Harbage,

rlae, vi, 609

<sup>115</sup> *Cal S P. Dom* (1657-8), p liii

<sup>117</sup> "To be carried over by Major Walters" (Thurloe, vi, 628)

others as are herein after named to be of our Council with our said Deputy, to be by them observed in the government of that our Dominion viz

Deputy there, and to that end we, reposing great trust and confidence in the fidelity, wisdom and advice of our right trusty and well-beloved William Steele, our Chancellor and Keeper of our Great Seal of Ireland, Richard Pepys the Upper Bench in Ireland, and Matthew Thomlinson and Wm Bury<sup>118</sup> Esqs do hereby nominate, assign and appoint  
 particularly directed.

1-5 [As in Articles 1-5 of Instructions, Aug 17, 1654.]<sup>119</sup>

6 Our said Deputy, with the advice aforesaid, shall take care that no Papist or disaffected person be entrusted with or any way employed in the administration of any office or place of trust, nor any person or persons in any place or office in the Commonwealth according to The Humble Petition and Advice and the Additional Petition and Advice unto us presented by the knights, citizens, and burgesses assembled in the Parliament begun and holden at Westminster the 17th September 1656, and whereunto we have consented, and that no Papists be permitted to practise there as sergeants or counsellors-at-law, attorneys or solicitors, nor to keep any schools for the training up of youth<sup>120</sup>

7 [As in Art 8 of Instructions, Aug 17, 1654,<sup>121</sup> with the exception of section 5.]

Our said Deputy and Council have hereby power and authority to set and let to farm any of our lands, tenements or hereditaments whatsoever in our said Dominion of Ireland (unto Protestants only) according to the purport of our letters Patents or Commission to that purpose made and passed under our Great Seal of England bearing date 13th February 1656 and the Rules and Directions thereby given<sup>122</sup>

8-14. [As in Articles 10-16 of Instructions, Aug 17, 1654.]<sup>123</sup>

15-19. [As in Articles 1-3, 6 and 7 of Additional Instructions, Mar. 27, 1656.]<sup>124</sup>

20 Our will and pleasure is that our said Deputy and Council do forthwith certify unto us what proceedings have been had upon the ninth and tenth of the Additional Instructions given to our Deputy and Council there the 27th March 1656 and also upon the twelfth of the said Additional Instructions<sup>125</sup> with the particulars relating thereunto, to the end such

<sup>118</sup> For his appointment cp. Aug 4, 1656, *supra*.

<sup>119</sup> Vol. II of this work, pp. 407-408

<sup>120</sup> Dunlop, II, 672-73.

<sup>121</sup> Vol. II of this work, pp. 408-9.

<sup>122</sup> Dunlop, II, 673

<sup>123</sup> Vol. II of this work, pp. 410-11.

<sup>124</sup> *Ut supra*, pp.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*, pp.

further Instructions may be given therein as shall be necessary<sup>126</sup>  
21-26 [As in Articles 11, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21 respectively of Additional Instructions, Mar 27, 1656]<sup>127</sup>

27-28. [As in Articles 17 and 18 of Instructions, Aug 17, 1654,<sup>128</sup> with conclusion added]

And our will and pleasure is that these powers and authorities shall continue and be in force for the term of three years from the date hereof and no longer, unless they shall be renewed by us before that time<sup>129</sup>

November 16, 1657.

Though Buckingham was then living, or about to take up his quarters, in York House with the Protector's order to keep their record straight, the records of the House of Commons Tuesday contented themselves with appointing a committee to consider Fairfax's plea on behalf of his new son-in-law and report to the General the earlier Parliamentary resolves "together with their sense of respect for Lord Fairfax's own person."<sup>130</sup> Besides this their activities were comparatively insignificant. They discussed unions and augmentations of parishes;<sup>131</sup> heard reports from the Treasury Commissioners as to arrears of money due to the state and ordered their collection;<sup>132</sup> together with the usual grist of petitions,<sup>133</sup> while the Protector went on with the business of selecting members for the "Other House," with the assistance of "Mr Pierrepont" among others.<sup>134</sup> It was reported that the judges had so far refused to obey the Protector's order to draw up the writs for the sitting of the "Other House" on the ground that such a body would not be legal unless he took the title of king,<sup>135</sup> but if that is true, their objections must have been overcome.

During the week of Monday, November 16, the envoy from the Elector Palatine left London, receiving from the Protector a parting gift of a gold chain worth just over a hundred pounds,<sup>136</sup> which seems

<sup>126</sup> Dunlop, II, 673

<sup>127</sup> *Ut supra*, pp

<sup>128</sup> Vol III of this work, pp. 411-12

<sup>129</sup> Dunlop, II, 673.

<sup>130</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp 168-69.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p 168

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171, Whitelocke, p 665.

<sup>133</sup> The principal petitions, both for money, were those of Hannah, widow of Peter Whalley, and of John, son of the late Col Francis West, sometime lieutenant of the Tower, the first with reference to the Council signed by the Protector, the second by the Council (see *Cal. S. P. Dom*, 1657-8, pp 171-2)

<sup>134</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 127

<sup>135</sup> *Gleanings of Europe*, p. 100. (See also *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp 171-2)  
moneys due from the State To Edward Backwell, not comprehended in the Dunkirk Account" is an item "For 2 chaines of gold—for Envoy of Prince Palatine of Rhine and Resident of Portugal," £202/15/-.

to indicate that he and his mission were of no little importance. Apparently Montagu left about the same time, as his name no longer appears in the list of those present at the Council.<sup>137</sup> As commander of the fleet in the Downs and of the naval operations in connection with the attack on Mardyke, this was no time for him to remain in London, especially in view of the bad feeling between the English and the French in regard to that operation. Lockhart, Thurloe and Mazarin were disturbed at Cromwell's displeasure over the situation in Flanders, especially the failure to attack Dunkirk. The Protector had informed Bordeaux that he would send no more men to Mardyke or the fleet there and that in any event the men would refuse to go.<sup>138</sup> Mazarin held Lockhart responsible for the Protector's position, according to Lockhart's account, and was certain that Lockhart had told the Protector that the French could have taken Dunkirk but ran away at the critical moment; but Mazarin promised that Dunkirk should be in English hands by the first of May.<sup>139</sup> The Protector was, in fact, disturbed about the fate of Mardyke and as to the responsibility for holding it—whether French or English—for the condition of the English there and at Bourbourg, according to Thurloe, was desperate.<sup>140</sup> Added to this was the problem of Dutch-Portuguese relations. England was bound to help the Portuguese, there were both Dutch and English fleets off the Portuguese coast, the former to convoy the East India ships home, the latter to enforce Dutch claims against Portugal for injuries in the East. As Giavarina wrote, truly enough, there was danger that the English Channel squadron might search Dutch ships for contraband, and "if this is true . . . it will undoubtedly bring about a rupture between these two nations whose relations are already strained. If a collision does not take place it is because both sides recognize that under existing circumstances a rupture would not be in the interest of either. For the rest, there are many prettexts for breaking the peace."<sup>141</sup> Nor was the situation eased by the complaints of the English East India Company of injuries from the Dutch running back many years, in compensation for which they had seized the *Spreew* of Middleburg, which had been forced into port by storms. To their complaints

The Protector gave them a rather early, in general terms, without entering into details, and . . . to him for the release of the ship he at once ordered it to be given up, to the mortification of those who

<sup>137</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8) n. l.iii.

<sup>138</sup> Thurloe . . . vi, 614-15.

<sup>139</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Nov. 18/28, *ibid.*, pp. 618-19.

<sup>140</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, Nov. 22/Dec. 2, *ibid.*, p. 626, cp. Firth, *Last Years*, I, 291.

<sup>141</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Nov. 20/30, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), pp. 134-35.

had it sequestered, who see that his Highness is not entirely disposed to second their wishes <sup>142</sup>

Under the circumstances, perhaps under any circumstances, he could not let the East India Company take retribution into its own hands, least of all at this moment, when peace with the Netherlands hung in the balance. With his adventure in Flanders, his war with Spain, the difficulties of the situation in the Baltic, and the demands for aid from Jamaica, the entry of the Dutch into war with England at this moment might well have been disastrous to the whole of the Protectoral policy. Meadows was even then writing that Denmark would not treat separately with Sweden, but insisted on including Poland and Brandenburg, with whom she had just come to terms. The Danes feared that Sweden might join with Poland against them; but if Cromwell could procure "equal and honourable terms" with Sweden, Denmark would accede to them <sup>143</sup> Cromwell was not wholly committed to Sweden nor de Witt to Denmark, but each had his own interests. The Atlantic and the explosion between the English and the Dutch.<sup>144</sup>

There can be little or no doubt but that something was changing in the spirit and character of the Protector and his government. His conferring the honor of knighthood and even hereditary peerages, the establishment of an "other" or "upper" House of "Lords"; the marriages of his daughters into the ranks of the nobility, the performing of the ceremony by a member of the Church of England according to the forms of the Prayer-Book; the celebration of one of those marriages by festivities more in accord with the old monarchy than of the new Protectorate, even the dancing, so hateful to the old Puritans and long banished from Whitehall, all seemed to emphasize a change which was scarcely less evident in the altered tone of his earlier and his later communications to the European rulers. This is no mere fancy. That there had come such a change is apparent in the letters of the foreign envoys, whether tacitly or explicitly, and expressed in many forms. At Whitehall, he wrote to Brienne,

"-84, 187. Nieupoort's complaint was

<sup>142</sup> Meadows to Thurloe, Nov. 22, Thurloe, vi, 625-26

<sup>144</sup> Lockhart reported that a Neapolitan, "Don Lewis," proposed a scheme for turning Naples into a republic under Cromwell's protection, and to expose all the Pope's agents in England if the Protector would pay his expenses thither, but neither Lockhart nor, apparently, Thurloe, much less the Protector, took any stock in this communication (Lockhart to Thurloe, Nov. 21/Dec. 1, *ibid.*, p. 625)

"there seems to be a different spirit, dances having been held there again during these past days, and the preachers of the older times are withdrawing from it, . . . The subalterns of the army grumble at it, but their superiors being won over, everything will be arranged without any disturbance. It is now the opinion of some that the upper house will not be called before the other has re-established kingship, the leading men raising scruples about coming to it because if the royal family or the republicans regain control of the government, they would be declared guilty, whereas, following a statute made at the beginning of the reign of Henry VII, no one can be prosecuted for . . . one who wears the crown, even when acquired unjust, . . . he prefaced these remarks by saying, "professes great want of . . . by land and sea . . . sincere, at least for the present. Also he does not deny that in the future he will not be able to assist his friends and live with royal magnificence, as the public voice and those closest to him wish. . . . After the meeting of Parlia-

"146

It would be difficult to prove—or disprove—this last important statement. The despatch of hostile elements from Wales, Scotland and Ireland had been part of the technique of Cromwell when he was engaged in breaking down resistance in those areas. It was part of his system in removing possible enemies even after he became Protector. It was the technique used later by Napoleon in disposing of the republican elements in his armies before he became emperor; and . . . knowledge than . . . sent to Sweden or Flanders were those most opposed to the re-establishment of monarchy. None the less the mere fact of Bordeaux's mentioning it at this moment gives it a certain weight, however far from the fact his prophecy of what would happen after the meeting of Parliament proved to be

One thing, however, was certain—it was that much time and attention was being spent on the difficult problem of the composition of the "Other House," on which, in some measure, this whole problem of the revival of the project of kingship might well depend. It took up most of the time of the Council in this last week of November, "the councillors being divided in opinion, some wishing it to consist entirely of persons of quality, as in the times of the kings, and others contending that men of all sorts should be chosen, as for parlia-

<sup>146</sup> Bordeaux to Brienne, Nov. 16/26, Guizot, *Cromwell*, II, 498

ment."<sup>146</sup> Apart from this and one or two other matters the business of the Council, so far as its records go, seems to have been mainly routine, but at least two of those matters are of some interest and importance. The first was the report of November 16 from the visitors to Oxford University that they had nullified elections to fellowships of the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College and intended to supply the vacancies according to the orders of the Protector, it appearing that various persons had bought fellowships in All Souls against the statute of April 23, 1657, designed to prevent such practices which, it seems, had become too common. This report was accepted and adopted by the Protector and Council, and the visitors notified that they might "be well assured of all due encouragement and countenance from his Highness and the Council."<sup>147</sup> The second piece of business was the calling of a meeting on Saturday to consider "some differences among the members of the East India Company concerning the carrying on of the affairs of that Company," the business being of such importance that the Protector himself not only attended this special meeting but withdrew when the parties to the dispute were heard. When recalled they were informed that "His Highness declares his willingness to endeavour to end their differences and proposes that each side shall nominate six men to attend the Council next Monday afternoon in order to arrange some accommodation."<sup>148</sup>

In addition to this the Council faced a minor diplomatic crisis when on November 24 Schlezer was arrested in St. James's Park by Serjeant-at-arms Richard Ashton and three bailiffs at the suit of a certain Ursula Johnson, apparently for an unpaid bill for board and lodging of some £120. The case was aggravated by the fact that he "was arrested on the open street and led into a cheap 'cabaret' and treated worse than disgracefully by wicked people." He protested to Thurloe, and the Council at once "resolved to send some of their servants with an officer of the guard and a band of musketeers to the inn, and in turn to arrest the bailiff with his people, also the cook who had gotten the permission" for his arrest.<sup>149</sup> Schlezer was naturally infuriated, not merely at the insult offered him as an ambassador but at his own government which neglected or refused to send him funds; but he had no cause to complain of the energy of the Council in endeavoring to set the matter straight in so far as possible. In any event there were no serious consequences from this tempest in a tea-pot, as

<sup>146</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Nov. 27/Dec. 7, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 139; *Clarke Papers*, III, 127.

<sup>147</sup> Martin, *Cat. of the Archives of All Souls College* (1877), p. 381, M. Burrows, *Wardens of All Souls* (1874), pp. 210-12, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 181, 186, 188.

<sup>148</sup> Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 192-93.

<sup>149</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 180, Schlezer to Kurfurst, Nov. 27/Dec. 7, *Urk. u. Actenst.*, VII, 785.



there had been from the graver incident of Dom Pantaleon de Sa some time before; but it did nothing to ease the situation between England and Brandenburg. That, indeed, was not so important as the relations between England and Sweden, to which, on the same day as Schlezer's arrest, the Council devoted its meeting, without, however, coming to any very definite decision as to the disputed parts of the treaty then under discussion<sup>150</sup>

More important than either of these, for the moment, was the publication of the list of sheriffs, the writ for one of which has been preserved.

### *Writ*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging To all Dukes, Earls, Barons knights, Freemen and all others of the County of Oxford<sup>1411-1414</sup> send greeting.

Whereas we have committed to William Draper esquire<sup>1411-1414</sup> the said County of Oxford<sup>1411-1414</sup> with the appurtenances to keep the same during our pleasure as in and by our Letters patents thereof to him made is more fully contained WE do therefore command and require you that in all things which belong to the said office of Sheriff ye be aiding and assisting to the said William Draper esquire<sup>1411-1414</sup> the present sheriff of the said County of Oxford<sup>1411-1414</sup> In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents Witness our selfe at Westminster the three and twentieth day of November one thousand six hundred fifty and seven<sup>151</sup>

There was also an order in the Protector's name to the Keeper of the Rolls for Nottingham county

### *Order*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Comon wealth of England, Scotland, Ireland and the dominions and terrytories thereunto belonging To our Custos Rotulorum for ye County of Nottingham greeting Wee willing for certaine causes to be certifyed of a true List of the names of all the parishes within our said County of Nott doe comand you yt you send to us without delay into our Chancery distinctly and plainly under your scale the sayd List of the names of all the parishes aforesayd within our sayd County and thus Writ Witnes our selves at Westmr the xxvith day of November in ye year of our Lord 1657<sup>152</sup>

<sup>150</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp 180-81

<sup>151</sup> Original in the Tangye Coll, cal in W Downing, *Cat of the Cromwellian Collection of Sir Richard Tangye*, p 12 Not signed by Cromwell, nor by Lenthall, Pinder or Archbold whose names appear at the end

<sup>152</sup> H. H. Copnall, *Notts Co. Records* (Nottingham, 1915), pp 5-6, endorsed by "Browne."

... granted the audience "the good fortune to execute all my commissions." He began by relating the Venetian successes against the Turks and protesting the presence of an English ship in Turkish service in the recent action at the Dardanelles<sup>183</sup> asking for definite orders to prevent a repetition of such incidents, as antagonistic to the interests of Christendom. "Cromwell," as he wrote,

heard me with great attention, but was more interested in the translation into English by the Master of the Ceremonies, Flemming. After absorbing it all and repeating each head, he answered me with remarkable eloquence and freedom.

He had heard from the secretary of state with peculiar satisfaction of your Serenity's victories over the common enemy. He asked me to express this to your Excellencies and to wish you complete success. He expressed great surprise at an English ship fighting against the Venetian fleet. He was sure the

pening again in the future

On the second point he assured me that the ambassador at Constantinople, and every other minister concerned, had orders to forbid ships of this nation to serve the Turks and to oblige the most serene republic on all the requests I had made. He felt sure that his instructions would be obeyed, but for tion of his orders, when they met with delay or disobedience

ba should supply the Turks with the means for destroying Christians. If merchants, allured by gain, committed this abominable crime they deserved punishment, and he would issue orders to prevent the abuse. In any case this must have been done clandestinely without the consent of the state, and the most serene republic might be sure that he would not suffer it to go on. The Dutch, Christians, but took it to the Indies as well, furnishing it to the Moors there and teaching them how to use it against the English. Certainly the Dutch had more trade in such tools than the merchants of this nation, who, in any case, he repeated, did it secretly, robbing the customs and risking their reputation and even their lives.

Coming to the last point, he said that he desired nothing better than to show his predilection for the most serene republic which is winning so much glory by defending the common cause of all Christendom and the value he

<sup>183</sup> Cp. Senate to Giavarina, Aug. 22/Sept. 1, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 106.

stand the loss this nation would suffer, which has such treasures scattered about the chief places of the Turkish empire, if he sent ships directly against the Ottoman. It would be followed immediately by the confiscation and spoiling of all this precious capital, the immersion of the Fleet in those parts, and the total ruin

supported by that trade. A picked squadron of warships, well provided, is now in the Mediterranean, or will soon arrive there, which has orders to cruise about there and in the waters about Sicily. This should serve to abate the

the ships of Tunis burned in Porto Farina by General Blake, which were thus prevented from going to the Levant to help the Sultan. He concluded by intimating that your Serenity might experience similar relief by the prevention of the usual reinforcements from Tripoli, to which English ships might well be sent to burn the vessels inside, because of those pirates taking the demands for the restitution of the ship and compensation for the goods, active hostilities will be begun against the Tripolitans, as the merchants here desire, who would be glad to see the destructive Barbary commerce with the Porte, which they wish to be continued and enlarged

To all of which, as Giavarina said, he "made a courteous reply," and expressed his regret that he had not been able to induce the Protector to send ships to help Venice, adding that "The motive which Cromwell indicated to me has hitherto prevented any heroic resolution and will always stand in the way of such a boon to our august republic."<sup>154</sup> The situation, like that in the Baluc, was difficult for the Protector, bent at once on preventing attacks on English ships by the Barbary coast pirates and at the same time endeavouring to keep on good terms with their nominal sovereign, the Turk, with whom the English merchants desired to do business. One thing, however, was evident to the Venetian. It was that no direct help could be expected from the Protector, who, with all his good will toward Venice, had no intention of breaking off commercial relations with its enemy, the Turk.

To Giavarina succeeded the "Hamburg gentleman who formerly acted here as resident for the Hanse towns," apparently one Hans Petersen, this time representing "the affairs of Hamburg alone in connection with the sea and trade," though it was not known—to Giavarina, at least—"in what capacity" he appeared.<sup>155</sup> His mission was, however, clear enough. The situation in the Baltic and North Sea had been greatly complicated by the attack of Denmark upon

<sup>154</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Nov. 27/Dec. 7, *ibid.*, pp. 136-38.

<sup>155</sup> Same to same, Sept. 11/21, *ibid.*, p. 110 and note; and p. 139.

... the Dutch who were now difficult; it was rapidly becoming impossible; and the activities of their merchants were more and more centering in Hamburg, which was extremely unwilling to become involved in the rivalries of the northern powers which had been so fatal to Hanse interests. As the chief remaining center of those interests, it was natural that Hamburg should look about for allies or a protector, and England was the most obvious resource. Petersen's mission is therefore understandable, though it does not appear that it had any result beyond the declaration of good intentions with which Cromwell was accustomed to meet and parry. And, incidentally, at this moment Henry Francis Russell, solicited the Protector and Fleetwood for the return of his other son-in-law, Sir John Reynolds, from Flanders, accompanying his plea with the present of a fine horse. The Protector was reported to have taken "the present . . . very kindly," but granted permission for Reynolds' return only for a short time.<sup>186</sup>

Reynolds' mission was simple. he wanted more aid for Mardyke; but his voyage was peculiarly unfortunate for him, for he was shipwrecked and drowned on his way to England on December 5/15; and his regiment was given to Lockhart.<sup>187</sup> His plea for more troops for Mardyke, however, did not go unheeded, for the Protector sent over 500 more men, appointed Major-General Morgan governor; and the French sent in more troops in fear of a sudden assault by the Spaniards. On the other hand Lockhart judged that Mardyke could be held more easily by a smaller force supported from the sea and even urged that the last 500 men should be sent back. He was, he wrote, more disturbed over treachery in the garrison than over a Spanish attack. It was, in fact, a nervous time between the Spaniards and Charles II. The "greatest news here," Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell, "is the endeavours that the old cavalier enemye use to raise a new warre . . . Their agents are dispersed up and down . . . the names whereof we knowe, and some of the chief persons they depend upon."<sup>188</sup> The plot followed the old pattern. The first move was to be the assassination of Cromwell; and it appears that Wildman or some one selected by him was to be appointed for that task, for which he was to have a substantial reward, but not until the thing was done.<sup>189</sup> If that was the case, there was no great threat in it for the Protector, for Wildman was not the man to risk his neck—nor

<sup>186</sup> Sir Francis Russell to Sir John Reynolds, Whitehall, Nov. 24, Thurloe, vi, 630.

<sup>187</sup> Firth, *Last Years*, I, 278 and notes.

<sup>188</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Nov. 23, Thurloe, vi, 628.

<sup>189</sup> Ormonde to Peter Talbot, Nov. 20/30, Macray, III, 388, no. 1186, cp. Talbot to Ormonde, Nov. 23/Dec. 3, *ibid.*, p. 391, no. 1195.

The Royalists consoled themselves with reports from their agents that Fairfax and Lambert had declared against Cromwell, taken with them a great part of the army and seized Hull,<sup>160</sup> but such stories deceived no one but those who received them—and them perhaps not much despite their wishful thinking. None the less there was danger. Lambert and Fairfax were not satisfied with the situation, Buckingham was in England; men were deserting from the expeditionary force to Charles II; there was ground for Lockhart's suspicion of treachery, and there was an Anglo-Spanish force under Don John and Charles II actually in being and not distant from English shores. On the other hand, the Mardyke fortifications were now completed and Lockhart was ordered to return to Paris. In reply to Cromwell's objections to paying the cost of maintaining Mardyke, Mazarin agreed to meet the expense, while ordering Bordeaux to ask the Protector to send palisades for its defence.<sup>161</sup> On his part Cromwell was reported as satisfied with Mazarin's attitude toward Portugal and Sweden,<sup>162</sup> and Bordeaux, approached in regard to the rumor that France and Spain were treating for peace, replied that France would do nothing to invalidate the Anglo-French treaty.<sup>163</sup>

England was, in fact, becoming the center of much of the European activity of the time. Jephson wrote to urge Cromwell to promote a general treaty among the various Protestant states—which was certainly no original contribution to a question which the Protector had been endeavouring to solve for some years, and with no success. Jephson also expressed his regret that English ships were not being sent to the Baltic,<sup>164</sup> but there was no Dutch fleet there, the absence of it being an important factor in connection with the situation there. Frederick III of Denmark asked Cromwell's permission to enlist troops in England and Scotland,<sup>165</sup> though it does not appear that any were secured, and with English and Scottish troops in Swedish service, such recruiting by the Danes might have had some serious consequences. At the other end of the Continent, meanwhile, Captain Stokes was ordered to send home the whole fleet

<sup>160</sup> Bamfylde to Cromwell, Thurloe, vi, 642.

<sup>161</sup> Lockhart to Cromwell, Thurloe, vi, 637, D'Ormesson to Bordeaux, *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), Thurloe, for the speedy of the enemy." Taylor

<sup>162</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, Nov. 28, Thurloe, vi, 637, noting also that Downing was

<sup>164</sup> Jephson to Cromwell,

<sup>165</sup> His letter is cal. in *47th Rept. Dep. Keeper Pub. Records*, App. 5, p. 76.

except the frigates, to which he responded by sending home "the greatest part of the fleet unfit for present service, under Vice-Adm. Jonas Poole, as ordered by his Highness, and to-morrow or next day, I intend to sail with the remainder under my command, in prosecution of instructions lately received from his Highness"<sup>166</sup> It seems apparent from this that the Protector's government considered the Mediterranean adventure was coming to an end and that it was withdrawing from that area a considerable part of its forces, possibly with a view to using them, if it became necessary, in the North Sea and the Baltic.

Even this development was of less immediate importance than the selection of the members of the "Other House" As Giavarina reported,

The Protector and his Council are at present engaged in settling the orders to be sent to the provinces for the nomination of those who are to compose the other house of parliament, . . . As yet the councillors do not seem agreed, but in the general opinion they will choose persons of quality and merit, creatures of his Highness and all disposed to please him The two new sons-in-law will have a vote there The older ones, Flitud and Clepul, already have employment to suit them, . . . Other members of the upper chamber will be appointed from those who have always been strong partisans

out of the absolute authority that he wields In this way he will bind them closer to himself so that they will be obliged to support his wishes in everything

It is whispered that one of the first things to be discussed at the opening of parliament will be the coronation of his Highness At present things are in a much better position for its effectuation and for the Protector to consent openly<sup>167</sup>

The Protector had, in fact, been creating a considerable number of knights, including at this time Aldermen Thomas Foot and Thomas Atkins, and Colonel John Hewson,<sup>168</sup> but it does not appear—save in Hewson's case—that these creations had any bearing on elevating their recipients to an Upper House It is evident that Cromwell was having difficulty in making the selections for that body. As Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell, some were fit and not willing to serve, and some were willing and expect it and were not fit,

there is not yet any one man fully resolved upon yett, . . . But I beseech your lordship, doe not suffer our freinds of Ireland, who are of the house of

<sup>166</sup> Stokes to Adm Comms, Lisbon, Nov 25, *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 185, same to Navy Comms., *ibid*

<sup>167</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Dec 4/14, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 140

<sup>168</sup> *Merc. Pol*, Dec. 3-10, *Parl Hist*, xxi, 221.

commons, to absent themselves; it is of absolute necessitye, that they be all there the first day of the sittinge. I heare wee shall have a full house, all the members which were kept out resolvinge to come in, and consideringe the great number of our freinds, which wil be taken out of the commons-house, we had need want none of those who abide with us, least wee goe backe againe, and loose all which we have gott<sup>169</sup>

The disagreement among the members of the Council and between some of them and the Protector over the choice of the members of the "Other House," was not the only difference of opinion. On Tuesday, December 1, the Protector was present at the Council meeting and delivered to its members two papers. The first was a briefe of the grievances of the Piedmontese Protestants, on whose behalf Thurloe was ordered to prepare for the Protector's signature a letter to Lockhart, who was instructed to protest to the French court the treatment of the Piedmontese; which he did, but the letter was sent under Thurloe's signature, not that of Cromwell<sup>170</sup> Concerning this there was no question; but the Protector's reasons for giving the Duke of Buckingham his liberty were rejected by the Council, and Strickland and Wolseley were instructed to inform Fairfax of the Council's decision<sup>171</sup> It seems probable also that the practically identical letters sent at this time to Bristol and Gloucester—and possibly to other places—were drafted in the Council and only signed by the Protector:

*To Our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of our City of Gloucester These*

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—We greet you well. I do hear on all hands that the Cavalier party are designing to put us to blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger, but our intelligence on all hands being, that they have a design upon your City, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority, as we do hereby, to put yourselves into the best posture you can for your own defence, by raising your Militia by virtue of the Commissions formerly sent you, and putting them in a readiness for the purpose aforesaid, letting you also know that, for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your Town

We desire you to let us hear from you from time to time what occurs to you touching the Malignant party: and so we bid you farewell.

Whitehall, this 2d of December 1657<sup>172</sup>

<sup>169</sup> Dec. 1, Thurloe, vi, 648

<sup>170</sup> "I have seen the letter, and it is very good."

<sup>171</sup> "I have seen the letter, and it is very good." and Hist. MSS.  
<sup>172</sup> "Remembering

Some light is shed upon the recall of the ships from off the Portuguese coast by Thurloe's explanation that finances were so low that the fleet was being reduced—the fleet rather than the army, because the “public safety allows no reduction in the latter”<sup>179</sup>—which, again, was the case in 1653. Thurloe, who had been in Bristol at this time, was formally inducted into office on November 24, replied by an urgent request for £180,000 in addition to eight months' arrears for the army, half of which had

Jamaica, Feb. 26, 1657-8, *Cal. S. P. Col.*, ix, 120-21).



been contracted before the disbanding of September, 1655.<sup>180</sup> It was noted, too, that George Downing had been chosen to go as resident to the States General, presumably in connection with the Swedish-Danish or the Dutch-Portuguese controversy, and the Protector wrote the Grand Duke of Tuscany in regard to a ship, the *Eastland Merchant*.

*To the Grand Duke of Tuscany [Ferdinand II]*

[Substance only]

A strong letter demanding restitution of the English ship, *Eastland Merchant* (Capt., Richard Pain) captured off Alexandria and carried into the Grand Duke's port of Argos by Spanish ships which had in their company two Florentine ships flying Spanish flags either because they were hired by Spain or wished to disguise themselves.<sup>181</sup>

[c. Dec. 3, 1657]

He was not content with this. Probably on the same day as the letter to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Protector sent an extraordinary communication to Cardinal Mazarin.

*To his Eminence, Cardinal Mazarin*

MY LORD,

The satisfaction which I have taken in my Lord Ambassador Bourdeaux his management of the affairs of England, for the conduct of the two nations, has obliged me to take express the esteem I have of him, and having understood that by the death of the Sieur Belleuie, heretofore Ambassador in England, there is a place void in the Parliament of Paris, which the King of France has used to fill with persons of the rank of Monsieur de Bourdeaux, I was willing to believe that your Eminence would not take it ill from me, if I took hold of this occasion to recommend him to your favour, and to desire your Eminence that in bestowing the said place, you have reserved to the Crown of France, should have desired this favour of the King. I do recommend a person who is already so many ways obliged to serve your interest, as well the King as your Eminence may think this a fitting way to

<sup>180</sup> Thurloe, vi, 634, 648-50, 657.

<sup>181</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Dec. 4/14, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 141 and note, Silvestri to Florentine ambassador of the same with his despatch the next day (B. M. the English consul at Legation). Such a statement having delivered what was required and that he Cp. also *Cal. S. P.*

*Dom.* (1657-8), p. 95.

witness the satisfaction which you have received in the success of his negotiation, and to recompense him for his care and fidelity therein; besides, I have observed that such as have formerly governed in these nations have made the like requests with very good success, none of which have wished better to France or had a more particular affection for your interest than myself, and I assure your Eminence the regard you shall have to my recommendation in  
 will be received by me as a great  
 a great obligation upon

December 4, 1657.

Your affectionate friend,

OLIVER P<sup>133</sup>

From any point of view this was a tactless communication and made a most unfortunate impression. Lockhart wrote that he had delivered the letter to the Cardinal and "found him much surprysed with it, and (after long discourse upon this subject) ready to have returned his highness an answer under his owne hand" That answer would, apparently, have been as offensive to the Protector as the Protector's letter had been to the Cardinal, and Lockhart evidently had some difficulty in dissuading Mazarin from sending an angry reply.<sup>133</sup> He did not, indeed, answer it until the following April, when he wrote to express his regret that he could not appoint Bordeaux, though in the meantime, it appears, Falconbridge wrote that the Cardinal had expressed some hope that Bordeaux might have the second place or "*president de mortier*" in the Parlement.<sup>134</sup> It is, in fact, difficult to explain such a *faux pas* as this letter unless it was sent at the urgent insistence of Bordeaux, whom the Protector was inclined to favor if possible; but it did nothing to soothe the hard feelings engendered by the Anglo-French controversy over the use of the English expeditionary force and the delay in attacking Dunkirk. That controversy was heightened by Lockhart's instructions to appeal for help for the Piedmontese Protestants, and Mazarin's counter-instructions to Bordeaux to redouble his appeals on behalf of the Catholics in England, and by French fears that if the English gained a foothold in Flanders, the Catholics there would be treated as badly as they were in England.<sup>135</sup> All in all it is difficult to see how Cromwell and his Council could have been so ill-advised as to attempt to take a hand in French domestic affairs in such fashion, especially at such a moment as this.

<sup>133</sup> "The Cardinal's letter to the Protector, 1657" (F. B. M. 1657) - 1657  
 2 (sic) Decembre, 1657"

<sup>134</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Dec 19/29, Thurloe, vi, 695

<sup>135</sup> Falconbridge to Lockhart, 1657/1658, ibid. p. 707

<sup>136</sup> Mazarin to Bordeaux, Dec  
 Years, II, 222n.

- 36, cp Firth, *Lost*

On the first of the three meetings of the Council in the week of December 7—Tuesday, Thursday and Friday<sup>186</sup>—Lawrence was ordered to advise the Protector to make his son Richard a member of the Council,<sup>187</sup> a suggestion which was acted on so promptly that Lawrence's letter to Richard informing him of his nomination was dated December 10,<sup>188</sup> and Richard seems to have taken his seat almost immediately. For the rest the Council's business was chiefly routine—augmentations; payment of salaries; appointing some sixty-five commissioners for public faith in the several counties, and adding to the commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers.<sup>189</sup> The special meeting called for 4 P. M. on Thursday was devoted chiefly to the busi-

infant colony, it was voted that certain merchants be permitted to trade with the *Virgin Mary* and *All Saints* to any part of the West Indies and that tobacco from Jamaica belonging to Samuel Lawson and others be passed free of duty.<sup>190</sup> In themselves of no seeming importance, these items of business appear to be the first definitely relating to the production and export of commodities from that region and mark, in a way, the beginnings of normal business activity in that distant colony. And, incidentally, the Council issued an order on the 10th that those persons arrested for the seizure of Schlezer "acknowledge their offence to the said Minister, and then receive their liberty,"<sup>191</sup> which seems, on the whole, a light punishment for such an offence.

In the meantime measures were being taken to reinforce Mardike. Some time before December 8 orders were issued by the Protector to Captain Robert Grassingham at Harwich "to provide a ship to transport part of a regiment under Col. Salmon, and victuals for the voyage."<sup>192</sup> Grassingham hired the vessel but Captain Thomas Wright of the *Fame* had "an order from his Highness to go over to Mardike with some soldiers."<sup>193</sup> Still other troops were being sent from the Downs apparently, for on December 9 Sir Richard Stayner "shipped

<sup>186</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. liii.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 210.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206-11 *passim*, 556-57.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 209, *Cal. S. P. Col.* (1574-1660), p. 461.

<sup>191</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 210.

<sup>192</sup> Grassingham to Adm. Comms., Dec. 8, *ibid.*, p. 478. Firth and Davies note (p. 532) that half Salmon's regiment was sent in May, 1658.

<sup>193</sup> Wright to Adm. Comms., Dec. 8, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 478. Firth and Davies note (p. 532) that "the order of Col. Salmon commanding them."

off 5 companies of soldiers of 310 men . for Maudike by order of his Highness."<sup>184</sup> As to the other documents emanating from the Protector at this moment, on December 7 there was an indenture issued to the Hon. Robert Howard, one of the sons of the Earl of Berkshire, making Howard farmer of the postfines for sixteen years from Michaelmas, 1657 at a yearly rent of £3,000 payable half-yearly.<sup>185</sup> On December 11, he issued a warrant to Evan Seys, Serjeant-at-law and attorney-general of Glamorgan for back pay; and another to the Treasury Commissioners and the Exchequer officers:

*Warrant*

[Substance only]

For payment of £30 out of the Exchequer to Evan Seys, Serjeant-at-law, Attorney-General of the county of Glamorgan, being six years of arrears of his fee of £5 per annum as such Attorney-General.<sup>186</sup>

Dec. 11, 1657.

*To the Treasury Commissioners and Officers of the Exchequer*

Oliver by the Grace of God Lord Protecto<sup>r</sup> of the Comonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions & Territories thereunto belonging, To the Com<sup>rs</sup> of o<sup>r</sup> Tre<sup>a</sup>ry and all others y<sup>e</sup> Offic<sup>rs</sup> and Ministers of o<sup>r</sup> Excheq<sup>r</sup> att<sup>rs</sup> them Greeting,

the seaventeenth of NOVEMBER in this p sent yeare One thousand six hundred fifty seven, O<sup>r</sup> will & pleasure is, And wee doe hereby require and comaund you, That out of such o<sup>r</sup> treasure as is or shalbee in y<sup>e</sup> Receipt of o<sup>r</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Excheq<sup>r</sup> you pay or cause to bee paid unto S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Viner kn<sup>t</sup>, and Ald<sup>r</sup>man of o<sup>r</sup> City of London, the sume of one thousand pounds of lawfull money of Englar<sup>l</sup> Peter Blondeau, in the s<sup>d</sup> Ord<sup>r</sup> of o<sup>r</sup> Engines for coyning in such manner and by such proporcons as in and by the s<sup>d</sup> Ord<sup>r</sup> is directed And for see doing theis our L<sup>res</sup> or the Inrollm<sup>t</sup> shalbee yo<sup>r</sup> warr<sup>t</sup> Given und<sup>r</sup> o<sup>r</sup> Privy Seale att our Palace of Westm<sup>r</sup> the Eleaventh day of Decemb<sup>r</sup> in the yeare of o<sup>r</sup> Lord One thousand six hundred fifty and seven<sup>187</sup>

The main business of the Protector and Council, however, was the choice of the members of the "Upper" or "Other" House, with which they had been wrestling for some time. The end of that task was now

<sup>184</sup> R. Stanner to Adam C. . . .

<sup>185</sup> Treas

S. P. Dom. (1657-8), pp. 93-94, 102).

<sup>186</sup> Proc. London Soc. Antiquaries, ser. 2, II, 71. Seal bears arms of Protector, if there was a monogram it had been a . . .

<sup>187</sup> Hc . . . see Cal S. P. Dom (1657-8), p. 169, for Nov. 17 order. Endorsed "Gervase Lawson, Deputie of Miles Fleetwood."

approaching, for under the provisions for establishing that house was one which compelled its announcement forty days before the assembling of Parliament; and the writs were accordingly issued on December 9 or 10. Of the men so chosen, some eighteen were related to the Protector, directly or indirectly: among them his sons, Richard and Henry; his sons-in-law, Falconbridge and Claypole; his brothers-in-law, Fleetwood, Desborough and Jones; his cousins, St. John, Whalley and Ingoldsby; and Henry Cromwell's father-in-law, Sir Francis Russell. In addition, four were sons of peers, ten were sons of knights or baronets, and sixteen of "ancient family." Naturally there was, as throughout the more important events of the period, notably the trial of Charles I., a goodly company of "Cromwellian colonels," Hewson, Goffe, Barkstead, Berry, Pride, Thomlinson—some of them, like Hewson, to the enormous amusement of the people at large—with Montagu, Monk and Lockhart, who had played no part in that earlier tragedy. There were some twenty-one in all, of whom seventeen were in command of regiments. Virtually all of the Privy Council were named, with the exception of Thurloe. There were also the Cromwellian lawyers, Whitelocke, Steele and Glyn. Of the seven or eight peers who were summoned all but two—Falconbridge and Eure—refused to come, it was suggested that some of them refused to take their places beside men like Hewson and Pride. There was even Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston, and though Sir Henry Vane was omitted, his relative, Sir Thomas Honywood was named. Many who desired a summons did not receive one, among them the old Speaker, Lenthall, though when his complaints of being overlooked reached Cromwell he was called. Some, like Monk and Montagu, Steele, Lockhart and Henry Cromwell were not able to leave their duties elsewhere to take their seats. Sir Arthur Haselrig, who was summoned, refused to take his seat, it was said, on the ground that he did not know how long he would be able to hold the bishop's lands he had acquired, and would not take his place, contenting himself with insisting on re-entering the House of Commons and criticizing the government and the "Other House" from that vantage-point. Ludlow's account of the matter is perhaps the best contemporary statement of the case. Cromwell, he wrote,

endeavored to make up a collection of men of all interests to fill that which was called the Other House. The principal part of them were such as had procured their present possessions by their wits, and were resolved to enlarge them by selling their consciences for the purchase of his favour. With these were joined some of the antient nobility, together with some of the gentry, who had considerable estates derived to them from their ancestors; . . . He sent also a summons in the form of the antient writ directed by the kings of England to such as they called to the Lords' House . . .<sup>108</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Ludlow, II, 31

The writs, of which this to Richard Cromwell may serve as an example, were, as Ludlow says, in the ancient form of a summons to the House of Lords.

*Writ*

Our p<sup>r</sup>esent Parliam<sup>t</sup> to be held at Our City of Westm<sup>r</sup>, the 17th Day of September in the yeare of Our Lord one thousand six hundred Fifty and six and there to consult and advise w<sup>th</sup> the Knights Citizens and burgesses of Our said Commonwealth, w<sup>th</sup> Parliam<sup>t</sup> was then and there held and Con-

and firmly enjoyne you that Considering the difficulty of the said affaires and eminent Dangers all excuses being set aside you be psonally present at Westm<sup>r</sup> aforesaid the said twentieth Day of January next Coming, there to treat Conferre and give yo<sup>r</sup> advise with Us and with the Great men and Nobles in and concerning the affaires aforesaid—and this as you love O<sup>r</sup> honor and safety and the Defence of the Commonwealth aforesaid you shall in no wise omitt Witnes o<sup>r</sup>selfe at Westm<sup>r</sup> the ninth Day of December in the yeare of Our Lord one thousand six hundred Fifty and seven <sup>1657</sup>

In all some sixty-three men were summoned, of whom it seems some forty-two accepted, and of these thirty-seven actually appeared at the first meeting. It was not a very imposing body, but it was perhaps the best the government could do with the materials at its hand, and it may be doubted whether on the whole the government gained by this experiment to which it had been committed, losing as it did some of its strongest supporters in the lower House. Under the circumstances it had no other choice, but the Other House certainly did not strengthen its position in the minds of the public since it came in not only for much criticism but for a still greater amount of ridicule.

Even while the Protector was engaged in choosing these men he

Rich. Hampden, Tho Honiwood, Wm Roberts, Johnston of Wariston, Rich Ingoldsby, Chr Pack, Ro <sup>berts</sup>, Tho Pride <sup>wood</sup>, Matt Tomlinson, Thomas, Ja  
Thos Cooper (*ibid*, pp 503-4)

was confronted with another and annoying problem—the enforcement of the recent Act against the Catholics. As Giavarina wrote,

With the return of Parliament at hand and nothing done so far in execution of the act against the Catholics, the Protector, to show that something is being done, has issued a commission to arrest all priests that are found . . . mine, who has always passed as a secular, . . . was arrested merely on suspicion of being a priest, although not found in any ecclesiastical exercise. I applied at once to the secretary of state, but so far they have put me off with fair words and under different pretexts, chiefly that priests who serve foreign ministers must not go to other houses for any function, and the priests themselves must be foreign, English, Irish and Scottish priests being considered traitors by the law of the land.<sup>200</sup>

Of foreign news there was not much in these last days of 1657, but what there was seems to have been of some importance. It appeared that Holland had finally resolved to join England and France in mediation between Denmark and Sweden.<sup>201</sup> From Hamburg, Bradshaw—for whom, Whitelocke noted, the Protector's "distaste . . . was perceived to increase"<sup>202</sup>—wrote of the difficulty he was having in getting any action from Russia in the problem of mediation; and that "it seemes the Dane deales not much better in now declareinge that he cannot treate except all the borderers on the Baltic be included, especially the King of Poland; which I believe will be resented" by both Cromwell and Sweden.<sup>203</sup> In addition to protesting to the French court regarding the treatment of the Piedmontese, the Protector was persuaded by Whitelocke—so the latter says—to interfere directly by sending an agent to the Duke of Savoy;<sup>204</sup> but if he went, there seems to be no record of who he was or what he accomplished. More specifically, George Downing was appointed to go as agent to the States General with a commendatory letter from the Protector, presumably to take advantage of the rumor that the Netherlands would join in mediation between Denmark and Sweden, whose hostility was equally disadvantageous to both England and Holland.

<sup>200</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Dec. 11/21, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 144, cp. *Merc. Pol.*, Dec. 3-10.

<sup>201</sup> Thurloe, vi, 672-73.

<sup>202</sup> Bradshaw to Thurloe, Groubin in Courland, Dec. 11, Thurloe, vi, 669.

<sup>204</sup> Whitelocke, p. 665.

*To the States General of the United Provinces*

HIGH AND MOST MIGHTY LORDS, GOOD FRIENDS AND ALLIES.

The most noble gentlemen, George Downing, knight, and a member of our Parliament, whom we have appointed our Representative at your court, will inform you of our affection and good will toward the United Provinces and of our zeal not only for maintaining but for increasing from day to day that natural bond which exists, between you and ourselves. We have given him also other instructions that in this conjunction of circumstances and events seem to us indeed not unseasonable and to the mutual advantage of both republics. We request therefore that you have the same confidence in this representative of ours that you have in us ourselves in those matters which he will explain to you on our behalf, and that, as often as our friend would be happy to obtain a complete free access to you and to the divine protection. Given from our palace at Westminster, 17th December 1657.

Your good friend,

OLIVER P<sup>205</sup>

It was in connection with this that he wrote to the States of Holland

*To the States of Holland*

That the peace and tranquillity of the world, and the safety of the Christian religion, to be either by yourselves, or from us, matters of such great moment can hardly be adjusted to the advantage of both nations, we thought it conducing to the common good of both republics, to send George Downing, a person of eminent quality, and long in our knowledge and esteem for his undoubted fidelity, probity and diligence, a man of peace and moderation, to mediate in the consideration of those things, by which the peace between us may be preserved entire and perpetual. Concerning which we have not only written to the High and Mighty States, but also thought it requisite to give notice by letter also of the same to your lordships, supreme in the government of your province and who make so considerable a part of the United Provinces, to the end you may give that reception to our resident which becomes him, and that whatever he transacts with your High and Mighty States, you may assure yourselves, shall be as firm and irrevocable, as if ourselves had been present in the negotiation. Now the most merciful God direct all your counsels and actions to his glory, and the peace of the Christian religion.

OLIVER P<sup>206</sup>

<sup>205</sup> T. A. - "The States of Holland and West-Friesland, 1657-1658," p. 100.

<sup>206</sup> T. A. - "The States of Holland and West-Friesland, 1657-1658," p. 100.

no. - "The States of Holland and West-Friesland, 1657-1658," p. 100.



It was at this point that another of those political ephemeridae who were continually coming within the Protector's line of vision made his appearance. This one, it appears, came on a "ship returned from Florida, belonging to some Merchants of London," which was wrecked near Weymouth. He purported to be an ambassador from Florida, who escaped and reached London but without credentials commission—or clothes—which were lost. As Giavarina wrote,

He has saved some other papers, but no one can understand them, and as his interpreter is drowned he will not be able to explain himself to any one. . . .  
 assistance and support of his lord, who is a mortal enemy of the Spanish monarchy. He came to England stark naked, after the manner of his own country, but the severity of this climate . . . has compelled him to dress and cover himself thoroughly.<sup>207</sup>

Who he was, or what his business was, is lost in the mists of obscurity; but in any event he seems to have made no impress either on the Protector or on history beyond this brief mention—and it is even possible that he thought up all this tale himself. There appears to be no record of his gaining access to the Protector ( . . . ), were busy with other matters. The Protector himself, indeed, was so busy that he did not attend the Council meetings on Thursday or Friday, the 17th and 18th,<sup>208</sup> but he did approve some eighty-two orders, some as far back as November 9.<sup>209</sup> Among other business was the settling the details of Downing's mission to the United Provinces.<sup>210</sup> For the rest, they seem to have been occupied with making preparations against an insurrection, though Thurloe professed to Lockhart not to "know the ground of the report about the malcontents in England," and added that "for the army . . . they never were in better temper, and more unanimous in affection to his Highness, if they were otherwise, the stirrings of the Cavaliers, who begin to carry it as under some new hopes, would cure all their other troubles, for whatever they differ upon, they will agree against Charles Stuart and his party, that is certain."<sup>211</sup> None the less a large part of the Council proceedings of December 17 was taken up with the delivery of arms to various garrisons, among other things sending to the City to find a place near St. Paul's to quarter 600 horse and foot "for the better security of the City";<sup>212</sup> besides sending orders to county authorities, of one of which we have knowledge

<sup>207</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Dec. 18/28, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), pp. 146-47.

<sup>208</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. lvi.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 219, 224.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222 salary increased from £1,000 to £1,300.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217, *Clarke Papers*, iii, 129.

*To Mr. John Dunch, and the rest of the Commissioners of the Peace for Hampshire*

[Substance only]

Ordering them to meet and consult about the best course for securing those officers that have been active of late in plotting against the government.<sup>213</sup>

December 18 was kept by Cromwell and his family as a day of humiliation,<sup>214</sup> and two days later Nathaniel Temms and Martin Noel gave bond to the Protector for the payment of £8,000 with interest for that part of the money for the Piedmontese which remained in their hands.<sup>215</sup> With this went more miscellaneous business. Henry Cromwell protested "the number of grants for land, which have lately been sent us over by his highness or the Parliament: they are very exorbitant satisfactions for old debts; . . . This course will so peel the revenue that we must have greater supplies from England."<sup>216</sup> Captain Taylor, the shipwright at Chatham, noted that he had "received 2 warrants from his Highness to furnish Mardike with men, materials, and provisions",<sup>217</sup> and Stayner notified the Admiralty Commissioners that "the time of the ships sent out by his Highness's commands will expire in 3 days,"<sup>218</sup> from all of which it appears that the expeditionary force was being supported by every means within Cromwell's power. It was evident that, at last, Cromwell and Mazarin were working in accord in the matter of Mardike. The Protector promised to furnish the Cardinal with an able man to oversee ship-building, but questions arose as to whether he should be an actual builder or merely a supervisor—and what Mazarin would pay!<sup>219</sup> The Cardinal was a stiff bargainer, instructing Bordeaux to try to get from the Protector palisades and hay, even coverlids, though if Cromwell refused to meet the expense of the latter, enough might be found in Calais for use at Mardike.<sup>220</sup> On his part the Protector requested that Sir George "Cartwright" [Carteret], who was one of Charles II's agents, but then a prisoner in the Bastille, be either delivered up to the Protector or held prisoner, though it appeared that he had been "banished" from France and was reported on his way to Venice, intending to take service under the republic.<sup>221</sup> On De-

<sup>213</sup> Acknowledged by Dunch, Dec. 29, Thurloe, vi, 710.

<sup>214</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 129.

<sup>215</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm. Repts.*, 19, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>216</sup> Henry Cromwell to

<sup>217</sup> Taylor to Admiralty Commrs., Dec. 18, *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 484.

<sup>218</sup> Stayner to same, Dec. 19, *ibid.*, p. 485.

<sup>219</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, Dec. 14/24, Thurloe, vi, 676, cp. Lockhart to Thurloe, Dec. 5/15, Macray, III, 396-97, no. 1215.

<sup>220</sup> Mazarin to Cromwell, Dec. 16/26, Thurloe, vi, 676.

<sup>221</sup> This is the date of the arrest of Sir George Carteret, Thurloe, Dec. 16/26, *ibid.*, p. 681.

ember 17 Lockhart delivered to Mazarin Cromwell's letter recommending Bordeaux together with the Protector's complaint of the treatment of the Piedmontese Protestants, neither communication pleasing to the Cardinal, who none the less gave Lockhart an order for payment of £20,000 a month for five months, apparently on account of the payment of the English expeditionary force, or the expense of Mardyke.<sup>223</sup> However much Cromwell and Mazarin disliked or distrusted each other, circumstances held them together in what seemed to many persons an unnatural union. It was so close that Giavarina confirmed Giustinian's report from Paris that France was unable to make any peace or advances to a treaty without Cromwell's consent, and that an article to that effect was then being negotiated.<sup>224</sup>

The situation at the moment was both delicate and difficult. Dunkirk and Mardyke were so close that parties of each side continually met with those of their opponents; and, among other such encounters it happened that Sir John Reynolds had arranged an "accidental" meeting with the Duke of York, some time in November. It was reported in the Hague, in fact, that Reynolds had negotiated with the Duke and General Marcin, and it was charged—though with no definite proof—that Colonel Francis White had informed the Protector of his superior's indiscretion—to call it by no harsher word.<sup>225</sup> There was distrust on all sides, not the least on that of the English who suspected that their French allies might come to terms with the Spaniards, or that they might be betrayed by their own officers. There was, besides, the controversy over the new persecution of the Catholics, and at this moment Giavarina reported that Bordeaux had gone again to the Protector and "exerts himself in favour of the Catholics."<sup>226</sup> In view of that new persecution, it came with bad grace from the Protector to appeal to Mazarin at this moment on behalf of the Piedmontese. Nor was the situation improved by the Protector's lack of funds. Thurloe expressed himself to Jephson as distressed at the inability to keep the promise made to Friesendorff to send £30,000 to Sweden, but it was impossible, since the seamen had to be paid when the fleet came in—and even the money for that had to be borrowed.<sup>227</sup>

During the week of December 21 the Council met as usual on Tuesday, and twice on Friday, but the Protector was not present, probably

<sup>223</sup> Lockhart to Mazarin, 17 Dec. 1657, *Lockhart Papers*, vol. 1, p. 122.

<sup>224</sup> Giavarina to Mazarin, 17 Dec. 1657, *Lockhart Papers*, vol. 1, p. 122.

<sup>225</sup> *Last Years*, i, 296-97 and notes. When Reynolds' wife came to see Fleetwood, "H. H. sent to her to return" (Fleetwood to Henry Cromwell, [Dec. 15], Thurloe, vi, 681).

<sup>226</sup> Giavarina to Mazarin, 17 Dec. 1657, *Lockhart Papers*, vol. 1, p. 122.

<sup>227</sup> Thurloe

owing to the "indifferent state" of his health<sup>227</sup> It seems apparent that the people were getting restless over the Puritan restriction on their holidays and repression of the Anglican service, for among its other activities<sup>228</sup> the Council ordered the Lord Mayor and the authorities of London and Westminster to "see that the Ordinance for taking away festivals is observed, and to prevent the solemnities heretofore used in their celebration." In addition to this the Protector was advised to send for Mr Gunning and Dr Taylor "and require an account of the frequent meetings of multitudes of people held with them, and cause the Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer to be enforced"<sup>229</sup> There was besides the usual discussion of Mardyke and of Ireland, notably an earlier note of "that . . . which . . . to the value of tenn thousand pounds, in lew of their great losses," and the Protector took prompt occasion to write in behalf of the petitioners:

*To the Lord Deputy and Council*

Whereas by Act of Parliament of 26th September 1653 it is enacted that lands in Ireland to the value of £10,000 shall be surveyed and set out for . . . and of our former letter in this behalf, further authorise and appoint you that, out of the forfeited lands in the county of Wicklow in the Province of Leinster, you immediately cause to be ascertained and set out so much lands for satisfaction aforesaid, as upon a true survey you shall find to be proportionable to the value directed in the said Act.<sup>230</sup>

Dec. 22, 1657

The Christmas season was now at hand, and whether or not it was in connection with this, on December 22 the Council ordered the excise commissioners to admit forty tuns of French wine, six of Flemish,<sup>231</sup> and ten tuns of vinegar to be imported customs and excise free for his Highness' use, and a warrant was issued to that effect to Colonel Philip Jones, comptroller of his Highness' household<sup>232</sup> Whatever

<sup>227</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1657-8), p. 131, Giavarina to Doge, Dec. 25/Jan. 4, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 150

<sup>228</sup> Various petitions from and in regard to the Dukes of Hamilton, petition of John Paterson, late of Strabane and Chester, and recommendation of him to Irish Council, salaries etc *Cal S P Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 225, 227-28, 229-30, 232, 557.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226. . . .  
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gist, for employment "than . . . of . . . " and before Dec. 24 he wrote to recommend . . .  
both to the East India Company.

<sup>231</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 225, specifies 40 tuns French and Rhenish.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 551.

the celebration in Whitehall—of which there is no record—outside of those precincts all festivities were forbidden. As Giavarina wrote, a decree was issued yesterday that no one should celebrate these days, and that the shops should not be closed. But the people . . . refused to obey, for no shop is seen open, but all those who went to the churches to perform their devotions were arrested by the soldiers and placed under guard, . . . The foreign ministers have also proceeded with caution over the celebration of this day, to avoid trouble, as the government is displaying great animosity at present against the poor Catholics.<sup>223</sup>

Against such severity Whitelocke says he advised the Protector as "contrary to the liberty of conscience so much owned and pleaded for by the Protector."<sup>224</sup> But as the government-controlled *Public Intelligence* observed, such celebration was

against an express order of his Highness and his Privy-Council, . . . also in regard of the ill Consequences that may extend to the Publick by the Assemblies of ill-affected persons at this season of the year wherein disorderly people are wont to assume unto themselves too great a liberty, it was judged necessary to suppress the said meetings . . . by some of the Soldiery employed to that end, who at Westminster apprehended one Mr. Thislcross, he being with divers people met together in private, In Fleet street they found another meeting of the same nature, where one Dr Wilde was Preacher, And at Exeter-house in the Strand they found the grand Assembly, which some (for the magnitude of it) have been pleased to term the Church of England; it being (as they say) to be found no where else in so great and so compact a Body, of which Congregation one Mr Gunning was the principal Preacher.<sup>225</sup>

This was the meeting attended by Mr. Evelyn and his wife. The former reported Mr. Gunning's

Sermon ended, as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. . . . As we went up to receive the Sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffering us to finish the office of Communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do, in case they found us in that action.<sup>226</sup>

There was no personal injury done and the detention was but brief. The same scene was repeated elsewhere, notably "att the noted place Gregoryes in Paul's Churchyard a guard of soldiers was sett att the doores to keepe any from assembling there."<sup>227</sup>

<sup>223</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Dec 25/Jan 4, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 150.

<sup>224</sup> Whitelocke, p. 666.

<sup>225</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Dec. 21-28

<sup>226</sup> Evelyn, *Diary* (1854), I, 323

<sup>227</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 130-31, cp *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 5, App p. 165 (Sutherland Mss.).

This seems to be the fullest account of Christmas under the Protectorate available, and it is difficult to see why such severity should have been exercised at this particular time unless it was in anticipation of the meeting of Parliament which had showed itself so antagonistic to Catholics and Episcopalians. Whichever way it looked, Cromwell's government faced increasing complications. Intelligence from the Hague reported that the Protector had threatened to assist Sweden to the same extent that Holland aided Denmark,<sup>238</sup> and the despatch of the hard-boiled Downing to the States General—he left on January 2 for Gravesend<sup>239</sup>—indicated that the English revolutionary government was prepared to take a firm stand. Fairfax was reported as so much annoyed at his treatment by Cromwell that he had said he "would remember it when there was occasion," and it was even said—at third hand—that he had under consideration "his behalf of the people,"<sup>240</sup> Giavarina wrote that the Council's meetings were "devoted to preparing instructions and in digesting material to lay before the houses when they assemble."<sup>241</sup> In the meantime, however, the Protector took occasion to despatch two letters,—one to the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland; and one to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

*To the Lord Deputy and Council*

A petition and proposals being by some well-minded persons lately presented to us, for the purchasing, with such Debentures or other public-faith debts as were properly satisfiable and chargeable upon Ireland, a certain number of houses to the value of about £2000 a year in such towns as yet are undisposed of in Ireland, and the said houses and annual revenue so purchased by them, forthwith to assign and set over to persons (to be approved of by ourself) in trust for the carrying on a foreign correspondence with learned

our Council, we do for these reasons judge it worthy of all encouragement, willing and desiring that the same may likewise receive all due assistance and furtherance from your Lordships. Your speedy despatch herein may give a considerable advantage to this work, by the opportunity you

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R. A. F., hopes to publish the *Diary* in whole or in part as soon as circumstances permit. On his notes in the *Dorset and Colyton Magazine*, *The Griffin*, vol. 35, no. 56 (1938)

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<sup>241</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Jan. 1/11, *Cal S P. Ven.* (1657-9), pp. 151-52.

Whitehall, Dec 30, 1657

*To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand, Great Duke of Tuscany*

MOST SERENE GREAT DUKE, OUR MUCH HONOURED FRIEND,

Your highness's letters, bearing date from Florence the 10th of November, gave us no small occasion of pleasure; finding therein your

affection. For what we requested of your highness, namely that you would command the master of the *Little Lewis*, William Ellis (who most ignominiously broke his faith with the Turks,) and the ship and goods seized and detained, till restitution should be made to the Turks, lest the Christian name should receive any blemish by thieveries of the like nature, all those things, and that too with an extraordinary zeal, as we well understood before, your highness writes that you have seen performed. We therefore return our thanks for the kindness received, and make it our farther request, that when the merchants have given security to satisfy the Turks, the master may be discharged, and the ship, together with her lading, be forthwith dismissed, to the end we may not seem to have had more care perhaps of the Turks interest, than our own countrymen. In the mean time, we take so kindly this sur-

desire a speedy opportunity, with the same promptitude of mind, to gratify your highness, whereby we might be enabled to demonstrate our readiness to return the same good offices

Your highness's most affectionate,

From our court at Westminster,

OLIVER, etc.<sup>243</sup>

December —, 1657.

Meanwhile there had been some small changes at court. On December 31 Richard Cromwell took the oath as a member of the Privy Council,<sup>244</sup> and it was reported that Cromwell "hath lately bestowed three new places in his court, namely to his steward Capt. Maydstone a place called master-cofferer; to Mr Waterhouse, master of the green cloth; and to the auditor, substitute-comptroller of the court; which were in the time of the king",<sup>245</sup> all of which, to some minds, seemed to indicate another move to make Cromwell king. Of minor matters, he seems to have made a certain William Collins captain of a troop in Gloucestershire,<sup>246</sup> and granted the market and fairs of Ovingham

<sup>243</sup> Dunlop, ii, 674-75.

<sup>244</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 443-44, with corrections from Latin in Columbia *Milton*, no 107, Masson, v, 378-79, cp. above Dec. 3, 1657

<sup>245</sup> *Cal S P. Dom* (1657-8), p. 239

<sup>246</sup> Payne to Nieupoort, Jan 1/11, Thurloe, vi, 722

<sup>247</sup> Sotheby *cat* for July 6-7, 1931 (Johnstone coll.).

to the Earl of Northumberland.<sup>247</sup> But the main business for the month of January was the vexed question of Mardike and the French coast. In case of a shortage of supplies or forces on the Dunkirk coast, followed by an order to send "the *Half Moon* to Mardike, to bring back the 5 companies of Col Gibbon's regiment."<sup>248</sup> Bordeaux was instructed to tell the Protector that the French would pay only those English soldiers who were actually in service, many being at that moment absent from their stations. Mazarin told Lockhart something to this same effect and wanted Bordeaux to persuade Cromwell to reduce the six English regiments to four,<sup>249</sup> while Bordeaux on his part was busy soliciting new supplies for Mardike, especially palisades and powder.<sup>250</sup> They were still trying to recruit men in England, "but very few soldiers made their appearance, there being a general reluctance to take service from fear of being sent to Mardich. No one likes the idea of going there as it is observed that the majority of the men sent to those parts have perished of the hardships of the cruel climate."<sup>251</sup>

On the last day of 1657 the Portuguese ambassador, Mello, had "audience of his Highness, who has recovered from his chill." As Giavarina heard it, Mello

discoursed at length about the Portuguese prizes now in an English port. He pointed out that nothing had been done in the matter except with his Highness's consent, and pressed strongly for the sequestration to be upheld in accordance with the treaty. He denounced the pretensions of the Admiralty Court and asked that resolute orders might be given them not to meddle with the case, as having nothing to do with their authority. The Protector replied courteously, expressing his desire to abide faithfully by the terms of the treaty and to try and strengthen the friendship and confidence with that state.<sup>252</sup>

To this Giavarina added—what perhaps belongs to a somewhat earlier date,—

The Protector sent for the mayor of the city of London and when he arrived told him that he wished the city to get together a corps of 500 horse, well mounted and maintained at their own expense, for their own security. The mayor . . . promised to lay the matter before the . . . aldermen . . . and that he would return and tell his Highness what they had done.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>247</sup> M. H. Dodds, *Hist. of Northumberland*, xii (1926), 142.

<sup>248</sup> Stayer to Adm. Commrs., Jan. 1 and 3, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 254-55.

<sup>249</sup> D'Ormesson to Bordeaux, Dec. 29/Jan. 8, Thurloe, vi, 709-10, Lockhart to Thurloe, Jan. 1/11, *ibid.*, p. 725.

<sup>250</sup> Bordeaux to Thurloe, Dec. 31, *ibid.*, pp. 716-17, cp. *ibid.*, p. 743.

<sup>251</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Jan. 1/11, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 152.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.





some difficulty in regard to the coming of Henry Cromwell and Monk to London to sit in the Other House. Henry Cromwell and Colonel Thomlinson, though named as members of that House, had no advice that they were permitted to leave Ireland.<sup>261</sup> Monk had the same problem. If he came, he wrote, some one would have to be sent to take his place; and in any event some competent person was needed for the north of Scotland, where there was at least one place which was a receiving station for messages from the Continent.<sup>262</sup> In the meantime the Protector had sent him commissions for various individuals, including one for Cornet Skelton to be lieutenant to Captain Lilburne, who was in the regiment of his namesake and possible relative, Colonel Robert Lilburne.<sup>263</sup>

Such matters gave place to Lockhart's report that the rumors of Reynolds having conferred with the Duke of York were so strong and so generally believed that he was unable to suppress them. For himself, he wrote, he did not believe them, but thought they were merely a prelude to "the debauching of some officers and soldiers in that garrison," and warned Morgan to that effect.<sup>264</sup> Meanwhile, he wrote to Falconbridge, that Mazarin was irritated at Cromwell's delay in naming Reynolds' successor.<sup>265</sup> From Wismar Jephson was still trying to bring pressure to bear to get the money Charles X Gustavus had been promised and transmitted the latest threat that the Swedish king might make peace with Poland and Austria if the £30,000 was not paid.<sup>266</sup> At home there was little or no news. The Council seems to have met but once during the week of January 11,<sup>267</sup> chiefly to make orders regarding some outstanding debts and to provide a pass—and a ship—for Lord Lichfield, a cousin of Charles Fleetwood, and orders to Stayner to send more ships to the Channel and the coast.<sup>268</sup> Of all this only the attitude of Sweden was of any great importance. Cromwell had no money to spend on Sweden without fresh supply from Parliament. He was not prepared to fight Denmark. He relied on diplomacy, especially on Downing, to put pressure on the Dutch to join in making peace between Sweden and Denmark, and Anglo-Dutch relations were just short of war.

<sup>261</sup> Henry Cromwell to Cromwell and to Thurloe, Jan 5, 6 and 7, Thurloe, vi, 730, 732, 734.

<sup>262</sup> "other men  
anc  
observe them" careful to

<sup>264</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Jan 6/16, *ibid.*, p. 731

<sup>265</sup> Jan 9/19, *ibid.*, p. 741

<sup>266</sup> Jephson to Thurloe, " "

<sup>267</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (165

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 263-64, 508, 512, 551.

All this was interrupted by a curious circumstance which Whitelocke considered of such importance—either to himself or to the Protector—that he recorded it in great detail. As he tells the story,

The Sieur *Phillips Passerins* being sent by the Queen of *Sweden* to the Protector with Letters Credential, and to inform his Highness of some secret Affairs, he by first to me desiring me to his Presence of his

Protector said, he would consider of the Business Upon Advice with his Council about it, some of them to shew their extraordinary Care of his Person suggested, that this Messenger being an *Italian* (who were skilful in the Art of Poisoning, and ready to be hired for such a Purpose) might bring Poison with his Letters to the danger of his Highness, and therefore dissuaded him from receiving of this Messenger, or permitting him to come into his Highness's Presence

The Protector smiling acquainted me with this cautious Counsel, I convinced the Protector of the Folly of it, and the high Distaste that would be taken by the Queen in case her Secretary should be denied Audience, The Protector replied, That the Messenger desired to deliver his Errand in private to the Protector, and none to be by but one more, whom the Protector should receive it of the Gentleman, and hazard the danger of being poisoned by it, at which the Protector laughed, and appointed a Day for the Gentleman's Audience

At that time I only was present with the Protector, and the Gentleman offering to deliver the Letter to his Highness, I took it first from the Gentleman, and then he delivered his secret Message to his Highness, which I interpreted from the *French*, and it was a particular Account of the Causes why she ordered her Servant, the Italian Marquiss, to be put to death in France,<sup>269</sup> and I also propounded to his Highness several Matters in order to Alliances with foreign Princes, which were of great Consequence and probable Advantage to *England*, and the Protector seemed well pleased with it.<sup>270</sup>

In regard to this extraordinary event, which seems to belong rather in Dumas' romances than in sober history, Giavarina wrote:

"He brings letters for the Protector, for Vittlock, . . . and for the ministers of Sweden here. He has presented the letters . . . but apparently he does not find the Protector very favourable about those for himself. One

<sup>269</sup> Giovanni Monaldeschi was variously described as Christina's "major-domo" and her "secretary." The reason for his execution, or murder, was never given and remains one of the many small mysteries of history. It is possible that he betrayed a design of Christina against Naples

<sup>270</sup> Whitelocke, p. 656, under date of May 3, 1657.

cannot discover what business he brings and as he bears no title he will not be introduced to audience by the master of the ceremonies in the usual way."<sup>271</sup> He adds later, however, "The gentleman . . . has recently seen the Protector, without any of the formalities customary with duly accredited ministers. He presented the letter to his Highness, which was written in French. He spoke in Italian, the only ones present being Cromwell, the treasurer, Vitlock, and the master of the ceremonies, who was summoned to act as interpreter, the Protector having ordered all the others, usually present, to leave the room, in response to the gentleman's wish. The real reason for his coming cannot be learned and one hears no talk about it. From intimations which reach me from a reliable source I imagine that he has come to suggest some attack to be made jointly by the French and English in the coming campaign against the kingdom of Naples, which is represented as being easy to conquer."<sup>272</sup>

Still later Giavarina reported that Passerini wanted "nothing but a reply to his credentials to enable him to return to his mistress, especially . . . Cromwell had no inclination to listen to his . . . ships and troops for the fanciful enterprise . . . it all of . . . appar- . . . Christina's order for the execution of her follower."

"I have learned," he wrote, "from one of the queen of Sweden's servants here, who is a Protestant, that Phillipo Passerini (whom she sends to wait on his highness) is a priest, who ordinarily sayeth masse to her. He is her present confidant, tho' he hath the esteem of a lewd man, and is said to have been the cheife occasion of that barbarous and unhappy action at Fontainebleau."<sup>274</sup> I know your lordship will think it fitt, that he meet with a civill reception, but whatever his message be, the stay of such a messenger is not to be encouraged."<sup>275</sup>

On the other hand Giustinian, the Venetian envoy in Paris, was more specific as to the intentions of Christina and Passerini. The latter he described as an

unfrocked Theatine, the one who confessed Monaldeschi, because their [Sweden's and Cromwell's] help would enable her to carry out her plan. She considers it quite feasible and that it would prove most useful to the Swede and to the Protector also by diverting their enemies' forces from Germany and Flanders. In short the queen hopes to get help from these two states, money from the king and ships from the Protector and pressure on France

<sup>271</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Jan. 15/25, *Cal S P Ven.* (1657-9), p. 156

<sup>272</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Jan. 15/25, *Cal S P Ven.* (1657-9), p. 156

<sup>273</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Jan. 15/25, *Cal S P Ven.* (1657-9), p. 171

<sup>274</sup> This apparently refers to the murder of her confidant. She was at Fontainebleau N. . . . 521).

<sup>275</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Jan. 15/25, *Cal S P Ven.* (1657-9), p. 713.

from both to support the undertaking, which so far has not progressed favorably and which wise men consider impracticable <sup>276</sup>

It would seem either that Whitelocke's report of Passerini's arrival was misdated or that the Italian remained a considerable time, for apparently he did not leave until after the middle of March, 1657-8, taking with him Cromwell's refusal to share in this enterprise as "the internal state of England does not permit them just now to give their support to external affairs, least of all such plans as those of the queen, so confused and difficult to execute" <sup>277</sup> In itself the abortive Passerini episode was of no consequence except for the assumption—which was held by many other rulers—that the Protector would be willing to engage in such distant and hazardous enterprises In view of his previous negotiations with discontented elements on the Continent, with the Huguenots, the Protestant rulers of Germany, the Bordellais, his attack on Spain, his operations on the Continent as a military adventurer prepared to join any enterprise which promised some advantage In any event he was not tempted into this one

The Passerini incident was not the only curious circumstance of the time. At this moment, some time before January 17, the Protector issued a warrant to Colonel George Crompton for the arrest of two men who called themselves respectively, with a certain lack of originality, John Smith and John Browne, who were apprehended, at Hole-haven while they were waiting for an opportunity to pass over into Holland <sup>278</sup> On January 13 Sexby died in the Tower, "stark mad," three months after he had made his "confession" <sup>279</sup> With this went certain changes in the armed forces. Henry Cromwell acknowledged his father's "commands in the reception and treatment of col. Sanky," and expressed the hope that "he will satisfy your highness as much." He noted also "his Highness's pleasure, that something be done for col. Humphreys" <sup>280</sup> He expressed surprise at the orders which came from the Protector and Council on December 29 in regard to Colonel Daniel Abbott's petition to the effect that his regiment of dragoon "in this time of that the business of reducing the forces in Ireland be put in execution with all

<sup>276</sup> Giustinian to Doge, Jan. 26/Feb. 5, 1657-8, *Cal S P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 161

<sup>277</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Mar. 19/29, 1657-8, *ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>278</sup> Crompton to Thurloe, Jan. 17, Thurloe, vi, 748. Cp. note of four captured soldiers Nov. 26 from Crompton at garrison of West Tilbury, Essex (*Cal S P. Dom.*)

<sup>279</sup> 7-14, Macray, iii, 383, 391.

<sup>280</sup> Thurloe, vi, 743.

conveniency."<sup>281</sup> He also commissioned Broghill to intercede with the Protector or Thurloe on behalf of Major Redman, "for some favour and respect to be shew'd to him, wherein hee may have occasion to make his addresses, as a person, who hath very well deserv'd it by his constant and faithfull service."<sup>282</sup> Both these requests were granted. To Henry's great disgust, Colonel Abbott's regiment was promoted to the rank and pay of cavalry, and Redman was given command of Reynolds' regiment after the latter's death.<sup>283</sup> With these went other changes. Goffe who had been a major-general was to have his old regiment of foot; his regiment of horse, formerly Saunders', went to Richard Cromwell, and Lambert's to Lord Falconbridge.<sup>284</sup> In addition to these changes, Mazarin requested from Cromwell 25,000 pounds of powder in addition to the 50,000 pounds he had already received.<sup>285</sup> Whether or not these measures were taken in connection with the impending meeting of Parliament, they had some connection with the strengthening of the Protector's position. Saunders had been cashiered for joining with Alured and Okey in the Petition of the Three Colonels, Lambert had been dismissed for his refusal to follow the Protector; and the new men could be depended on to support the Protectoral system. That it would need support seemed more and more evident as the time for the re-assembling of Parliament approached. The Council meeting on Tuesday, January 19, was attended for a time by the Protector and a considerable amount of business was transacted. Apart from various petitions, and the augmentation and uniting of various parishes; supplies were voted for Mardyke,<sup>286</sup> and, without doubt, there was much discussion of the Parliament which was to meet the next day.

Such was the end of government by Protector and Council during this long recess. It differed but little from that when Parliament was in session, save for the struggle between the administration and its opponents in the House. None the less it seems apparent that some change had come over the administration. It was no longer confining itself for the most part to the conduct of foreign affairs, which lay within its prov-

<sup>281</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ire.* (1647-60), pp. 657, 856, Henry Cromwell to Fleetwood, Jan. 12, Thurloe, vi, 744.

<sup>282</sup> Henry Cromwell to Broghill, Jan. 12, *ibid*.

<sup>283</sup> Firth-Davies, II, 613.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid*, I, 259, 285, *Clarke Papers*, III, 132.

<sup>285</sup> D'Ormesson to Bordeaux, Jan. 12/22, Thurloe, vi, 743.

<sup>286</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1647-8) no. 111, 262-70. Cromwell immediately communicated to ( ) "ordered immediate despatch to Mardike of a month's victuals, beer excepted" and "appointed Capt. Johnson and is sending him out as storekeeper to assist you in this matter and act under your direction" (Lawrence to Morgan, Jan. 18, *ibid*, p. 267, cp. p. 269).

ince On the whole, government differed little from what had gone before. Among other things, they had determined not to exclude those formerly prevented from sitting, and they thus opened the way to the admission of a number of men who were certain to be opposed to them. It was, then, with a certain amount of trepidation that the officials—and the Protector not least—awaited the event of the assembling of the Parliament, for on its attitude would depend in no small measure the next step in the Protectoral system.

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## CHAPTER XIII

### THE NEW SESSION

JANUARY 20—FEBRUARY 6, 1658

It was apparent that the re-assembling of Parliament marked a new era in the Protectorate, if for no other reason because the administration had apparently come to a decision to re-admit some or all of those who had formerly been excluded, and the new body, therefore, would have a very different—and more hostile—complexion than the old. That was evident from the first. When the House of Commons met on Wednesday the 20th, it was noted that “the guard [was] removed, and every member admitted that took the oath prescribed by them before their adjournment. Most of the members, who had been formerly excluded, took the oath also, and were admitted to sit in the House, where the addition of these last, together with the removal of those of the Other House . . . made a considerable alteration in that body.” Among those who now took their seats was Sir Arthur Haselrig, who “took his place in the House without any dispute, as did also Mr Scot, with divers others who had been formerly excluded by Cromwel and his Council”<sup>1</sup>. Among those “divers others” were probably Alderman Gibbes, M P for Suffolk, Sir Thomas Style for Kent, Mr St Nicholas, Mr Weaver, and others.<sup>2</sup> These with the removal of many of the Protector’s strongest supporters to the Other House gave the new assembly a very different complexion from that of the old, and portended more trouble for the administration. To avoid that, in so far as possible, the members were required to take an oath, not unlike that which many of them had formerly refused.

#### *Commission under the Great Seal of England*

To the Right honourable *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and *John Lisle*, Commissioners of the said Great Seal, the Right honourable *John Thurloe*, his Highness’ Principal Secretary of State; Sir *Thomas Wroth* Knight, Sir *John Thorowgood* Knight, Sir *John Trevor* Knight, Sir *John Copplestone* Knight, Sir *Lislebone* *Jane* Knight Recorder of London &c. — *Thomas Foote* Knight, Alderman of — — — — — Solicitor General, *Nathaniel Bacon*, and *Francis Bacon*, Esquires, his Highness’ Masters of Requests, *Francis*

<sup>1</sup> Ludlow, II, 32–33.

<sup>2</sup> Burton, II, 334, 342, 374, 377.



*Drake, William Purefoy, John Clarke, Dennis Bond, John Stone, William Boteler, Dudley Templer, Thomas Kelsey, Hezekiah Haynes, John Crofts, and Thomas Saunders, Esquires, directed, thereby authorizing them, or any Three or more of them, to tender and administer the Oath, according to the Form*

in the Parliament of this Commonwealth, unto all and every person and Persons, which then were, or then after should be, elected and returned to be Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the same Parliament, to receive the Oath, and should be, so elected and returned to be Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the same Parliament, the Tenor of which Oath followeth, in these Words;

*I A. B. do, in the Presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, that, to the uttermost of my Power, in my Place, I will uphold and maintain the True, Reformed, Protestant, Christian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same, and that I will be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of*

attempt, any thing against the Person or lawful Authority of the Lord Protector; and shall endeavour, as much as in me lies, as a Member of Parliament, the Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the People.<sup>3</sup>

Westminster, January 18, 1657-8

That being done, the first business before the House was "to name or approve a clerk or both" What happened to Scobell is difficult to discover. The Speaker's first words, as recorded by the diarist, were "The clerk is gone, . . . There is one Mr Smythe waiting at the door, that was appointed"<sup>4</sup> Scobell himself, in a petition to the Parliament, says that "at the meeting again of Parliament, [he] attended to perform the like service to those 'whom the Lord by a stupendous and wonderfully over-ruling hand of Providence had again restored.' But finding a worthier man is chosen, he submits, being very sorry if, in the intervening changes (wherein he has been merely passive, and taken no oath to any of them), he has merited their displeasure, and begs their pardon."<sup>5</sup> So, after some discussion, Mr John Smith took Scobell's place. In the meantime the Protector had met the "Lords", "introduced by the Lords, Fiennes and Lisle, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the several Serjeants at Armes with their Maces, and next before his Highness, the Lord Disbrowe bare the Sword. Then his Highness ascending, and standing under the Cloth of Estate, after a little pause seated himself, and then sent the Usher of

<sup>3</sup> *C. J.*, vii, 578.

<sup>4</sup> Burton, ii, 316

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp. 272-73

the Black Rod to acquaint the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of Parliament, that his Highness staid for them"<sup>6</sup> So the Commons, having meanwhile appointed the following Wednesday, the 27th, a day of humiliation in the House and naming Mr. Calamy and Mr. Griffith of the Charter-House to preach, were notified that the "Black Rod is at the door, and has somewhat to say to you," that is to say that they were awaited in the Other House by the Protector<sup>7</sup> Thus advised, they made their way into his presence and were addressed by him to the following effect.

*The Lord Protector's Speech to the two Houses of Parliament, in the House of Lords, Wednesday, Jan 20, 1657-8*

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I meet you here in this capacity, by the Advice and Petition of this present Parliament, after so much expense of blood and treasure, to search and try what blessings God hath in store for these nations. I

best men, and the best Christians

It is very well known unto you all, what difficulties we have passed through, and what we are now arrived to We hope we may say we have arrived at what we aimed at, if not at that which is much beyond our expectations The state of this cause, and the quarrel, what that was at the first, you all very well know I am persuaded most of you have been actors in it It was the maintaining of the liberty of these nations; our civil liberties as men, our spiritual liberties as Christians I shall not much look back, but rather say one word concerning the state and condition we are all now in.

You know very well, the first Declaration after the beginning of this war, that spake to the life, was a sense held forth by the Parliament, that, for some succession of time, designs were laid to innovate upon the civil rights of the nations, to innovate in matters of religion And those very persons that, a man would have thought, should have had the least hand in the meddling with civil things, did justify them all, all [irregular] transactions that were in pulpits, in presses, and otherwise, which was verily thought would have been a very good shelter to them, to innovate in matters of religion also, and so to innovate as to eat out the core, and power, and heart, and life of all religion, by bringing on us a company of poisonous Popish ceremonies, and imposing them upon those that were [called and] accounted the Puntans of the nation, and professors of religion amongst us, driving them to seek their bread in a howling wilderness, as was instanced to our friends who were forced to fly for Holland, New-England, almost any-whither, to find Liberty for their Consciences

[You see that the Petition and Advice that brought me hither hath, not through a little difficulty, restored us both in point of civil liberty as we are

<sup>6</sup> *Pub Intell*, Jan. 18-25.

<sup>7</sup> Burton, II, 320-22

men, and liberty for all those that are of the Protestant profession amongst us; who enjoy a freedom to worship God according to their consciences]

Now if this thing hath been the state and sum of our quarrel, and of those ten years' wars wherein we have been exercised, and that the good hand of God, for . . . home unto us, as it is stated in the petition and advice, I think we have all cause to bless God, and the nations have cause to bless him

I well remember I did a little touch upon the Eighty-fifth Psalm, when I spake unto you in the beginning of this Parliament, which expreseth well

been favourable unto his land, and had brought back the captivity of his people; and that he had pardoned all their iniquities, and covered all their sin, and taken away all his wrath. And indeed these unspeakable mercies, blessings and deliverances out of captivity, pardoning national sins and national iniquities,—pardoning as God pardons the man whom he justifieth,—he breaks through and overlooks iniquity and pardoneth because he will pardon: and sometimes God pardoneth nations also. And if the enjoyment of our present peace and other mercies may be witnesses for God, we feel and we see them every day.

The greatest demonstration of his favour and love appears to us in this, that he hath given us peace, and the blessings of peace to wit the enjoyment of our liberties, civil and spiritual. And I remember . . . prayer and into praises, great expectations of future mercies, and much thankfulness for th . . . "Surely sal . . . our land." In the beginning he calls it his land, "Thou hast been favourable to [thy] land." Truly I hope this is his land and in some sense it may be given out that it is God's land. And he that hath the weakest knowledge and the worst memory, can easily tell [that we are a redeemed people]. We were a redeemed people, when first God was pleased to look favourably upon us, [and to bring us] out of the hands of Popery in that never-to-be-forgotten reformation, that most significant and greatest the nation hath felt or tasted. I would but touch upon that, and but a touch, how hath God redeemed us as . . . member, of every individual [of these nations], as you very well see

And then in what sense it is our land, through this grace and favour of God, that He hath vouchsafed unto us and bestowed upon us, [liberty] with the gospel, with peace and rest out of ten years' war, and given us what we would desire. Nay, who would have fore-thought, when we were plunged into the midst of our troubles, that ever the people of God should have had liberty to worship God without fear of enemies? Which is the very acknowledgment of the promise of Christ, that He would deliver his people from fear of enemies, that they might worship Him in holiness and in righteousness all the days of their life. This is the portion that God hath given us, and I trust we shall for ever heartily acknowledge it

The Church goes on there and makes her boast yet further, "His salvation is nigh them that fear Him, that glory may dwell in our land." His glory, not

of a free possession of  
 he says further, "Mercy  
 and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other."  
 "Truth shall  
 from heaven."  
 here is the righteousness of God under the notion of

in the gospel revealed towards us And he closeth with this, "Righteousness  
 shall go before him, and shall set us in the way of his steps" That right-  
 eousness, that mercy, that love and that kindness, which we have seen, and  
 righteousness, and goodness, that our God hath walked before us in.

We have a peace this day I believe in my very heart you all think the  
 things that I speak to you this day. I am sure you have cause And yet we  
 are not without the murmurings of many people, who turn all this grace and

ones,  
 [men] of all sorts, men that are of the episcopal spirit, with all the branches,  
 the root and the branches: who gave themselves a fatal blow in this place,  
 when they would needs make a Protestation that no laws were good which  
 were made by this House and the House of Commons in their absence and so  
 without injury [but] to themselves [they] cut off themselves Indeed [they  
 are men] that know not God, that know not how to account upon the works  
 of God, how to measure them out, but will trouble nations for an interest that  
 is but mixed at the best, made up of iron and clay like the feet of Nebuchad-  
 nezzar's image. Whether they were more civil or spiritual was hard to say,  
 but their continuance was like to be known beforehand, iron and clay make  
 no good mixtures, they are not durable at all.

as,  
 the things of God, and able to search into the things of God, by that only that  
 can fathom those things in some measure, [to wit the spirit of God]. The  
 spirit of a beast knows not the spirit of a man [but] "the things of  
 Truly I will remember but this one thing of those, their greatest persecution  
 hath been of the people of God, men of the spirit of God, as, I think, very  
 experiences will sufficiently demonstrate

Besides, what's the reason, think you, that men slip in this age wherein  
 we live? As I told you before, they understand not the works of God They  
 consider not the operation of his laws, they consider not, that God resisted  
 and broke in pieces the powers that were, that men might fear him, might  
 have liberty to do and enjoy all that we have been speaking of, which cer-  
 tainly God has manifested that this was the end, and that he hath brought  
 the things to  
 against God  
 cause [in the]

<sup>1</sup> *Harl. Mss*; "abilities" in *C. J.* and in journals.

<sup>2</sup> *I Corinthians* II. XI.

and not build them up. If therefore you would know upon what foundation you stand, own your foundation from God. He hath set you where you are. he hath set you in the enjoyment of your civil and spiritual liberties.

I deal clearly with you, I have been under some infirmity, therefore dare not speak further to you, but to let you know this much, that I have with truth and simplicity declared the state of our cause, and attainments in it, to

thus attained to, wherein we are thus instated,—I should be very glad to lay my bones with yours, and would have done it with all heartiness and cheerfulness, in the meanest capacity that I was ever yet in, to serve the Parliament

If God give you [strength], as I trust he will,—he hath given it you, for what have I been speaking of but what you have done, [he hath given you strength to do what hath been done]—and if God should bless you in this work, and make this meeting happy upon this account, you shall all be called the blessed of the Lord; the generations to come will bless us. "You shall be the repairers of breaches, and the restorers of paths to dwell in", and if there be any work that mortals can attain to in the world, beyond this, I acknowledge my ignorance

As I told . . . to speak  
and this meeting<sup>10</sup>

This speech, or exhortation, better suited to a conventicle than to a meeting of Parliament, revealed two things with great clearness. The first was that, as the Protector himself admitted, he was in poor health and incapable of speaking with his usual length and fervor. The second was that he had no special message to deliver, no account of the events of the preceding months, while Parliament was not in session, no statement of the condition of public affairs, either foreign or domestic. It was, in fact, an empty utterance. All that was of importance in public affairs he left to Fiennes, who was scarcely more clear than the Protector himself, confining himself largely to figures of speech, Biblical references, and to generalities little if any more illuminating than the Protector's utterances. In neither was there much light or guidance on the practical questions at issue. Parliament was, in effect, left to its own devices. Whether due to his health, to the situation of affairs, or to a general weakening of his position, Cromwell seemed no longer the directing, decisive force he had once been, and affairs took tone from that circumstance. He still held the first place in the state, he was still surrounded by all the outward show of power. Giavarina reported that "he proceeded from Whitehall to

<sup>10</sup> Stainer, no 48, Lomas-Carlyle, Speech XVI, from *C J.*, vii 30, from *Monarchy Asserted*, and *Parl. Hist.*, xxi, 170-75, are *c* *Pol., Pub. Intell.* and *Clarke Papers*, iii, 132. Fiennes' speech is reported in *ibid.*, 582-87.

Westminster by water and thence by coach to the palace in great pomp. Other of his coaches followed and some magnificent led horses, adorned with superb saddles and cloths, majestic for the gold and jewels they contained, as well as the usual guards on horse and foot. A great crowd of people assembled out of curiosity to see his return in state and it would have been greater but for the heavy snowfall which kept many at home."<sup>11</sup>

As he went the Houses got to work. There is no record of the Other House's activity beyond appointing "ministers to serve his Highness", but the Commons set to work where it had left off with the old question of religion and ministers.<sup>12</sup> From that the members turned to discuss the title and the treatment of the Other House. There was much objection to calling it a House of Lords; and Lislebone Long observed, "If you do not think fit that they should be called a Lords' House, he is not worthy to sit in this House who will not tell them with courage, that you think not fit to call them a Lords' House."<sup>13</sup> It was apparent from the first day that the device of creating another House, whatever its theoretical value, was beset with many disadvantages, not least, perhaps, in that it was composed of many men who had been called from the Commons, and many others who seemed to have no right to sit in that company beyond their devotion to the Protector. The first issue between the Houses was the Lords asking the Commons to join with them in an humble address to his Highness for a day of public humiliation throughout the three nations<sup>14</sup>—which, incidentally, Monk thought few ministers in Scotland would observe.<sup>15</sup> Nor did the Commons' answer that they would send a reply by their own messengers tend to smooth matters.<sup>16</sup>

But there was one issue on which both Houses might well have combined. At that very moment the plans for insurrection and invasion were being laid. Ormonde was in England endeavoring to gather up the threads of a conspiracy. Charles II had at least four Anglo-Irish regiments under his command; the Dutch had provided twenty-two ships; and Don John had promised an army of between six and ten thousand. . . . the English coast in connectic . . . ce fanatical sects were again on the move—and the government was not as strong as it had been. Some hundred men had been re-admitted to the Commons, many of them bitterly opposed to the Protector. He had removed his ablest supporters from that House and had taken no steps

<sup>11</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Jan. 22/Feb. 1, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 158.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Burton, II, 331-36.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 343, cp. also pp. 339-44.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340.

<sup>15</sup> Monk to Thurloe, Jan. 22 [28], Thurloe, VI, 762.

<sup>16</sup> Burton, II, 340-44.

to fill their places with men of like opinions, so that the character of Parliament was entirely changed, and wholly to the Protector's disadvantage. Nor, in fact, given the conditions, was he able to help himself. No writs for new elections could be issued save by the Speaker of the Commons acting under the orders of that House; and the last phase of the Protectorate began, in consequence, under the most unfavorable auspices, not least of which was the condition of the Protector's health.

This, then, seemed a good time for the Royalists to take heart, and the presence in England of Ormonde indicated that something new was on foot. It was reported from Bruges that every day messengers from England reached Charles II, that he had given up any design on Mardyke and was now planning an elaborate invasion of England.<sup>17</sup> That was, in a sense, to be expected, especially in view of the possibility of a division between the Protector and Parliament. The attitude of the Dutch was especially disturbing. It was reported that on January 18

His Highness was attended . . . about the Dutch business, and seemed particularly to resent it, and advised that the [East India] Company should send some able person from themselves to Holland to negotiate and press the same home, as his Agent has so much to see to and may not be able to follow the Company's affairs as effectually as one of themselves could; but he promised 'sufficient power from himself as well as the Company, and all assistance from his Resident there.' Sir Christopher [Pack] also reports that His Highness, on being acquainted . . . offer he lately made them, . . . the same, but the lesse shall now be said of the matter the better it wilbe, and that the Company shall heare further of it.<sup>18</sup>

The first part of this negotiation refers to a remonstrance and petition of the Company to the Protector in regard to the Dutch obstructions to its proceedings in northern and southern India. They asked that the Protector "give directions to his agent in Holland to inform the Dutch East India Company of the indignities . . . put upon the English," to ask the Dutch Company to write its agents in Batavia and India and to all ship commanders ordering them not to hinder English people, shipping or trade.<sup>19</sup> This, "with the collections taken from several persons . . . concerning sundry abuses and indignities" was referred to the Council, and on January 19 by that body to a committee.<sup>20</sup> It was a difficult question. India was a long way off; it was hard to control men operating at that distance; it was impossible

<sup>17</sup> From — Marshall, Jan. 24/Feb. 3, Thurloe, vi, 756.

<sup>18</sup> Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 219.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216-18.

to prevent individual rivalries and even outrages by men who felt themselves so far removed from the center of affairs; and there was doubtless enough on both sides of these collisions to bring about war if either side wished it

While the Protector and Council were busy with such matters, the Parliament was getting under way. The most important piece of business for the moment was the organization of the Upper or Other House. On January 20 some thirty-four men took the oath for that body of the forty-one who were present. The same number appeared on January 21, when Berry took the oath; forty on the 22nd and forty-two on the 23rd; so that, on the whole, the Other House got off to a fairly favorable start, those not present being for the most part detained by their duties elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> The Commons, on the other hand, met with a different situation. On Monday morning, January 24, 1657, Haselrig was sworn in as speaker, but John Thorowgood refused to administer the oath. The members came to give him the oath, together with Colonel Fitzjames, and Colonel Briscoe, and it was noted that Haselrig not merely "did speak the words very valiantly" but added "of England" to the phrase "the people."<sup>22</sup> So he took his place among those who had earlier been excluded from the House. Then after a long report by Widdrington of Fiennes' speech, which had followed the Protector's opening address, and some discussion of the business of the clerk and the oath, Widdrington announced the receipt of a letter from the Protector:

*To our right trusty and right well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington,  
Speaker of Our House of Commons*

[Substance only]

Asking both Houses of Parliament to meet him in the Banqueting Hall at 3 P.M., where he had something of concernment, relating to the peace of the nations, to communicate

(Signed) Your loving friend,  
OLIVER, P.<sup>23</sup>

Jan. 25, 1657-8

A like summons had been sent to the Other House.

<sup>21</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm. Repts., House of Lords MSS.*, n. s. iv, 505-12

<sup>22</sup> Burton, II, 347

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 350, C J., vii, 587.



To Our Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords and Commons of Great Brittain  
*Gyennes Com<sup>rs</sup> of the Great Seale*  
*to the House these* s to be Com<sup>ms</sup>unicated

Right Trusty and Welbeloued We greet you well We having com<sup>ms</sup>unicated  
 to the Lords and Commons of Parliam<sup>t</sup>, Doe for that end Desire the  
 Howse of Lords to giue Vs a meeting at the Banqueting Howse at Whitehall  
 at three of the Clock this afternoone and so we rest

25th of January, 1657 Yo<sup>r</sup> loving Freind  
 OLIVER P.<sup>m</sup>

So, being met, the Protector once more addressed the members of both Houses.

*The Lord Protector's Speech to the two Houses of Parliament, in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, January 25, 1657-8*

My Lords and Gentlemen of the Two Houses of Parliament, For so I must own you, in whom together with myself is vested the legislative power of these nations,

The impression of the weight of these affairs and interest for which we are met together is such, that I could not satisfy myself with a good conscience if I should not remonstrate to you somewhat of my apprehensions of the state of [the] affairs of these nations, together with the proposals of such remedies as may be thought fit to be used.

I have now to lay before you a matter which is now at stake, and if God bless this meeting our tranquillity and peace may be lengthened out to us, if otherwise, I shall offer it to your judgments and considerations, by that time I have done, whether there be, as to men, a possibility of discharging that trust that is incumbent upon us for the safety and preservation of these nations. When I have told you what occurs to my thoughts, I shall leave it to such an operation on your hearts as it shall please God Almighty to work upon you. I [reckon] this to be the great duty of my place, as being set on a watch-tower, to see what may be for the good of these nations and what may be for the preventing of evil, that so by the advice of so great and wise a Council as this is, that hath in it the life and spirit of these nations, that good may be attained and that evil, whatever it is, may be obviated. We shall hardly set our shoulders to this work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction upon our hearts that there is need of our most serious and best counsels at such a time as this is.

I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech to deliver myself unto you, as perhaps might have been more fitter for me to have done and more serviceable for you to [have understood] me in, but shall only speak plainly and honestly to you out of such conceptions as it hath pleased God to set upon me. We have not been now four years and upwards in this government, to be totally ignorant of the things that may be of the greatest con-

<sup>24</sup> *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts., House of Lords Mss., n. s. 1v, 514.*

cernment to us Your dangers, for that is the head of my speech, they are

my thoughts to have made this the method of my speech, to wit, to let you see the things that hazard your being and your well-being, [but when I came seriously to consider better of it, I thought, as your affairs stand, that all things would resolve themselves into very being.] You are not a nation, you will not be a nation, if God strengthen you not to meet with these evils that are upon us

First, from abroad What are the affairs, I beseech you, abroad? I thought

that he that looks well about him and considereth the estate of the Protestant affairs all Christendom over, he must needs say and acknowledge that the with which all other designs are but low things, is, wheener the Christian world should be all Popery, or, whether God hath a love to, and we ought to have a brotherly fellow-feeling of, the interest of all the Protestant Christians in the world. And he that strikes at but one species of a general to make it nothing, strikes at all Is it not so now, that the Protestant cause and interest abroad is struck at, and is in opinion and apprehension quite underfoot, trodden down? And judge with me, I beseech you, a little, whether it be so or no, and then, I pray you, will you consider how far we are concerned in that danger, as to being.

We have known very well that that [which] is accounted the honest and religious interest of the nation, it was not trodden down under foot all at once, but by degrees, that that interest might be consumed as with a canker insensibly, as Jonah's gourd was, till it was quite withered in a night It is at

people under foot on that very notion and account, that they were Protestants The money that you parted with in that noble charity that was exercised in this nation, and the just sense that you had of those poor Piedmonts, was satisfaction enough to yourselves of that as a precursory thing It all the Protestants in Europe had had but that head, that head had been cut off, and so an end of all Is this all? No! Look but how the House of Austria, on both sides of Christendom, are armed and prepared to make themselves able to destroy the whole Protestant interest. Is not, to begin there, the King of Hungary who expecteth with his partisans to make himself Emperor of Germany, and in the judgment of all men not only in possibility but a certainty of the acquisition of it? Is not he, since he hath mastered the Duke of Brandenburg one of the Electors? And no doubt but he will have [three] of the Episcopal Electors, and the Duke of Bavaria. Who [will he] have to contest with him abroad, for taking the Empire of Germany out of his hands? And is not he the son of a father, whose principal interest and personal conscience guided him to exile all the Protestants out of his own patrimonial country, out of Bohemia,—got with the sword,—out of Moravia and Silesia?

It is that which is [in] the daily complaints that [come] over to us, some of which we have but received within these two or three days, being conveyed by

to perish for want of food. What think you of that other side of Europe, to wit, Italy,—if I may call it the other side of Europe, as I think I may,—Spain, and all those adjacent parts, with the Grisons, Piedmonts afore mentioned, the Switzers, they all, what are they but a prey of the Spanish power and interest? And look to that that calls itself the head of all this, a Pope fitted,—I hope indeed born not in, but out of due time,—to accomplish this bloody work, that so he may fill up his cup to the brim and make him ripe for judgement. He doth, as always he hath done. He [hath] influenced all the Powers and all the Princes in Europe to this very thing, and no man like this present man. So that I beseech you, what is there in all the parts of Europe, what is there I say in all the parts of Europe, but a consent, co-operating at this very time and season to them, to suppress everything that stands in their way?

But it may be said, This is a great way [off] in the extremest parts of it; what is that to us?

told you it is somewhat good interest of Europe. I have, I thank God, considered. I would beg of you to consider a little more with me, what that resistance is that is likely to be made to this mighty current that is like to be coming from all parts on all Protestants. Who is there that holdeth up his head to oppose this great design? A poor Prince! Indeed poor, but a man in his person as gallant, and

into a corner, and that which addeth to the grief of all, and more than all that be too truly said,—[is] that

And I beseech you consider the consequences of that. For what doth all this signify? Is it only a noise, or hath it articulate sound with it? Men that are not true to that religion we profess,—I am persuaded with greater truth, uprightness and sincerity than it is by any collected body, so nearly gathered together as these nations are, in all the world,—God will find them out. I beseech you consider how things do co-operate, if this may seem but to be a design against your well-being. It is against your very being though, this artifice and this complex [design] against the Protestant interest, wherein so many Protestants are not so right as were to be wished. If they can shut us out of the Baltic Sea, and make themselves masters of that, where is your trade? Where are your materials to preserve your shipping, or where will you be able to challenge any right by sea, or justify yourselves against a foreign invasion in your own soil? Think — all go to ask the poor manner to ship, you will hardly find in any ship but they will tell you this is designed against you, so obvious is it, by this and other things, that you are the object. And, in my conscience, I know not for what else, but because of the purity of the Profession amongst you, who have not yet made it your trade to prefer your profit before godli-

But should it so happen that, as

are!

You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great  
 Truly you will not be able to keep your ditch,  
 turn your ships and your shipping into troops  
 of horse and companies of foot, and fight to defend yourselves in *terra firma*  
 If these things [succeed], *Liberao animam meam*, I have told you of it. And  
 if there be no danger in this, I have satisfied myself I have told you [If] you  
 will judge [it] no danger, if you will think we may discourse of all things at  
 without a due sense of  
 told you of it And

really, were it not that France, give me leave to say it, is a balance to this  
 party at this time, should there be a peace made, that hath been and still is  
 laboured and aimed at, a general peace, then will England be the general ob-  
 ject of all the fury and wrath of all the enemies of God and our religion in the  
 world I have nobody to accuse, but do look on the other side of the water.  
 You have neighbours there, some that you are in amity with, some that have  
 professed malice enough against you I think you are fully satisfied in that  
 I had rather you would trust your enemy than some friends, that is, believe  
 your enemy and trust him that he means your ruin, rather than have confi-  
 dence in some that perhaps may be in some alliance with you I perhaps  
 could inter all this with some particulars, nay I could. For you know that  
 your enemies be the same that have been accounted your enemies ever since  
 Queen Elizabeth came to the throne  
 nothing of counsel,  
 earth. And when public attempts would not do, how have they, by the  
 Jesuits and other emissaries, laid foundations to perplex and trouble our  
 government by taking away the lives of them that they judged to be of any  
 use to preserve your peace! And at this time I ask you whether you do not  
 think they are designing as busily as ever any people were to prosecute the  
 same counsels and things to the uttermost?

The business was then, the Dutch needed Queen Elizabeth of famous  
 memory for their protection They had it. I hope they will never ill-requite  
 it; for if they should forget either the kindness that was then shewed them,  
 which was their real safety, or the danger that now hath befallen them,  
 with them, truly I  
 hardly prosper in it But this may awaken you, howsoever I hope, you will  
 be awakened upon all these considerations It is true, it is true they have  
 professed a principle that, thanks be to God, we never knew They will sell  
 arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies They will do so,  
 [and truly that principle is not a matter in dispute at this time, only let  
 everything weigh with your spirits as it ought, let it do so] And we must tell  
 you, that we do know that this is true I dare assure you of it, and that I  
 think if your Exchange here were but resorted to, it would let you know as  
 much as you can desire to know, that they have hired sloops, I think they  
 call them or some other name, they have hired sloops to transport upon you

four thousand foot and one thousand horse upon the pretended interest of that young man that was the late King's son. And this is I think a thing, so far from being reckoned a suggestion to any ill end or purpose, or to any other [unclear] your danger and to unite [unclear] did, and I hope I never [unclear] us with money to defend ourselves, but if money be needful, I will tell you. Pray help us with money, that the interest of the nation may be defended both abroad and at home. I will use no arguments, and thereby will disappoint the artifice of false men abroad that say it is for money [that I say this]. Whosoever shall [unclear] (it will be in vain.)

[unclear] have done, and that with all love and affection and faithfulness to you and these nations. If this be the condition of affairs abroad, I pray a little consider what is the estate of your affairs at home. And if both these considerations have but this effect, [unclear] consideration [of our want, [unclear] of anything that shall be due to the nation, as he shall please. And I hope I shall not be solicitous. I shall look up to him that hath been my God and my guide hitherto.

I say, I beseech you, look to your own affairs at home, how they stand. I am persuaded you are all, I apprehend you [are] all very honest and worthy good men, and that there is not a man of you but would desire to be found a good patriot. I know you would. We are apt to boast sometimes that we are Englishmen. And truly it is no shame to us that we are so, but it is a motive to us to do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of this nation and the interest of it. But I beseech you, what is our case at home? I profess I do not know well where to begin at this head or where to end, I do not, but I must needs say let a man begin where he will, he shall hardly be out of that drift I am speaking to you. We are as full of calamities and divisions among us in respect of the spirits of men, though, through a wonderful, admirable, and never to be sufficiently admired providence of God, in peace. And the fighting we have had and the success we have had, yea, we that are here, we are an astonishment to the world, and [yet] take us in that temper we are in, or rather distemper, it is the greatest miracle that ever befel the sons of men, and whosoever shall seek to break it, God Almighty rout that man out of this nation,—and he will do it, let the pretences be what they will. He that considereth not the woman with child, the sucking children of this nation that know not the right hand from the left, of whom, for aught I know, it may be said, this city is as full as it is said of Nineveh [of old]; he that considereth not these, and the fruit that is like to come out of the bodies of those now living added to these, he that considereth not these, must have a Cain's heart, who was marked and made to be an enemy to all men and all men enemies to him, for the wrath and justice of God [unclear] man to his grave, if not to hell. I say, look on this [unclear] consider what are the [varieties] of interest [in this nation, if they be worthy of the name of interests]. If God did not hinder, all would make up a confusion, and we shall find there will be more than a Cain in England, if God did not restrain, and we should have another more bloody civil war than ever we had in England. For I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this nation? Is it not that

each sort of people, if I may call them sects, whether sects upon a religious

be uppermost, that every sort of men may get the power into their hands, [—and they would use it well,—that every sect may get the power into their hands]. It were a happy thing if the nation would be content with rule, if it were but in civil things, with those that would rule worst, because misrule is better than no rule, and an ill government, a bad one, is better than none

and rending and tearing, and making them wider than they are. Is not this the case? Doth there want anything,—I speak not of sects in an ill sense, but the nation is hugely made up of them,—and what is the want that these things are not done to the uttermost, but that men have more anger than strength? They have not power to attain their ends. And I beseech [you]

but judge what proofs have been made of the spirits of these men, summoning men together to take up arms, and to exhort each sort to fight for their [notions], every sort thinking they are to try it out by the sword, every sort thinking that they are truly under the banner of Christ if they but come in and oblige upon this account. Now do but judge what a hard condition this poor nation is in. This is the state and condition we are in. Judge, I say, what respect to what these are like to do among themselves, but some of these, yea some of these, they care not who carry the goal, nay, some of these have invited the Spaniard himself to assist and carry on the Cavalier cause. And that this is true, and many other things that are not fit to be suggested to you because we should betray

I say, this is your condition. What hinders the eruption of all this upon you irresistibly, to your utter destruction? Truly you have an army in these parts, in Scotland, in England, and Ireland. Take them away to-morrow, would not all these interests run into one another? I know you are rational, prudent men, have you any frame or model of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if this be not the frame you are now called together upon and engaged in? I mean the two Houses of Parliament and myself. What hinders this nation from being made an Aceldama, if this do not? It is [this] without doubt; give the glory to God. Give the glory to God, for without this it would prove as great a plague as all that hath been spoken of. It is this without doubt that keeps this nation in peace and quietness. But what is the case of this army? a poor unpaid army, the soldiers going barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather, and yet a peaceable people, seeking to serve you with their lives, judging their pains and hazards,

and all, well bestowed in obeying their officers and serving you to keep the peace of these nations. Yea, he must be a man that hath a heart as hard as the weather, that hath not a due sense of this plain and evident this is your outward and pres.

day, do but you judge [how it stands], the Cavalier party, the several humours of unreasonable men in these several ways having made batteries at this defence ever since you enjoyed your peace. What have they made their business but this, [to] spread libellous books, yea, and pretend the liberty of the people, which really wiser men [than they] may pretend. For let me say this to you at once, I never look to see the people of England come into a just liberty, if any other war should overtake us. I think at least, that that is likely to bring us into our liberty, is a consistency and agreement [within] this meeting. Therefore all that I can say to you is this, it will be your wisdom, I do think truly, and your justice to keep this interest close to you, to uphold this settlement, which I have no cause to think but you are agreed to and that you like it. For I assure you, I am very greatly mistaken else to think that that which is now the settlement among us, is that which hath been my inducement to bear the burden I bear, and serve the Commonwealth in the place I am in.

And therefore if you judge, that this be not argument enough to persuade you to be sensible of your danger, which besides good-nature and ingenuity would move a stone to be sensible of, therefore give us leave to consider a little what will be dissatisfied,

behind in pay; yea, an army in Scotland near as much; an army in Ireland much more. [And if these things be not considered],—I cannot doubt but that they will be considered,—I say judge what the case of Ireland is, should

begun to be planted. The people there are full of necessities and complaints. They bear to the uttermost, and should the soldier[s] run upon free quarter there upon your English planters must quit the country through mere beggary, and that which hath been the success of so much blood and treasure to get that country into your hands, what will be the consequence but that the English must needs run away for pure beggary and the Irish must possess the country for a receptacle to a Popish and Spanish interest? And hath Scotland been long settled? Have not they a like sense of poverty? I speak plainly, in good earnest I do think the Scots' nation have been under as great suffering in point of livelihood and substance outwardly as any people I have yet named to you. I do think truly, they are a very ruined nation, yet in a way,—hopeful enough yet the meaner sort, I must say the meaner sort, in Scotland. I must say, if it please God to encourage the meaner sort, the meaner sort live as well and are likely to come into as thriving a condition under your government, as when they were under their great Lords, who made them work for their living no better than the peasants of France. I am loth to speak anything which may reflect upon that

nation, but the middle sort of this people grow up into such a substance, as makes their lives comfortable if not better than they were before. If now after all this, we shall not be sensible of all those designs which are in the midst of us, of the united Cavaliers, of the designs which are animated every day from Flanders and Spain, if we shall look upon ourselves as a divided people, a man cannot certainly tell where to find consistency anywhere in England. Certainly there is no consistency in anything, that may be worthy the name of the body of consistency, but in this company that are met here. How should that man lay his hand upon his heart and not talk of things,

mut them to your bosom. They have a weight, a greater weight than any I have yet suggested to you from abroad or at home.

If this be our case abroad and at home, that our being and well-being,—our well-being is not worth the naming comparatively,—I say, if that be our case of our being abroad and at home that through want to bear up our honour at sea and for want to maintain that that is our defence at home,

not with heart and soul intend and carry on these things, I confess I can look for nothing. I can say no more than what expresseth in print, of one that having consulted everything, he could hold to nothing like nothing, neither Fifth Monarchy nor Presbytery nor concludes he was for nothing but an orderly confusion. And for men that have wonderfully lost their consciences and their wits, I speak of men abroad that cannot tell what they would have, yet are willing to kindle coals to disturb others.

My business [to you is] to prove the verity of the designs from abroad and still unsatisfied spirits of Cavaliers at home, who from the first of our peace to this day have not been wanting to do what they could to kindle a fire at home in the midst of us. I say, if this be so the truth, I pray God affect your hearts with a due sense of it and give you one heart and mind to carry on this work for which we are met together. If these things be so, should you meet to-morrow and accord in all things tending to preservation of your rights and liberties, really it will be feared there is too much time elapsed to deliver yourselves from those dangers that hang upon you. We have had now six years' peace, and we have had an interruption of ten years' war. We have seen and heard and felt the evils of it, and now God hath given us a new taste of the comfort and benefit of peace. Have you not had such a peace in England, Ireland, and Scotland, that there is not a man to lift up his finger to put you into a distemper? Is not this a mighty blessing from the Lord of Heaven? Shall we now be prodigal of time? Should any man, shall we, listen to delusions to break and interrupt this peace? There is not any man that hath been true to this cause, as I believe you have been all, that can look for anything but the greatest rending and persecution that ever was in the world. I wonder then how it can enter into the heart of man to undervalue these things, to



slight peace and the Gospel, the greatest mercy of God. We have peace and the Gospel. Let us have one heart and soul, one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of this nation, not to pretend them to the destruction of our

and lay them to heart. You have a day of fasting coming on: I beseech God touch your hearts and open your ears to this truth, and that you may be as deaf adders to stop your ears to all dissension, and look upon them, whosoever they be. As Paul saith to the Church of Corinth, as I remember, Mark such men as cause divisions and offences and would disturb you from that foundation of peace you are upon, upon any pretence whatsoever.

I shall conclude with this. I was free the last time of our meeting to tell you I would discourse upon a Psalm, and I did. I am not ashamed of it at any time, especially when I meet with men of such a consideration as you are. There you have one verse that I forgot, "I will hear what the Lord will speak: he will speak peace to his people and to his saints, that they turn not again to folly."

... be our destruction. If God shall [not] unite your hearts and bless you, and give you the blessing of union and love one to another, and tread down everything that riseth up in your hearts or tendeth to deceive your own souls with pretences of this and that thing that we speak of, and not prefer the keeping of peace, that we may see the fruits of righteousness in them that love peace and embrace peace, it will be said of this poor nation, *Actum est de Anglia*. But I trust God will never leave it to such a spirit. And while I live [and] am able, I shall be ready to stand and fall with you in this seeming promising union God hath wrought amongst us. He nor envy of men shall be able to dissipate it. I took oath to govern according to the laws that are now made [and to be made], and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I sought not this place, I speak it before God, angels and men, I did not. You sought me for it and you brought me to it, and I took my oath to be faithful to the interest of these nations, to be faithful to the government. All those things were implicit in my eye in that oath, to be faithful to this government upon which we are now met. And I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall, I must, see it done according to the articles of the government, that thereby liberty of conscience may be secured for honest people, that they may serve God without fear, that every just interest may be preserved, that a godly ministry may be upheld and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits, that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual. Upon this account did I take oath and swear to this government. And so, having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have nothing more to say but to pray God Almighty bless you.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Stainer, no 49, Lomas-Carlyle, Speech XVII, from Burton, II, 351-71, from *Add. Mss* 6125, f 82 and *Lansdowne Mss* 754, f 330. Cp *Portland Mss* xvi, 143 and *Sloane Mss* 2905 (Mrs Lomas' note).

me; . . . which and force of many of his former speeches, and it carried little conviction. He was expected to give some account of the financial situation, . . . which . . . vigor . . .

*To the Speaker*

SIR,

I should have imparted a paper to you, which indeed I have forgot. I have it not here. It is concerning the state of your moneys. You had lately an account of the public moneys, and we have been as good husbands thereof as we could. We have not increased the debt. But some supplies designed by you for public service, that of the buildings, hath not come in as was expected. The paper shall be ready for you. You shall have it when once you desire it. I desire you to acquaint the House with it.<sup>26</sup>

January 25, 1657-8

The speech seems not to have made a very great impression on those who heard it, even Whitelocke dismissing it with the observation that "he exhorted them to Unity, and to the observance of their own Rules in the Petition and Advice, and gave them a state of the publick accounts and good counsel";<sup>27</sup> and another account notes merely that he "made a very pious and eloquent speech, tending to unity amongst themselves, and provision against the common enemies of this nation."<sup>28</sup> Among other things with which he had to contend was a more or less hostile audience, for it was observed that it contained "about one hundred of Cromwell's most inveterate Enemies, who had obtained great Credit and interest in the House, by having been excluded for their Fidelity to the Commonwealth."<sup>29</sup>

This part of the opening ceremonies past, the Houses returned to their places. In the Other House, Dr Reynolds and Mr Howe prayed and preached, and Mr Caryll prayed.<sup>30</sup> In the Commons, where the exercises began at ten and lasted until five-thirty, Mr Calamy and Mr Griffith gave "very good sermons. The first smelled Presbyterian; the other was for church government, but against imposing

<sup>26</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 137, from *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.*, *Portland Mss.*, 1, 682, cp. *C. J.*, vii, 589.

<sup>27</sup> Whitelocke, p. 673.

<sup>28</sup> Falconbridge to [Lockhart], Jan. 25, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 273.

<sup>29</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, xxi, 195.

<sup>30</sup> *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.*, *House of Lords Mss.*, v. 15, 517.

spirits; and it tasted a little of Court holy water. The first professed himself never to have been a Court flatterer.<sup>31</sup> On Thursday, following the report of his Highness' speech and of the note to Widdrington, it was resolved that the Protector's assent be asked for the printing of his speech, and a committee named to attend him in the matter and to get his paper "concerning the State of the Publick Monies."<sup>32</sup> Although his speech had been taken down by three experienced reporters and is perhaps the best account we have of any of his utterances, he apparently had no copy of it, as he told the committee.

### *Speech to the Committee*

His Highness answered them that his speech he could not remember, nor had he any copy thereof to be printed. That [he] was sworn to maintain the privilege of Parliament and for them to come as a committee without a conjunction of a committee of the Other House was in his judgment a great breach of privilege, and therefore [he] could not take cognizance of their message.<sup>33</sup>

The report of this utterance to the House of Commons was more extensive and more explicit. It was to the effect that,

he could not have looked upon the committee as a committee of the House of Commons. That he was sworn to maintain the privilege of the House of Commons, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. And that he was exceeding tender of the breach of privilege of either House, whereunto he had sworn, and by the blessing of God would maintain. And that he did not know, nor did he care to know, what the committee of the House of Commons had to say. Those things that did lie upon his own heart, and that he did acquaint them honestly and plainly how things stood in matters of fact, but of the particulars he doth not remember four lines. That he had considered with some persons about the papers relating to money, and found some particulars short and some over, but he would take them into consideration and set them right, and would give a timely account thereof. He desired his affections might be presented to the House, and that he would be ready to serve them faithfully in the capacity that he is in.<sup>34</sup>

With this statement the Commons had to be content, but it raised again the question as to the Other House. How was it to be addressed—as the "Other House" or the "House of Lords," as the Protector called it? On this point they argued for most of the rest of the week

<sup>31</sup> Burton, II, 372-73

<sup>32</sup> *C. J.*, VII, 589

<sup>33</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 137 (2); from *Clarke MSS.*, xxx, f. 15

<sup>34</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 137 (2), *C. J.*, VII, 589

without arriving at any more definite conclusion than not to meet in a grand committee to discuss the matter further.<sup>35</sup> It boded ill for an agreement between the two houses. All this seemed a small matter, but it had in it the germs of a considerable quarrel. As Giavarina reported it,

a master, and they all but repent of the act they passed. Instead of considering the points contained in his Highness's speech at Whitehall, setting forth the present state of affairs with England and other foreign powers, and asking for a speedy supply of money with the least possible burden on the people, to supply the needs of the state and assist friends and allies, it seems that the recognition as such for what they intended it to be, namely that decisions must be taken with the consent of both chambers, and it was not for the Commons to propose and the Lords to decide, as was the custom in the time of the kings and as the Protector intended

to have the speech made at Whitehall printed. It seemed absurd to Cromwell that any man should wish to print what he had confided to it on the as proper consideration and not exposed to the view of all the world to be criticised and commented upon in accordance with personal prejudice.

The Protector considered that the interposition of such obstacles by parliament indicated lukewarmness in dealing with the questions which he had laid before them, and seeing that they did not see the advantage that he could find in the sake of temporising, possibly in the hope of some advantage for their claims, he resolved to cut the ground from under their feet. To arise from such differences, by dissolving parliament and ordering that it should not meet again.<sup>36</sup>

Apart from this there was the personal question of honour. Stephen Charlton reported that

the Protector sent for the present Lord Mayor, to demand a certain sum of the city, who said they were so poor, that they were forced to go from door to door to beg contributions for the relief of their poor, The Protector told him for all that, if he would not undertake to procure him money, he knew how to do it himself, and so parted.<sup>37</sup>

For the rest, Henry Cromwell wrote Sir Francis Russell to ask him to try to arrange matters in regard to Sir John Reynolds' will, mak-

<sup>35</sup> Burton, II, 377-403.

<sup>36</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Feb. 5/15, *Cal S. P. Ven* (1657-9), pp. 164-65.

<sup>37</sup> S. Charlton to Sir R. Leveson, London, Feb. 15. *Hist. Miss. Comm. Rept.* 5, App., p. 166 (*Sutherland MSS.*).



government with her husband." Her papers were seized, she had no one to appeal to but Broghill who went immediately to Cromwell. "But, before he could speak to him, Cromwell began with his lordship, saying, in an angry taunting way, 'You have undertaken indeed for the quietness of a fine personage—the lady Ormonde is consorting with her husband against the public interest—'

because they are sufferers in Ireland but I find she is a wicked woman, and she shall not have a farthing of it, and I will have her carted besides.'" Broghill said he was sorry she had given occasion for such disturbance and desired to know the grounds for Cromwell's censure. "Cromwell answered,

'I have written him a letter and perused the letter, and smiled. Cromwell asked him, what he thought of it? His lordship replied, it was a mistake, for that was not lady Ormonde's hand writing, but lady Isabella Thynn's, between whom and the lord of Ormonde there had been some intrigues. Cromwell immediately asked lord Broghill, how he could prove it?' He was turned into a merry liberty continued to her, which kindness the marchioness of Ormonde heartily acknowledged."

Ormonde, it seemed, was looking for help from Colonel Popham; if he "could be persuaded, the work would be done," but he feared that he would not begin "without the Presbyterian party." He also had hopes of Dr. Hewitt, though "his party can be of no use without Popham."<sup>46</sup> It seems, too, that Gervase Holles was on his way to England in part to reassure the King's friends that he would "visitt them as soone as he can, and sooner then is generally believed." Holles appears to have had orders to take Boston if he heard the King had landed or that "a good body" appeared elsewhere against the Protector.<sup>47</sup> All in all this seemed the most serious threat to the revolutionary government which had yet been made, a threat which was the more dangerous on account of the troops now at the command of Charles II and what seemed to be the promise of Dutch and Spanish aid.

In addition to that, the situation with regard to France was none too favorable. The Protector's letter in regard to Bordeaux had made an unpleasant impression on Mazarrin. As Falconbridge wrote to Lockhart in regard to the matter,

Touching the affayre of mr de Bordeaux, H H shewed mee your lordship's letter to mr secretary, wherein you expresse a despaire of the said place,

<sup>46</sup> *A Collection of the State Letters of Roger Boyle* (Dublin, 1743), I, 47-49, E  
<sup>47</sup> *the Boyles* (1737), pp 59-61

<sup>48</sup> H  
 22

but an assurance of the second, called *president du mortier*, which I conceive is a kinde of due to him, being allready in the next bank but if your lordship is content to be contented of it and the fine is all payd for such preferment upon the account of H. H. recommendation, it will be a favour worthy the acknowledgment from mr. de Bordeaux, both to H. H. and your lordship.<sup>48</sup>

On the other hand, Mazarin was not the man to let such personal considerations influence his public policy and had commissioned Jephson to make definite resolutions for the next campaign, and to propose that Cromwell and Louis XIV treat jointly with respect to their interests at sea through their ministers in the Netherlands,<sup>49</sup> where Downing's mediation between Holland and Portugal had already been accepted.<sup>50</sup> In addition to this Jephson sent from Wismar a plea that he be enabled to bring the negotiations with Sweden to a close, which he was certain could only be accomplished by payment of the money promised to Charles Gustavus.<sup>51</sup>

In the meantime the situation in Parliament showed no signs of improvement. It seems that there was some difficulty in getting members to attend, and on Monday the Commons set a period to absenteeism, followed on Tuesday by like action by the Other House.<sup>52</sup> At the same time the discussion over the Other House began again, with Haselrig, Scot, Weaver and Cooper denouncing and Boteler, Briscoe and others defending it.<sup>53</sup> It was aggravated on Wednesday when the Other House resolved on an address to the Pro-

Commons refused to do, and though they voted 93 to 87 against going in to a Grand Committee on the subject, they resolved to send an answer by their own messengers to the Other House.<sup>54</sup> So high ran the feeling in the matter that Alderman Gibbes observed "It may be, we may be dissolved upon this very question. And it is said we have no provision for another Parliament. I am not of that opinion, . . . I doubt not but his Highness, when he rightly considers it, will regard his oath. . . . I am confident he will do all he can in order to safety and settlement."<sup>55</sup> Finally on Thursday, February 4, "His Highness

<sup>48</sup> Thurloe, vi, 757

<sup>49</sup> n 26/Feb 5, *ibid*, p 759.

<sup>50</sup> Jephson to Cromwell, 17 Feb 1653, *ibid*.

<sup>51</sup> C J, vii, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Burton, ii, 406-24.

<sup>53</sup> *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts., House of Lords Mss.*, n. 8 iv, 523-24.

<sup>54</sup> Burton, ii, 437, 441.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 427.

being come to the House unexpected and set in his Chair of State and the Lords in their places, all the Judges were sent for to attend the House and his Highness having spoken something to this House taking notice therein of their faithfullnes to the publike interest and readiness to Carry on the Governm<sup>t</sup> as it is settled in the Humble

his Highness Comaunded the [Usher of the] Black rodd to goe for the house of Comons."<sup>67</sup> That body at first practically ignored the official, but after twelve o'clock adjourned their debate "till their return from attending my Lord Protector but they never met again."<sup>68</sup>

The most complete account of the events which led to this situation is in a letter to John Hobart, M P for Norwich, who had been excluded in September, 1656. It seems that one Jenkins, possibly the member for Wells, had a letter from a porter—who was then secured—recommending his presence at the House on February 4 "to do service for the Army and the Nation," and enclosing a letter to the Protector, which Jenkins took to Thurloe, who in turn sent it to Maidstone to take it to the Protector,

Secretary had sent a letter of great concernment, he presently unbarred the door, and took the letter and shut the door again, and after a short perusal, he commanded the porter should be set at liberty, and presently sent for Whaley and Desboro, and some others, whose turn was that night to wait and watch, and asked them, if they heard no news, and they said No; and he again asked, if they did not hear of a petition, they said, No, then he commanded them to go to Westminster and require the guard there to come to Westminster, and they did go towards Westminster, but hearing some soldiers speaking of enthralling their posterity, although themselves might live well for a while, those commanders returned back and told his Highness what they heard. Then he commanded them to go to the Mews and command that guard to come to Whitehall, and Whitehall guards to go to the Mews, which was done. Thus things rested until morning, and that morning the Protector sent a letter into [the] City, and

went to his Secretary and told him he would go to the House, at which he wondered why his Highness resolved so suddenly. He did not tell him why, but he was resolved to go. And when he had dined, he withdrew himself and went the back way, intending alone to have gone by water, but the ice was so as he could not, then he came the foot way, and the first man of

<sup>67</sup> *Hist Mss Comm Repts, House of Lords Mss.*, n s iv, 524.

<sup>68</sup> Burton, II, 462-63.



about five or six of the guards to the House; after which, retiring into the Highness, what he intended; he said, he would dissolve the House. Upon which the Lord Fleetwood said, I beseech your Highness consider first well of it, it is of great consequence. He replied, you are a milksop, by the living God I will dissolve the House.<sup>99</sup> (Some say he iterated this twice, and some say it was, as the Lord liveth.)<sup>100</sup>

Ludlow was apparently of the opinion that the decision to dissolve the House of Commons. After eight or ten days had been spent in the House of Commons debating about the Lords, it was reported that

Cromwell was not a little startled at these proceedings, suspecting that part of the army, especially those that were quartered about St. James's, were engaged therein, therefore to prevent that which he feared, and which his conscience told him he had deserved, he took the inspection of the watch at Whitehall for several nights successively in his own person. And the alarm from abroad increasing daily, he resolved upon the dissolution of this Assembly, and the power devolved upon him, that had lately appeared, and to remove such officers from their commands in the army, whom he suspected to have had any hand in their late counsels. Whilst he was deliberating about the best means of effecting this design, fresh information was brought him concerning the diligence of his adversaries in all parts, which quickened him to that degree, that he would not stay for one of his own coaches, but taking the first that was at hand, with such guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the Other House. Whither being come, he imparted his intentions to Lieut-General Fleetwood, who earnestly endeavouring to

Having come on such short notice, on the spur of the moment, the Protector delivered himself of a speech which, in a sense, took character from that circumstance

### *Speech to Parliament, February 4, 1657-8*

The last time I met you here I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the calling of this Parliament and the meeting of it a blessing to ourselves and to these nations. And the Lord is my witness, I desired the carrying on of the affairs of these nations to those ends that I then expressed to you with so much sincerity as satisfies my own conscience, and for which—

<sup>99</sup> When he heard of this Henry Cromwell wrote to Broghill "I believe the milk, 17, Thurloe, vi, 811)  
vii (1892), 108.

<sup>100</sup> Ludlow, ii, 33.

—then I must fear the uppermost witness.

And, as we told you we had attained mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, so [I hoped] that we should go on to follow those footsteps that God had laid for us, for the future improvement of them—improvement of mercy

vice given me by this Parliament—by you especially of the House of Commons—who did, in reference to the ancient constitution, frame that Petition and Advice by which you drew me to accept of the place I now stand in. There is ne'er a man within these walls that can say, Sir, you sought it, nay, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground. But contemplating as well as I could upon the sad indisposition of these Nations, broken almost in pieces with an intestine war, recovered through the blessing of God unto a six or seven years' peace—entire peace—having at the last arrived at an opportunity of settlement, I did think us exceeding happy in that progress that we had made.

except there might be this and that and other thing (which you agreed to me and upon which you invited me to undertake this government) I could not, I would not, undertake it. And when I had debated all those things with you—everything in this government, and you that were then in the Legislative capacity, agreeing upon such a state of government as that was which you brought to me and I sought not of you—I looked that the same men that had made that frame would have made it good to me when I came to *act* the Petition and Advice. Give me leave to interpose this. No man, no man, but a man mistaken and greatly mistaken, could think that I, that hath a burden upon my back for the space of fifteen or sixteen years—unless he would beforehand judge me an Atheist—would seek such a place as I bear. I cannot

[are] like poor creeping ants upon the earth, that I would have been glad, as to my own conscience and spirit, to have been living under a wood-side, to

undertaken such a place as I did, known to you all that did advise and petition [viz] that I undertook it for the safety of the nation. And I doubt, if you had offered it to the meanest man in this room, he would not have undertaken it, really, if he had but wisely considered his own person. But upon such terms really I took it, and I am failed in those terms.

I [did] tell you of one thing that I made a condition. I would not undertake it without there might be some other body that might interpose between you and me, on the behalf of the Commonwealth, to and popular spirit. You granted it that I should name it. And I named it with integrity, I did. I named it of men that can meet you where-

... I hope[d,] would not only be a  
 themselves, having honest  
 hearts, loving the same things that you love, whilst you love England and  
 whilst you love religion. And having proceeded upon these terms, as I  
 low, and when I heard honesty and duty and of service, I was  
 choosing such a ...  
 nor too low, but I pitched upon men that I hope will be willing to sacrifice  
 their lives for these good interests. I thought in doing that that was my duty  
 could have satisfied

you are not satis-  
 fiable, and I pray God misery be not found from the Lord (I hope it will  
 never be found from me) a more necessary teacher than mercy. When I speak  
 of mercy, I speak of the mercy that cometh from God to you. I take not my-  
 self to be able to dispense it as I would, but I say I did choose such a house as  
 I thought I might answer for, upon my life, that they would be true to those  
 ends and those things that were the ground and state of our war with the  
 Cavalier party all along. And what will satisfy if this will not? Again, I would  
 not choose to accept of this government unless I knew that there would be a  
 just reciprocation between the government and the governed, whether the  
 governed representative or the whole collective body, those that were the  
 representative of the whole body of the nation, unless they would take an oath  
 to make good what the Parliament petitioned and advised me to. Upon that  
 [the] reciprocation of my part was the taking of an oath. I did take it, they  
 made everything in this govern-  
 ment took the oath on their own part,  
 took an oath answerable to mine. Did not every man that had a hand in the  
 that swore with reciprocation know upon what conditions he swore?

And what apprehension soever, what place soever or sense soever this may  
 have in your hearts, I tell you mine is different from yours, and I hope (God  
 knows upon what condition I took that oath) I took it upon the condition  
 expressed in the [act of] government. And I can say with truth and upright-  
 ness, had that government been settled, that we had been upon a foundation,  
 I tell you what my understanding was of it, that when it was once agreed, we

might have been an emendation to it. But there was a supposition, while we  
 stood unsettled in anything, till we knew what we should come at, the conse-  
 quence whereof must necessarily have been absolute confusion.

If you had once settled the government as it is (not to make hereditary  
 lords nor to make hereditary king or kings) you had had a basis to stand  
 upon: the power of these nations, consisting as this government in the two  
 Houses and myself. Whatever had occurred to your judgment and your

to go against mine own principle, to enter upon other men's consciences) but I tell you what it was to me and in doing that, I am satisfied enough. God will judge between me and you.

the the complaint that there hath been a design, that through the avoiding to do that that occurs to every man's reason

If there were an intention of settlement, you would have settled upon this to have altered or allayed. Ye had the free exercise of a legislative power to have offered your judgment and opinion when you had pleased. But this hath not been done, it hath not; but what hath been done? Truly that that I cannot speak to you of but with shame and with grief and sorrow. God is my witness I speak it. It is evident to all the world, to all the town, to all the army, people living in the world, that a new business hath been seeking in the room of this, this actual settlement, settlement by your consent, and in this I do not speak to those gentleman or lords or whatever you will call them, I say not this to them, but I say it to you. You advised me to be where I am

taken for agreed [that] it was a stated business, the nation had time to look round about them. But if you must have and must have we know not what, you not only have disquieted yourselves, but the whole nation is disquieted. And give me leave to tell you what I think, running more in arrear of satisfaction, a likelihood of running into confusion in fifteen or sixteen days, than really they have done from your last rising to this day, which was about the 26th of June; and through these inventions of (really) designing a Common-

this hath been the business really. I am sorry to say it, but I think the means that hath been taken to bring about this, that hath been taken, but that thing on, and hath that man been true to this nation, whosoever he be that hath dared (especially if he hath taken an oath) thus to prevaricate? I tell you, you will not think us altogether asleep. We have known these things have been designed. We have known attempts have been in the army to seduce them, and almost the greatest confidence hath been in the army to break us and divide us.

I speak it in the presence of some of the army, and I must tell you those things, the which hath been done to God nor according to truth, they have not. Whilst I have seen the tendency of these things to be such as will, but the playing of the law, and the stirring tumults and disturbances. God to do what I can to prevent it, that they go no further. I tell you, nay I thought it my duty in conscience to tell you what I told you at the last meeting in the Banqueting House, when both the Houses met me there, I did tell you and I told you truly and that which (God is my witness) is more confirmed to me since; is more confirmed to me within a day or two than I knew of then, that the King

of Scots hath an army at the waterside, drawn down towards the waterside, ready to be shipped for England. I tell you that I know this from their own mouths and from eye-witnesses of it, and that they are in a very great preparation to come against us. And what shall we do? We have some from some multitudes, but no better if God assist me. It is not only that, but endeavours hath been to pervert the army whilst you have been sitting, yea and to draw the army to the state of a question, a Commonwealth, a Commonwealth. If we have an enemy from the other side of the water ready to invade us, we have men listing persons under Charles Stuart's commission to cavaliers to join with any insurrection that may be here, and our Army endeavoured to be perverted. I beseech you all of you to judge with what hope or comfort or possibility of reason indeed can it be expected that we must not presently run into blood and confusion. And if this be so, and that I assign it to this cause (that which I do heartily and assuredly) even to the not assenting to that that you did invite me to, [that] that advice might be the settling of the nation and might usher in any further advantages that might be for the public good of these nations, if this, I say, be the effect of your sitting under those carriages, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting and I do declare to you here that I do dissolve this Parliament. Let God judge between you and me.<sup>82</sup>

It seems fairly obvious that this sudden and unexpected stroke on the part of the Protector was inspired in part, at least, by the fear of an invasion and a rising of the Royalists; in part by the opposition to the Protector exhibited in the House; but chiefly by fear of the army. The discussion over the Other House brought out this opposition strongly. The reports of both Giavarina and Bordeaux shed some light on this extraordinary event. The former observed that,

certain members of both Houses have been very much affected by their natural prince (Charles II) and have been very much inclined to reply to others about reintroducing the question of raising the Protector to the throne, that if they wanted a king, it was not necessary to declare a new one, but to recall the true heir to the throne, to whom the direction of this government legitimately belongs.

Parliament intended to pass an act that no tax or imposition should be paid except by order of parliament, not of the Protector as has been the practice hitherto, and this would have deprived Cromwell of the overwhelming authority he exercises and consequently would have reduced the obedience shown him by the people, more out of fear than love. Parliament was asking the Protector for a detailed account of all the money received for some time past and of how it has been spent. Parliament also claimed to take the army out of the Protector's hands and to command it itself, nominating a general

<sup>82</sup> *Commons Debates*, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 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When prejudicial to his authority, he broke up the assembly . . . representing his action as due to his passion for repose and sincerity, and not mentioning any of the things given above.<sup>63</sup>

Bordeaux's version of the affair ran along different lines. "The Parliament," he wrote,

"having continued to maintain a conduct which fomented the discontent of . . . them having recently . . . which they intended to present to the Parliament . . . by which they were still further excited by their ministers, who spoke boldly and openly against the government of the Protector, in order to prevent the results of this liberty and to prevent any union of these factions with the deputies of the House of Commons who adhered to their sentiments, he resolved to dissolve the Parliament, and, at noon, he left his palace in . . . only by a lieutenant-colonel, his nephew and son . . . to the Lords' chamber whither he commanded the Commons." After his speech, "the whole company parted, and no change has appeared either in the city or among the . . . of these sectaries, which was . . . was not based on any correspondence with the militia, and for 24 hours all sorts of precautions were taken to prevent their assemblies which took place under the pretext of . . ."

other heads, that the army officers should not be cashiered except by a council of war, . . . These subjects of complaint [with the feeling against the Other House] may have obliged the Protector to act as he has done, although the Parliament seemed necessary to him to get money, since the troops have not been paid for their last six months."<sup>64</sup>

To this Bordeaux added that the Protector "acts with great confidence since at the present juncture he is reforming his troops."<sup>65</sup> From these elements then—the discontent with the Protectorate, the growth of Royalism, the difficulties over taxes, the fear of the sectaries, of the army and of invasion, and the difficulty or impossibility of holding Parliament in line—there seems to have arisen this sudden determination to dissolve the Houses and fall back on pure . . .

later.<sup>66</sup> It involved a desire for a one-chamber Parliament, toleration, no cashiering of officers save by a council of war, the satisfactory set-

<sup>63</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Feb. 12/22, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 167.

<sup>64</sup> Bordeaux to Mazarrin, Feb. 4/14, Guizot, *Cromwell*, II, 499-500.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 500.

<sup>66</sup> Cp Abbott, *Bibliog of O C.* no. 957 (March 11), and Firth, *Last Years*, II, 31-33.

tlement of taxation, of the militia, and the regular assembling of Parliament. It summed up, in brief, the argument against dictatorship such as England had been experiencing—and it was signed by some 2,000 or more persons in London. At least one correspondent said that he dissolved Parliament to prevent the presentation of this petition,<sup>67</sup> and there seems little doubt but that it was a major influence in his decision.

It was evident that many factors entered into his hasty action. The time had come for a decision between him and his opponents and out of Parliament. He felt himself in danger, and the dissolution of Parliament left his opponents no rallying-point. That he did so feel himself threatened, and that Bordeaux was right in his judgment of a part, at least, of the source of that danger is evidenced by the documents he signed at this moment: one to Barkstead to take in custody . . . ministers, the other to Colonel Cox of the Hertford militia and doubtless to various others:

*To sir John Barkstead, knt. lieutenant of our tower of London*

OLIVER P.

Whereas we are given to understand, that several persons have been of late endeavouring, in as much as in them lay, to asperse, reproach, withstand, and subvert the governors and government of this commonwealth, as it is now established, and have been at work, and sought by all means to disturb the publick peace, raise seditions and commotions, seeking to disaffect and exasperate the hearts and spirits of the people, so that thereby they might bring the nation again into blood. And whereas some of the contrivers and actors are made known unto us to be Hugh Courtney, John Rogers, and John Portman, who obscure themselves in and about our city, . . . to [be] made, strict and diligent search for the said persons, and apprehend every of them to apprehend, or cause to . . . our tower of London, and that you keep . . . you shall receive our further order therein concerning them, every or any of them respectively. And we do also hereby authorize and require you to seize, or cause to be seized, all books, writings, letters and papers, as shall by you be found requisite, as also all such weapons, arms, or any dangerous things, to them or any of them belonging, or that are in their custody. And for the better execution whereof, you are hereby authorized to break open any doors, locks, boxes, or bolts, trunks, chests, boxes or other places. And herein all our officers, as well civil and military, are required to be aiding and assisting to you, and for which this shall be your warrant.

Given at Whitehall this third day of February, 1657<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Payne to Nieupoort, Feb. 5, Thurloe, vi, 781-82.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. . . . dispositions . . . .

*For Colonel Cox, Captain of the Militia Troop in our County of Hertford: These. For our special service*

*To be left with the Postmaster of St Albans to be speedily sent*

SIR,

By our last letters to you, we acquainted you what danger the Commonwealth was then in from the old Cavalier party, who were designing new insurrections within us, whilst their Head and Master was contriving to invade us from abroad; and thereupon desired your care and vigilancy for preserving the peace, and apprehending all dangerous persons

Our intelligence of that kind still continues, and we are more assured of their resolutions to put in execution their designs aforesaid within a very short time; being much encouraged from some late actings of some turbulent and unruly persons in this Town as elsewhere, and who, to frustrate and disappoint those good hopes of settlement which we had conceived from the proceedings of Parliament before their adjournment in June last, framed a treasonable petition to the House of Commons, by the name of the "Parliament of the Commonwealth of England," designing thereby not only the overthrow of the late *Petition and Advice* of the Parliament, but of all that hath been done these seven years, hoping thereby to bring all things into confusion, and were in a very tumultuous manner promoted and encouraged to it by

And the truth is, the debates that have been in that House since their last meeting have had their tendency to the stirring-up and cherishing of such humours,—having done nothing in fourteen days but debated whether they should own the Government of these Nations, as it is contained in the *Petition and Advice*, which the Parliament at their former sitting had invited us to accept of, and had sworn us unto, and they themselves also having taken an Oath upon it before they went into the House And we, judging these things to have in them very dangerous consequences to the Peace of this Nation, and to the loosening all the bonds of Government, and being hopeless of obtaining supplies of money, for answering the exigencies of the Nation, from such men as are not satisfied with the foundation we stand upon; we thought it of absolute necessity to dissolve this present Parliament, which I have done this day And to give you notice thereof, that you, with your Troop, may be most vigilant for the suppressing of any disturbance which may arise from any party whatsoever And if you can hear of any persons who have been active to promote the aforesaid treasonable petition, that you apprehend them, and give an account thereof to us forthwith And we do further let you know, That we are sensible of your want of pay for yourself and Troop, and to assure you that effectual care shall be taken therein, and that without delay And I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P<sup>es</sup>

Whitehall, 4th February 1657

To these letters he added at about this date an order to Lockhart

<sup>es</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, A. . . . .  
communicated by "T. C., . . . . ."



*To Sir William Lockhart*

[Substance only]

Our pleasure is, that you take care that Mr Westram's children and his executors in trust for them bee satisfied <sup>70</sup>

c Feb. 1, 1657-8.

If there were any question as to why he dissolved Parliament with such unseemly haste, it might be answered by his orders to Barkstead and his letter to Colonel Cox. He was afraid—and rightly so—that the long anticipated combination between the Royalists and the sects might finally have come to pass, and, in connection with the attitude of Parliament and the soldiery and the presence of Ormonde, there was much ground for such an opinion. In the meantime the Protector turned once more to the army. On Saturday, February 6, he called together some two hundred of his chief officers in the Banqueting House entertaining them with "a great feast in the Cockpit . . . where (as it is reported) he drank wine very plenteously with them," and addressed them for nearly two hours, later dismissing some six officers—captains Gladman, Malyn, Barrington and Spinage, captain-lieutenant Hunter and Major Packer—whom, apparently, he had some reason to distrust <sup>71</sup> His speech, of which we have only fragmentary reports, followed along the lines of his address to Parliament. Of it we have two versions, both incomplete.

*Speech to the officers*

[Substance only]

His Highness made a long speech . . . forth the story of our times from 3 C . . . the . . .

he professed it, in his own judgment, no way seasonable. Next, of the necessity of his dissolving it, in order to the public safety, professing his zeal thereto, and intention to govern by the laws, except in case of urgent necessity, wherein he must be constrained to have recourse to extraordinary ways, but it seems his rhetoric did not charm them all, for I hear that seventeen or eighteen have either laid down their commissions or that they are taken from them, and 'tis said that six of the officers of his regiment of horse are in restraint at a private house near Charing Cross. Here hath been an expectance

Colonel then lived at Beaumonts, a farm little more than a mile from St. Albans. On Col. C . . . *Civil War*, pp. 141-3 (1894). The later . . . "by mistake" [Mrs. Lomas' note] Offered . . .

vi, 783  
Miss), *Clarke Papers*, iii, 140-41; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vii, 109.

of a Declaration from his Highness to satisfy the world for this his dissolving this Parliament, but as yet we see it not. And a great noise we have had of a proclamation for banishing the Cavaliers and Papists twenty miles from this City, but I hope it will prove no more than a rumour. So likewise of new Decimations and many other ways for raising vast sums of money, which perhaps arise more from people's fancies than any true ground <sup>72</sup>

[Substance only]

Gentlemen, we have gone along together, and why we should now differ I know not. Let me now entreat you to deal plainly and freely with me, that if any of you cannot in conscience conform to the now government, let him speak, for now it hath pleased God to put me in a capacity to protect you and I will protect you. And he drank to them, and many bottles of wine were then drunk but no reply made. There was one readable passage, that I omitted in his Highness' speech, that he did not doubt but it would be made out that some, if not some here present, have been tampering with the Army and the City, which if it shall be made to appear, he made no question but it was treason <sup>73</sup>

Whatever he said seems to have been effective, for the officers, it was reported, "afresh, resolve to stand and fall, live and die, with my Lord Protector" <sup>74</sup> This was the more important in that it was suggested that many of the army were in favor of the petition then being circulated, and that some of his own immediate guards were implicated, which seems to be borne out by the fact that he shifted some of the regiments about between Whitehall and the Mews, and that Packer was the major of his own regiment. That there was a serious plot seems to be further indicated by the fact that the Council did not meet but was reported busy with examinations of plotters, among whom Harrison was named <sup>75</sup> As to the effect on public opinion of the dissolution of Parliament there is no way of knowing, but in a sense that confession" one, for public opinion had little

The question was, as later, between the Parliament and the army, and so long as the army stood by its commander-in-chief there was no recourse. The soldiers contended that they might "not be turned out of their respective employments without a legal trial at a court-martial, that so the military power may be preserved in the hands of such who are not merely mercenary neuters or disaffected" This, in effect, removed the army from any dependence on the civil power or subservience to it and made it wholly independent of Parliament. Against that the Repub-

<sup>72</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, Suppl. 139, from Dugdale to J. Langley, Feb. 13, *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rept.* 5, App. p. 177 (*Sutherland MSS.*)

<sup>73</sup> Stainer, no. 52, *Clarke Papers*, III, 139-40

<sup>74</sup> Hardib to Pell, Feb. 11, *Parl. Hist.*, XXI, 205, cp. *Clarke Papers*, III, 139.

<sup>75</sup> Whitelocke, p. 673

licans took their stand, and under any other circumstances they would have been right; but those circumstances admitted of no other course than the dissolution of Parliament if the Protectorate was to stand. But one thing seemed certain—it was that the Protectoral system was generally disapproved, and that it rested wholly on the force of the army. If the army proved anything, it proved that the Protectorate depended wholly on force, that it was, in fact, a military dictatorship. The political ineptitude of the Protectorate, and the low standing in the country at large, their dismissal removed the last vestige of concealment of the fact that England was in the hands of the army and its General.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE CAMPAIGN IN FLANDERS

FEBRUARY 7—MAY 4, 1658

Though it is difficult to put it into words, what may be called the psychology of government is, after all, comparatively simple. It is the natural instinct of masses of people to submit to authority, however obtained or however exercised. A man, even if he is himself himself he is virtually powerless. Who is he to face a prison or a firing-squad? Who is he to set himself up against an authority which has all the force on its side? Who is he to risk his life, his family and his property to maintain a principle? Who is he to set at defiance a power which could—and would—crush him in an instant if he presumed to oppose its commands? And what chance has he, even in combination with others, to overthrow a government which has armed forces at its disposal? Against a powerful, disciplined army what chance has he to prevail, whatever his sentiments and his opinions as to how government should be carried on? None whatever. He can refuse to pay taxes—and go to gaol and have his property confiscated. He can conspire—and be hanged. Those are, in effect, his choices; and this was, in effect, the situation of the people of the British Isles in this last year of the Protectorate. They were opposed to it in principle and in practice. They did not like the Protector. They disliked still more his system of government and his military policies; but they had no way of expressing their disapproval. They wanted what they had always had—a king, a parliament and the system to which they had always been accustomed.

But what could they do? There were only two things. They could submit and hope for Cromwell's death; or they could raise an insurrection, whose outcome was at best uncertain and at worst disastrous. So they submitted and hoped for the best. With Parliament gone, with the press in the hands of the government, they could not even put their opposition into words, much less into deeds. Their only recourse was petition; but what could petitions avail against muskets? So long as the army was supreme, what could be accomplished by any amount of protest or petition? The best that could happen would be to have the protests ignored. The worst was the prison or the scaffold—and who was there who would take the risk

of either? There was a sort of hopelessness about it all that is evident even in the speeches in Parliament, in the wording of the petitions, in private letters and in public utterances. There were plots and conspiracies, there were thundrings from the pulpits; but each broke harmlessly on the one immovable fact that the Protector had force on his side. It is commonly said that force is no argument, that men are ruled by love, but the cold fact is that force is the last and strongest of all arguments, and that men are ruled not by love but by fear. The Protector's speeches had small effect or none upon the Parliament, they did not convince even all of the officers, of whom it was said a number had laid down their commissions at the conclusion of his latest utterance, and that others were dismissed. This, then, was the only hope—that somehow the army would refuse to follow its leaders, that the leaders would fall out among themselves, or that the General would be removed.

This was no mere glittering generality. Some men even in his own regiment were not disposed to submit to the situation in which they found themselves. Packer and Gladman in particular were not satisfied, and the Protector, feeling that he had not conciliated his officers by his speech took them in hand personally. "His Highness," it was reported, "hath laboured their satisfaction, which may have its effect."<sup>1</sup> That was apparently on Saturday, but by Monday the position did not seem so hopeful. "In regard Major Biowne, who had formerly bin Major to the same [Cromwell's] regiment was . . . with his Highness, and order given to prepare a commission for him, it seemes probable it may bee in Major Packer's place."<sup>2</sup> That seems to have been on Monday evening and apparently on Tuesday the Protector sent for Packer and five captains—Gladman, Barrington, Hunter, Malyn and Spinage<sup>3</sup>—and in the presence of Fleetwood and Desborough "discoursed with them at large, who all declared their dislike of the present Government, and made severall obiections to it, and seemed to speake of the goodnes of a Comonwealth. His Highness . . . to satisfie their scruples, and gave . . . he had said to them." It would appear that their first misstep had been to agree to the petition which was to have been presented to the Parliament. Now, "after three or four dayes consideration he sent for them againe, and spake with them in the presence of above twenty officers" who could not be supposed to have any prejudice to them, as colonel Kelsey, major Haynes, col Berry, major Creed, col Goffe, lieutenant-general Whalley, and many others "and wished them to propound the grounds and reasons of their dissatisfaction in the presence of their

<sup>1</sup> Fleetwood to Henry Cromwell, Feb. 8, Thurloe, vi, 786.

fellow officers, but Major Packer said that they had already propounded them, and had considered of what his Highness had said to them, but that their dissatisfactions did still remaine with them; which is all the answer they would give at that tyme, and at two other tymes after wherein his Highness laboured to satisfie them, save that they all said that they were willing still to continue in the army, and follow his Highness upon the grounds of the [good] old cause, but would not expresse what they meant by the old cause" "H[is] H[ighness] asked them, what they meant by the good old cause? and bid them instance but in one peticuler, wherein he had departed from it, stateinge to them what he understood by the good old cause in peticuler. But they kept themselves in generall termes (which I did perceive none of the company did like in them,) soe at last H. H. told them, that as their temper and spirits were," he "being utterly unsatisfied with their answers," "thought it not for their owne good, nor for the safetye of the nation, that they should continue their comands in the army, and thereupon dismiss them"<sup>4</sup> It would appear that there were severall of these conversations, and it would seem also that he had some difficulty in filling the places of these men. Boteler was finally appointed to Packer's place, after Browne and Swallow had refused to serve.<sup>5</sup>

It seems surprising that the Protector, with all he had to do, took so much time and trouble with half a dozen officers, but the reason was apparently that he feared this discontent might spread, and he was doubtless influenced by the fact that these men were in his own regiment. According to Thurloe they were all Anabaptists; and it would seem that they were the spokesmen for a much more numerous body. At any rate Giavarina reported that on the next day, February 12, "21 of his Highness's horse guards [were] dismissed," in addition to many colonels and captains having been changed and many soldiers cashiered.<sup>6</sup> He may have exaggerated, but there seems little question but that the army was being shaken up and many changes made. Packer felt his treatment very deeply. Later in Richard Cromwell's Parliament he took occasion to explain his side of the case:

"In the last Parliament," he said, "there was a thing called the 'other House' judged a Lord's House, except for some limitations. I thought it was not a Lord's House, but another House. But for my undertaking to judge this, I was sent for, accused of perjury, and outed of a place of 600*l*. per annum. I would not give it up. He told me I was not apt. I, that had served

<sup>4</sup> Thurloe to Monk, Feb. 12, *Clarke Papers*, III, 140, Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Feb. 16, Thurloe, VI, 806.

<sup>5</sup> Firth-Davies, I, 73. Thurloe notes the appointment of Captain Lloyd as a major (Thurloe, VI, 806).

<sup>6</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Feb. 12/22, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 168.

him fourteen years, ever since he was captain of a troop of horse, till he came years, without any trial; and lost not only my place, but a dear friend to boot. Five captains under my command, all of integrity, courage, and valour, were outed with me, because they could not comply, they could not say that was a House of Lords."

Though Morland wrote that these officers were dismissed "for having had a finger in the plot, and endeavouring to make confusion in the army, and to corrupt it,"<sup>8</sup> one may judge from Packer's statement that, as in the case of the Commons, the creation of an Other House of "Lords" had something to do with the quarrel, so that, taken all in all, the creation of that House seems not to have been a fortunate thing for any one concerned. One thing, however, stood out. It was the phrase "the good old cause" which Packer and his friends used because they could not. What they probably meant was a commonwealth with a single-chamber legislative body, not a dictatorship. It was a catching phrase which could be used to cry for all opposed to the new order.

So far as the routine of business went, it was not greatly interrupted by these events. Now that Parliament was dissolved the Council resumed its normal schedule, meeting on Tuesday, with Cromwell present for a time, and again on Thursday, but with no unusual activity.<sup>9</sup> Its chief business, in fact, seems to have been consideration of the financial situation; its chief act a declaration of the Protector and Council, dated February 9, appointing a committee for the army and receivers for the second six months' assessment, from December 25, 1657 to June 24, 1658, and part of the three months' assessment of £35,000 a month beginning June 24, 1657.<sup>10</sup> Besides this was an item of the monthly charge for the forces in Scotland of £20,818/14 from December, 1657, which represented a monthly reduction of £3,302/14/4.<sup>11</sup> This, with orders that the rooms over his Highness' guard in the gallery near the Council chamber be vacated and prepared as lodgings for some of his Highness'

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 162-63.

<sup>9</sup> *Memoranda of the Council*, Vaughan, II, 314.

<sup>10</sup> *Memoranda of the Council*, Vaughan, II, 314. The Council now sent orders

to the army and receivers for the second six months' assessment. Acting

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p 282), the Norwich charter was also considered (*ibid.*, p 287)

<sup>10</sup> *Memoranda of the Council*, Vaughan, II, 315

<sup>11</sup>

gentlemen,<sup>12</sup> and the knighting of Henry Pickering and Colonel Philip Twisleton,<sup>13</sup> seem to be the sum of the rest of the Protectoral activities of this week. It seems at least possible that the change in the quarters of the gentlemen in Whitehall was an extra measure of precaution in the disturbed state of affairs. Taken in connection with the shifting of the troops about Whitehall and the Mews and the transfer or dismissal of various officers throughout the country, it seems to indicate that the Protector felt himself in greater danger than usual—a feeling which the disaffection of the officers of his own regiment did nothing to allay.

It is, indeed, difficult to escape the conclusion that—Cromwell or no Cromwell—the end of the Protectorate was approaching. Dissatisfaction with the Protector and his policies had begun to spread from the people to the army. It had found expression in Parliament, which all the purging of that body had been unable to check. It had forced the Protector to readmit those he had earlier excluded; and the only remedy he had left to him was to get rid of Parliament altogether. He had demonstrated twice, even thrice, that it was impossible for him to govern with or through a Parliament. He had showed that he distrusted such a system and was unable to manage it. He had thrown himself back upon the army, which had thus far supported him; but it was evident by now that the pressure of public opinion was too much even for the soldiers of that army. They were Englishmen; they inevitably mingled with the people whence they sprung; and it was only a question of time when the opinion of that people should make its way into the armed forces. In an administrative way the Protectorate had failed to bring the people to its side. It had conquered but it had neither convinced nor converted them. The petition which had been circulating among them in the preceding weeks had thrown popular antagonism into high relief, and it seems probable that it was in large measure to prevent its presentation by Parliament that he had dissolved that body which contained many men who would have been glad to deliver such a document. Whether it was signed by 2,000 or, as was said, by 10,000, or even, according to some accounts, by 20,000 names, it represented the most serious threat to the Protectorate since the execution of Charles I. It was a direct appeal to the people.

The dissolution of Parliament and the reformation of the army mark the last turn in the fortunes of Cromwellian rule. As yet this situation had not touched foreign affairs, but signs were not wanting that the situation.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286

<sup>13</sup> Masson, v, 354, *Parl. Hist.*, xxi, 222, *Merc. Pol.*, Feb. 11-18, *Pub. Intell.*, Feb. 8-15



There remained, therefore, the question of foreign relationships, which for the moment took the center of the stage. Some time in this period the Protector addressed two letters to Lockhart, the one instructing the ambassador to persuade Mazarin to consider Duke Doddeley's proposals, the other to Mazarin, they were—the other complaining of the sufferings of the English in France.

To these he added another to Drummond, concerning whom Lockhart had written to Thurloe that Mazarin had "retracted his promises on behalf of Col. Drummond because he had served Card de Retts."<sup>14</sup> At the same time Mazarin was warning Cromwell through Lockhart of Charles II's designs, and offering to assist the Protector with six or eight thousand men, at his own expense, if those designs seemed to threaten seriously the continuation of the Protectorate.<sup>15</sup> In return Thurloe reported to Lockhart that Bordeaux was to have another audience in a few days, at his own request, and that the Protector had sent for Captain Witham of Morgan's regiment to come from Mardyke to speak with him.<sup>16</sup>

These were not all of foreign affairs at this moment. On February 8 Captain Stokes, commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet, concluded a treaty of peace in the Protector's name with Tunis, by which, among other things, seventy-two captives, among them three women, were redeemed by the English, at the cost of 11,250 dollars, which Stokes declared "the least that Blake had had to pay earlier."<sup>17</sup> F. report that he was meeting with some success, for on February 11 he noted the acceptance of Cromwell's mediation between the Dutch and the Portuguese.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the Swedish commissioners in London, who had been there a year and a half, complained that they had been able to accomplish nothing and now decided to return and report to the King, who had, in fact, long since recalled them.<sup>19</sup>

Amid such disturbances as had taken place in the preceding weeks it is not surprising that from both Giavarina and Henry Cromwell came reports of the Protector's inquietude. The former wrote that

not knowing whom he can trust, he is thinking out the steps which he ought to take by himself. Cromwell is so deeply plunged in embarrassment and distress that he is now even taking his meals alone. It has been observed

<sup>14</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Feb. 17/27, Routledge, p. 10, Lockhart to Cromwell, Feb. 13/23, Thurloe, vi, 801-2, cp. *ibid.*, pp. 63, 87.

<sup>15</sup> Lockhart to Cromwell, Feb. 13/23, *ibid.*, pp. 801-2.

<sup>16</sup> Thurloe to Cromwell, Feb. 11/21, *ibid.*, p. 799.

<sup>17</sup> Stokes to Cromwell, Feb. 11/21, *ibid.*, p. 799, (1657-8), pp. 307-8, annexing articles of treat. (5).

<sup>18</sup> Downing to Cromwell, Feb. 11/21, *ibid.*, p. 792, res. of St. Gen., *ibid.*, pp. 790-91.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 797-801, cp. defence of English commrs., *ibid.*, pp. 864-68.

with amazement that in eight days he has only once sat at table with his wife and family, whereas he used to do so every morning and evening <sup>20</sup>

Henry Cromwell wrote, among other things related to the discontent of the times,

I hope God will infatuate these men [Harrison, Okey and Carey] in their  
to be by those their follies, which do sufficiently shew them to have been but  
meer pretenders to, and abusers of religion, and such whose hypocrisy the  
Lord will avenge in his due time . . . The Lord direct his Highness, and  
dispose his friends to pray for his life, on which thread a great weight hangs <sup>21</sup>

In connection with the recent difficulties, the Council, which met four times during the week of February 15,<sup>22</sup> ordered that a Colonel John White be brought before them for words spoken against the Protector and suspicion of treason, and committed him to the Tower.<sup>23</sup> Beyond this little of consequence appears in their minutes <sup>24</sup> It was reported that the Protector had sent a Privy Seal to Attorney-General Prideaux for £3,000,<sup>25</sup> and it is certain that he had been sending orders to Captain William Whitehorn to keep ships plying in the Channel to guard against the enemy expected from the direction of Biscay with soldiers to relieve Flanders.<sup>26</sup> At the same time he sent orders to Vice-admiral Goodson to join the fleet <sup>27</sup> But the great news was that of the health of the Protector, his family and his advisers On February 16 Robert Rich died "of the disease commonly called the King's evil, his lungs being all knotted therewith" On the same night Cromwell's niece, Lavinia Whetstone Beke died,<sup>28</sup> and Giavarina wrote that Thurloe was so ill that it was "unlikely that he will ever be well again and so it appears they will have to find some one else to take his place, unless the powerful remedies applied restore his senses and enable him to resume his duties." More important still, it was reported that the Protector himself, apart from being ill, had been

<sup>20</sup> Cal S P Dom (1657-8), p. 131

<sup>21</sup> Cal S P Dom (1657-8), p. 131 The Protector seems to have been absent

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. no. 205, 207

Robt. Thompson, Neh. Bourne and Fras Willoughby (*ibid.*, p. 291)

<sup>23</sup> Charleton to Leveson, Feb. 15, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 5, App. p. 166 (*Sutherland MSS.*)

<sup>24</sup> Whitehorn to Adm. Commrs., Feb. 15, *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 289 The *Newcastle* was ordered to keep watch on Margate Road (same to same, Feb. 17, *ibid.*, p. 329)

<sup>25</sup> Goodson to Adm. Commrs., Feb. 21, *ibid.*, p. 532

<sup>26</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 141.

so agitated that he was unable to get any rest day or night. In the fear that this prolonged vigil might lead to some serious illness it was decided to induce sleep by opium, but this affected him so seriously that he went off into a faint, which left him half dead for many hours, and when he came to he was exceedingly weak with some rise of temperature. The commandant of his room, . . . can for his seriously troubled spirit."

To this the Royalists added that the officers he cashiered reported him to be mad.<sup>30</sup> That, at any rate, was exaggerated, but there is no doubt that he was in very poor health and scarcely less doubt that, joined to the cares of state which pressed upon him with unusual weight, his disposition was much affected. He had, indeed, much to upset him. Despite the protestations of loyalty from the army in Ireland,<sup>31</sup> there were arrears of pay and nothing to pay the soldiers with.<sup>32</sup> There was dissatisfaction spreading among the troops in England, even in his own regiment, where Packer had done much damage, having "gotten many discontented . . . officers and troopers" into it, making it "the worst regiment in the army for disaffection to the present government."<sup>33</sup> A certain Major John Fletcher, apparently a prisoner in Lynn, named six individuals "which . . . your Highness shall receive a particular charge against." The Lynn authorities were prepared to vouch for Fletcher, who desired an opportunity to name still others "haveing relations to a persone of honor, and dayly with your Highness," but dared not lest they might take revenge on Fletcher for informing against them.<sup>34</sup>

Besides this there was Ormonde's presence in London, where he had been since January 30, apparently accompanied by Nicholas Armorer, while Norwood seemed to be operating in the neighborhood of Oxford.<sup>35</sup> Even Thurloe had been unable to find Ormonde by February 16,<sup>36</sup> at about which time he left, arriving in France on February 18,<sup>37</sup> having found matters not in train for a successful rising despite the reported presence in London of some 20,000 men "listed for the King."<sup>38</sup> Everything was scheduled to be "ready at Ostend by March 15 [n.s.], but the setting sail will depend upon what Don Juan hears from him [Ormonde]."<sup>39</sup> The latter's chief reason

<sup>30</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Feb. 19/Mar. 1, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 169.

<sup>31</sup> O'Neale to Hyde, Routledge, pp. 11-12.

<sup>32</sup> Thurloe, vi, 810-11.

<sup>33</sup> Arrears £244,691/7/10, available £114,456 (*ibid.*, p. 813).

<sup>34</sup> Monk to Thurloe, Feb. 16, *ibid.*, p. 807.

<sup>35</sup> Fletcher to Cromwell, and Robt. Jermy, *etc.*, to Cromwell, Feb. 15, *ibid.*, p. 805.

<sup>36</sup> Hyde to Ormonde, Feb. 18/28, Routledge, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Feb. 16, Thurloe, vi, 806.

<sup>38</sup> [Edw. Villiers to Ormonde], London, Feb. 18, Routledge, p. 13; Ormonde to

for hesitation seemed to have been that he lacked sufficiently full orders and that the invasion was not imminent. All the potential supporters were unwilling to sign until they saw the foreign force appear. Still, Ormonde reported, Yarmouth should fall quickly though Bristol and Gloucester were uncertain. The king, he went on to say, was not so much the lack of . . . which was one reason he had not spoken with Dr. Hewitt about the business and awaited further orders.<sup>40</sup> It was, then, little wonder that in the face of general discontent, treachery, and the threat of a new rising the Protector was disturbed in mind and body.

It affected his whole programme. Bordeaux had been unable to get an audience in four weeks and "in view of present emergencies it has been postponed, with little hope that he will get it soon." The negotiations with Portugal languished.<sup>41</sup> Irish friars were scattering slanderous papers in Lisbon about Cromwell and his government, though Maynard reported that "two words from his Highness to the king . . . would prevent [it]," and that he had shown the queen that Portugal had broken fourteen of the articles of the peace.<sup>42</sup> In London Passerini was naturally not making any progress, despite the fact that "he wants nothing but a reply to his credentials to enable . . . it appears that Cromwell . . . for ships and troops . . . None the less Lockhart was urged to press the matter of getting French commissioners appointed to consider the damages done to English shipping between 1640 and 1655.<sup>43</sup> The only things that seemed to get done were matters connected with the merchants; on behalf of one of whom the Protector wrote to the Kurfurst; and on behalf of the East India Company to Downing to present the case to the States General.

### *To the Marquess of Brandenburg*

MOST SERENE PRINCE.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th inst. and am glad to hear that your Majesty's complaint and has confirmed by oath solemnly given indeed, in the year 1657, in the month of May, at Pillau, three of his naval comrades, whom he sus-

<sup>40</sup> Ormonde to Hyde, Feb. 19/Mar. 1, Carte, *Orig. Letters*, II, 118-19, 121-23; Routledge, pp. 13-14.

<sup>41</sup> G. . . . (1659), p. 170.

<sup>42</sup> N.

<sup>43</sup> . . . . .

as those of the queen (1654, p. 179).

<sup>44</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, Feb. 16, Thurloe, VI, 807.

pected of having stolen a part of his merchandise, took refuge in your military service as if in a sanctuary, so that the matter of the theft seemed manifest. The commander of your men, a certain Hell [Hille], compelled the rest of the sailors likewise to disregard their duty and serve under him, moreover in order that his violence and caprice might rage more safely, he thrust the captain of the ship into prison without even a credible cause except that he wished the wages of dishonesty to be paid over and above by the aforesaid

age of the aforesaid Thomas Dunn and his merchants, seeing that the loss is estimated at 1200 *l* of our money, but to the commanders in the midst of

could be committed with impunity. Therefore, on account of our friendship we ask, nay, on account of our justice we demand, that you be willing to check and punish this violence and insolence of your men as being contrary and fatal to the common law of nations, to the freedom of commerce, and to mutual treaties, and that by all means you order full satisfaction to be given to the claimant. Indeed, as we cherish the desire to cultivate your friendship, which we highly esteem, so we cannot, we ought not, be wanting to our own subjects who are imploring our friendship. Given from our palace of Westminster, on the eighteenth day of February, in the year 1657/8.

Your good friend,

OLIVER P<sup>4</sup>

*To George Downing, Resident at the Hague*

[Substance only]

The English East India Company having presented a complaint of several indignities, affronts and damages suffered by them from the agents of the Dutch East India Company, as the blocking of Bantam, preventing English ships from entering several ports and harbours and from getting their own goods from the shore, to the great molestation of trade, violation of their privileges and detriment to their affairs, and also tending to the dishonour of the English nation. His Highness communicated these particulars to the Ambassador in London, who engaged to give an answer, but hitherto no answer or satisfaction has been received. The English Company having again addressed His Highness and reported still later attempts of a like nature (of which their Agent will give information), Downing is required, in the Protector's name, to

<sup>4</sup> Latin in *ibid.*, p. 812. Giavanna, in his letter to the Duke, Jan. 29/Feb. 8, 1657, in *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 163, mentions this incident. Erdmannsdorffer gives the whole

being investigation] that he had already seized the car  
game because he could not account for the cargo,  
£1,900.

demand such reparation and redress from the States-General, or whomsoever the negotiations rest with, as will satisfy the Company, be consonant with justice, and conduce to the interest and honour of the English nation.<sup>46</sup>

c. February 19, 1657-8

One thing, however, seemed tolerably certain—the moment for invasion was passing or had passed. The Spaniards had believed that their help in that enterprise would serve at least to take off some of the pressure in Flanders and had taken steps to present at least “the appearance of a considerable embarkation” but, as usual, they had been too late. On February 27 Admiral Goodson took up the blockade of Ostend, captured three of the Dutch ships engaged for the invasion and drove two others ashore. His presence made embarkation impossible, and the Royalists reluctantly postponed their proposed rising until the following winter, and meanwhile Cromwell and his advisers took steps to protect themselves. Among those steps were two proclamations with respect to Papists. The first ordered “All Papists and all other persons, who have been of the late Kings Party or his Sons, to depart out of the Cities of London and Westminster, and late lines of Communication, on or before Monday the 8. of March.”<sup>47</sup>

The other proclamation commanded “all Papists . . . to repair unto their places of abode and not to remove above five miles from the same.”<sup>48</sup> This was the main business of the Council during the last week of February, when it met, as usual, on Tuesday and Thursday.<sup>49</sup> Besides this it issued warrants for various salaries,<sup>50</sup> and the Protector ordered the Ely House Committee to appoint one Henry Bishop as apothecary, and wrote to Henry Cromwell and the Council in Ireland in behalf of a certain Viscount “Ikerrin”.

*To Our Committee for Maimed Soldiers etc, sitting at Ely House*

OLIVER P

It is our will and pleasure, That you forthwith admit this bearer Henry Bishopp into the place of Apothecary at Ely House in the

<sup>46</sup> Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 231, cp *ibid*, pp 229-31. In his memorial addressed to the States General on Mar 11/21, Downing writes that he “doth therefore by virtue of the orders and Instructions which he hath lately received earnestly desire it would please their L<sup>ds</sup> to give promise and effectuall orders that reparation and satisfaction for the future be Reli-

32)

<sup>47</sup> Crawford, i, 373, no 3087, *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p 303

<sup>48</sup> Crawford, i, 373, no 3088, *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p 303. Cp *ibid*, pp 551-54, for exceptions

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p liii. The Protector was absent from both meetings, but on Feb. 23 he approved 2 orders of Feb. 9 and 18 (*ibid*, p 298)

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 557-58

room of William Day lately deceased, And to have and enjoy such salary as  
 received and enjoyed, And  
 Whitehall this 25th day of  
 February 1657<sup>a</sup>

*To the Right Hon. ye Lord Deputy and Councill in Ireland*

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—

We being informed by several persons, and also by certificates from several officers under our command in Ireland, that the Lord Viscount Ikerrin hath been of later times serviceable to suppress the Tories and we being very sensible of the extreame poor and miserable condition in which his lordship now is, even to the want of sustenance to support his life we could not but commiserate his sad and distressed condition by helping him to a little reliefe, without which he could neither subsist here nor returne back to Ireland; and therefore do earnestly desire you to take him into speedy consideration, by allowing him some reasonable proportion of his estate without transplanting him, or otherwise to make some provision for him and his family elsewhere, and to allow him some competent pension or money out of  
 subsistence

And rest, your loving friend,

Whitehall, 27th February, 1657.

OLIVER, P<sup>es</sup>

Besides these there were some minor pieces of business. Some time in February he granted to an unidentified "R. W., lord of Prestaigne manor," county Radnor, Wales, a permit for keeping two additional fairs there yearly,<sup>81</sup> and under his name, but not by him personally, there was given a precept at Edinburgh under the Privy Seal on February 28/March 10 for expediting a charter in favor of James Logane of Hills and Elizabeth his wife.<sup>82</sup> Far more important than these trifles were the current reports as to the situation of the Protectorate. From Holland Downing reported that Nieuport had told the States General that

the Lord Protector's affaires are in such a troubled, dangerous condition, that he could do nothinge, therefore, that they might go on with their designes without any fear of him that he hath a designe to make one of his sonnes his

<sup>81</sup> Endorsed "This is a true copy of the originall remaining in Ely house, before the Committee aforesaid" *S. P. Dom.*, clxxxii, 48<sup>i</sup>, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1658-9), p. 103. See June 10, 1658

<sup>82</sup> pp. 181-82, n. 3  
 There is some question as to whether this should be 1656-7 or 1657-8. There is no

—Mar. 1.

<sup>82</sup> *Cal.* in Henfrey, *Numis. Crom.*, p. 211

successor, but that that cannot nor would not be: that [the] lord protector is in such indisposition of body, that he cannot live long.<sup>55</sup>

Downing further reported that a certain "Belcarris" had spread news of two meetings of the officers of the army in England without the Protector's consent, "and it's not imaginable what storyes runne of confusions in England."<sup>56</sup> This seemed to be confirmed from other sources. Word had reached Mazarrin in still more exaggerated form; that the Protector had been obliged to leave London because matters were in such a difficult situation.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile Ormonde wrote Hyde about

Cromwell not daring hastily to remove his army from London where it almost all is, nor yet to raise new troops, being so hated by almost all but his domesticks and those of the army that depend upon his tyranny, that he knows not in what county to make or into what hands to put his levies.<sup>58</sup>

To these were added even wilder stories. Reports told of his being  
ing.<sup>59</sup> These were no doubt exaggerations, but they reflected something of the facts. On February 22 the Protector seems to have sent for a London  
back. It was  
but was saved by the fact that the musket did not go off.<sup>60</sup>

These stories are probably not all true but taken together they indicate that all was not well with either the Protector or his government. To them Henry Cromwell added his voice, though in a somewhat different tone. He made another plea for funds and sent one Standish to explain his earlier papers in that connection. He protested "the last Parliament's liberallitie" in making "such graunts of lands as lick away our revenue," but was "glad to heare that as well non-legall as contra-legall wayes of raising money are not hearken'd to. Now L[ambeit] is removed, the odium of such things would fall nearer his Highness."<sup>61</sup> It was further reported that the Protector was consulting daily about raising money, and it was hoped

<sup>55</sup> Downing to Thurloe, Feb. 26/Mar. 8, Thurloe, vi, 824, cp. intelligence, *ibid.*, p. 836.

<sup>56</sup> Same to same, Feb. 28/Mar. 10, *ibid.*, p. 835.

<sup>57</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Mar. 3/13, *ibid.*, p. 840.

<sup>58</sup> Ormonde to Hyde, [Feb. 19/Mar. 1], Carte, *Orig. Letters*, II, 118.

<sup>59</sup> ( ) App. p. 166 (Sutherland MSS.).

<sup>60</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, Feb. 24, Thurloe, vi, 820.



that it could be done "without giving offence to those that love not to live in troubled waters," and, it would seem, without a Parliament.<sup>62</sup>

The other side of the picture was brighter. However weak and faltering the Protectorate may have seemed at home, its foreign position was as yet unaffected. From Venice John Hobson acknowledged the Protector's letter to the Doge, and the Doge sent back a letter from that ruler.

Well about the war with the Turks, in particular the importance of "the settinge out of your figotts" as an aid to the Venetians.<sup>63</sup> But the greatest success came from the Baltic, though rather by virtue of Swedish pressure on the Danes than by any great credit to Jephson and Meadows. By one of the most daring exploits in military history, Charles X Gustavus, whose navy had been defeated by the Danes, marched an army across the ice from island to island and landed 6,000 men in southern Zealand. At once Frederick III hastened to Copenhagen.

The king, who within a few weeks was within a mile or so of Copenhagen, and seemed likely to take the city. Under such circumstances a peace was hastily framed, partly through the activity of Meadows. The treaty of Roeskilde was signed on February 26. It gave Sweden not what she claimed but at least her natural boundaries, so that she controlled one side of the Sound, Denmark the other.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand Jephson was not so successful. He could get no satisfaction from Charles X Gustavus in regard to the proposal for a great Protestant alliance which he had made to the King some time earlier. That monarch had proposed, on the other hand, that if Cromwell would aid him he would cede certain ports to England, and if he conquered both Denmark and Norway, he would give Cromwell Bremen and free passage through the Sound. Meanwhile he preferred to negotiate with the Protector through his commissioners in England, who throughout February had long discussions over the Protestant league against Austria. His Highness, Thurot wrote,

is willing to joine with him in the league against the house of Austria & Spain

party the way whereof is fitt to be discoursed by hym at large and w<sup>ch</sup> would be a proper way to bring the *States Generall* into the league.<sup>65</sup>

But two things stood in the way. The first was the question of Poland and the Netherlands. The second was the £30,000 which

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>63</sup> Thurot, vi, 813.

<sup>64</sup> *Birth of the New World*, p. 200.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*, p. 200.

Cromwell had promised Charles but which he had never paid. Jephson found his task beyond him and asked to be recalled. He was succeeded by Meadows, who found the situation no less difficult than had his predecessor.<sup>86</sup> Without the payment of the £30,000 or some part of it, he wrote, it would be impossible to accomplish anything. The levies which Cromwell had permitted the Swedes were found highly unsatisfactory, and the state of the Protectoral finances made payment to the Swedes impossible. The result was the breakdown not only of the plan for a Protestant league but of the treaty of alliance between England and Sweden. Nor were the relations with the Dutch more promising. The latter accepted the mediation of England and France between them and the Portuguese, but declined to suspend hostilities.<sup>87</sup> To this was added the question of the Anglo-Dutch relations in the East Indies concerning which the Protector had already protested to the States General. Yet, on the other hand, it was inadvisable to press the matter too hard, lest the Dutch actually join the Spaniards; and it was, besides, better to have the Dutch fleet engaged off Portugal than operating in the Baltic.

One thing, however, was certain. It was the end of the Protestant Interest so far as Sweden was concerned, and without Sweden it had no hope of success. The fact is that it was at best a dream. Most of the German states had no longer any quarrel with the house of Aus-

ever had any chance of success. It was only too evident that the European states--and England not least--were bent less on the propagation of the true faith than on the extension of their own worldly power, nor had the Protector, with all his pleas to the other states, succeeded in convincing them that he was inspired by any higher motives than each of them were. Nor was Charles X Gustavus a Gustavus Adolphus.

In the meantime business went on as usual in the English administration. During the first week of March the Council met on Tuesday the 2nd in his Highness' lodgings,<sup>88</sup> and on Saturday they were joined by the Protector who approved some eighteen Council orders dated from December 17 to February 25, in addition to five which he approved in person.<sup>89</sup> There was an extraordinary activity in naval

<sup>86</sup> Thurloe, vii, 63.

<sup>87</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 312.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16. On the latter occasion Cromwell informed the Council "that an officer of the new militia, co. Berks, having disarm'd a disaffected person, was con-

affairs as spring came on,<sup>69</sup> and the reports of dissatisfaction with the government continued. The usually well-informed Giavarina wrote that

... of State ... the ... and ...  
...  
... involving a great upheaval ... The people here ... are so nauseated with the present government, largely owing to the dissolution of the last parliament, whose members create the worst impression of the present rule among the people by the accounts they give, so that they only desire to throw off the yoke and cast themselves on the clemency of their natural prince, feeling that they have suffered enough for the faults committed, which they now realise and wish to amend ... Even among the soldiers a feeling is growing against Cromwell. At present all men speak of him with contempt and scorn, without the slightest respect, for they are the ones who made him what he now is and so now they claim, with the diminution of his authority, to pull him down and destroy him<sup>70</sup>

It seems evident from the number and variety of the stories then current that things were not going well with the Protector. Charlton wrote to Leveson ... perhaps due to the ... that Monk had not come to London<sup>71</sup> Another rumor was that Richard Cromwell had been killed by the soldiers whose mutiny he had been sent to check, and that Cromwell himself had escaped from London,<sup>72</sup> and still another reported that nine regiments had mutinied<sup>73</sup> None of these latter stories was true, but their circulation seemed to indicate that there was something more in them than mere Royalist wishful thinking. More definite, more probable and more to the point was Giavarina's report on the shortness of money, "even the customs yielding little, as owing to the war with the Catholic king the trade which brought the largest amount of gold to the exchequer is interrupted." To this he added the story of Cromwell's ineffectual appeal to the City.

Being unable in the present crisis to have recourse to severe measures and compel them to contribute, and to avoid further cause of offence, he applied

vented before Geo. Starkey, a justice of the peace, and by him bound over to the next assizes" whereupon a warrant was issued for the serjeant-at-arms to take Starkey into custody (*ibid.*, p. 315)

... (*ibid.*, pp. 537ff)  
... p. 173-75.  
... p. 166 (*Sutherland MSS.*)

<sup>71</sup> Talbot to Nicholas, Mar. 3/13, S. Fox to Nicholas, Mar. 3/13, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1647-8), pp. 212-13

... 5/15, *ibid.*, p. 315

to supply him with money, assigning the excise or new impost and further pledging the £90,000 which is kept apart, being the amount collected for the Protestants of Piedmont. In this way he has obtained from the merchant an advance of £200,000 sterling, the troops dispersed about th[is] than six months, were beginning to grumble, a serious menace to the present rule.<sup>74</sup>

This gloomy account was more or less confirmed from other sources. Percy Church in Paris informed Nicholas that Cromwell would be unable to get the 500,000 livres—about £37,500—promised from the East India Company, which is not surprising in view of the fact that he still owed the Company £46,000 of the £85,000 he had borrowed in 1655.<sup>75</sup> In that connection the case of William Garway seems much to the point. Garway owed money to the Company and thought he might have some of the debt cancelled out in part from his proportion of the money due from the Protector, but the Company decided that “as for his portion of the £50,000 [the amount still owed by the government] he must run the risk with the rest of those interested and receive his share when it shall be paid to the Company.”<sup>76</sup> All in all the situation did not seem promising, and the Protector’s feelings were not soothed by the funerals in his family, especially that of Robert Rich, whom he mourned “in purple” and whose body which had been at Whitehall, then at Warwick House, “in great state” was moved on Thursday, March 4, with great pomp through London to Leeze in Essex, followed by Richard Cromwell and Lord Falconbridge.<sup>77</sup>

There were other and lesser causes of annoyance. At Lockhart’s request, three Irish captains, formerly in the service of the Duke of York, were committed to the Bastille, ostensibly for using vile language about Cromwell, but actually because they had been commissioned to kidnap the sons of Hasehig and St. John and carry them to Flanders as hostages for the Marquis of . . . was captured.<sup>78</sup> Moreover Lockhart wrote to Thurloe to warn Cromwell of the favors he had held out in his name, having, however, “ingadged his Highness in nothing that will be either expensive or a dishonor to him.” First he seems to have promised Turenne to intercede for that active fortune-hunter, the Marquis of Montpelion, “within justice

<sup>74</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Mar 11, 1655, *Cal S P Dom*.

<sup>75</sup> Mar 5/15, *Cal S P Dom* pp. v-vii, 241 and n.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>77</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 142, *Pub Intell.*, Mar 1-8.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar 22-29, Thurloe, vi, 841, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), pp. 175, 180, Henrietta Maria was supposed to have been involved in this intrigue.

and the lawes," intimating that a letter from his Majesty might have salutary effects. For the Countess of Nesselrope, being a person of great business should request he be made a marshal of France when Dunkirk was taken; and that M. de Strade be made governor of Grave-lines. Finally he suggested that the Protector should write Marshal d'Aumont "a civill letter," and "lett him know, that he hath given me order to serve him heare in every thing I am able."<sup>19</sup> Whether or not the Protector assented to all these requests it is impossible to say; but at this moment he took occasion to write to Charles X Gustavus and to the Duke of Courland.

*To Charles Gustavus of Sweden*

MOST SERENE AND POWERFUL KING.

Seeing that your three Commissioners, appointed in accordance with the treaties for the damages inflicted in the time of the war between your Commonwealth and the allied States of Belgium, have met with our Commissioners, and have, after due airing of these causes, put an end to their proceedings, we thought it good to strengthen with our letter the noble and virtuous conduct of your Commissioners. Potter, two of your above mentioned Commissioners who are returning to you, inasmuch as they have so executed all parts of their office, and have so conducted themselves in their negotiations, that they have brought home to you, and to the world, the most favorable report that could be wished. There-fore we thought it good to set forth whatever it appeared either could or should have been done in that matter. For the rest, we congratulate your Majesty on your recent victories, and, praying for the same unbroken continuance of happiness for you, we commend your Majesty to divine favor.

Given from our palace of Westminster on the first of March, in the year 1657/8

Your good friend,  
OLIVER P.<sup>20</sup>

*To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of Courland*

MOST SERENE PRINCE,

We have been abundantly satisfied of your affection to us, as well at other times, as when you kindly entertained our ambassador in his journey to your territories. We have also been much pleased with your no less obliging testimonies of your own good nature, as at our request, that one John Johnson, a Scotsman, and master of a certain ship of yours, having faithfully discharged his duty for seven years together in the service of your highness, as to your highness is well known, at length delivered the said ship,

<sup>19</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Paris, Mar. 7/17, Thurloe, vi, 854.

<sup>20</sup> Latin original in the Riksarkivet in Stockholm, "Parlamentets och Protektorernas originalbref till svenska konungahuset, 1645-1660", p. *infra*, App. II (13).

the pilot, being ignorant of his duty, though frequently warned and admonished by the said Johnson, as he has proved by several witnesses, it is obvious to anyone that the ship was wrecked not through any fault of the master, but through the want of skill, or obstinacy of the pilot. Which being so, we make it our earnest request to your highness, that neither the said shipwreck may be imputed to the forementioned Johnson the master, nor

From our court at Westminster,  
March —, 1657[-8]

OLIVER P<sup>81</sup>

The usual Council meetings on Tuesday and Thursday, March 9 and 11,<sup>82</sup> were chiefly concerned with measures against possible invasion. Besides this its activities were, in the main, unimportant—an agreement on a proclamation for better levying and collecting of the excise,<sup>83</sup> a patent for the collection of funds for South Ockenden, Essex, to replace the steeple of its church which had been struck by lightning,<sup>84</sup> and a declaration of the right of the Muscovia Company "to the sole fishing for whales upon the coasts of Greenland and Chery-Island, and for restraining and prohibiting of all others."<sup>85</sup> Besides these was an order for pointed "at the door leading for the better security of Whitehall,"<sup>86</sup> and another ordering the three regiments of Fleetwood, Bridges and that lately commanded by Lambert to march to the City to relieve the guards.<sup>87</sup> There were rumors of great events stirring, which Giavarina communicated to his government:

Every one is awaiting with untold eagerness for the issue of the incessant consultations in which the Council has been busy every day for many weeks, keeping the Protector's attention engaged, without a moment's respite in which he might attend to other affairs of consequence, which also require his presence and help before they can be discussed and matured. No one can

<sup>81</sup> Symmons, *Milton*  
cp. Masson, v, 297

Courland in December (*ibid.*, pp. 656, 669)

<sup>82</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. liv

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 321-22

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319, Crawford, iii, 373, no. 3090

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 3089

<sup>86</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 321

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324

discover the object of these assiduous meetings as all their transactions are kept extraordinarily secret. Various opinions have been formed about it. Thus it has been publicly stated at the palace that before long some great decision will be seen, and from this people appearances the guess that goes nearest is that the Council will issue a decree for the coronation of Cromwell with the title of king or emperor, and they say it has led to a great deal of altercation and this is what has delayed a decision so long. . . . This much may be asserted that the matter under discussion is of the greatest importance, and that besides his Highness and the Council, many persons have taken part, with lawyers and experienced counsel summoned expressly from Oxford, . . . to assist with their learning the others who have devoted their attention to such exercises; . . .

Meanwhile it is stated that with the decision to elevate the Protector to the rank of king, the Council have agreed to have the Protector to have the title of

army, to cause himself to be acclaimed by the troops as king or emperor and get them to put the crown on his head. The very place for this has been named . . . only 5 miles from the metropolis [Blackheath]. Sensible men do not believe that Cromwell will cross the bridge, especially as there are . . . a strong hand on this side where the business could be done conveniently. . . . But the Council are so much stirred and puzzled, and the water under present circumstances when . . . stirred and puzzled, and they might seize the opportunity of the Protector's absence with all the troops to take up their arms and make themselves masters of the city with little difficulty. By letting down the drawbridge they could prevent his return, which could only be effected by another way and in many weeks, after making a turn through a great part of the kingdom, for in such case there is no doubt that they would block all the passes and dispute every way in, . . .<sup>88</sup>

Everything for the moment, however, depended on the prospect of an invasion and a rising. To his previous warnings Cromwell now added two others, one to Gloucester, the other to Bristol, both of which had been noted in Ormonde's advices to Hyde.

*For the Commanders of the Militia of the City of Gloucester These*

GENTLEMEN,

We are informed that the Enemy from Flanders intend to invade us very suddenly, and to that purpose have twenty-two ships of war ready in the Harbour of Ostend, and are preparing others also which they have bought in Holland. . . . And at the same time . . . for the executing these designs is intended by them to be very sudden.

We have therefore thought fit to give you notice hereof, and to signify to you our pleasure, that you put yourselves into the best posture you can for

<sup>88</sup> Giavanna to Doge, Mar. 12/22, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), pp. 175-76

the securing the City of Gloucester, and to put the arms into such hands as are true and faithful to us and this Commonwealth We desire you to be very careful, and to let us hear from you of the receipt of this, and what you shall do in pursuance of this letter

I rest,

Your very assured friend,

Whitehall, 11th March 1657.

OLIVER P<sup>80</sup>

*To the Corporation of our city of Bristol*

GENTLEMEN,

We have certain intelligence that the old Cavalier party and those who favour their interest in these nations do design a sudden insurrection in this nation, and are to be encouraged therein by the Spaniards, who, together with Charles Stuart, intend an invasion. And we are informed that your city is particularly designed upon, and that some of their agents

we have thought it necessary to give you timely notice hereof, to the end you may be upon your guard, and be in a position to defend yourselves either against open foes or secret underminings And we shall be ready, as you shall let us understand your condition, to give you assistance as it shall be necessary for the preservation of the peace of your city We rest your very loving friend,

March, 1658

OLIVER P<sup>80</sup>

With all this precautionary device, they seem to have overlooked that Royalist conspirator, Rumbold, who, though a prisoner in the Tower, "gave commissions for Derby and Staffordshire to Col Vernon who has communicated the business to Mr John Stanhope," and who seems to have been able to communicate with Sir Thomas Harris and Andrew Newport, who "will unite their interests to secure Shrewsbury," as Rumbold wrote to Hyde<sup>81</sup> Nor were these all the precautions taken to secure the government On Friday, March 12, at the summons of the Protector, the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and the Common Council of London, numbering some three hundred persons in all, including some commanders and officers of the army, assembled at Whitehall to be addressed by the Protector in what was apparently a long and disturbed communication

<sup>80</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, App 31, from *Bibliotheca Gloucestersis*, p 421, cp *Hist Mss Comm Rept* 12, App 9, p 515

<sup>81</sup> J Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the 17th century* (Bristol, 1900), p 279 The Bristol

was directed to disburse funds for an extraordinary guard.

<sup>82</sup> [Rumbold to Hyde], Mar. 4/14, Routledge, p 21



*Speech to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London, March 12, 1658*

[Substance only]

The Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and Common Council of the city being come in a full number to attend his Highness at Whitehall on Friday, March the 12th, they found there many of the commanders and officers of the army, who were all admitted to his Highness' presence, who in a large speech did represent unto them the great deliverances which God hath vouchsafed to this nation, during the whole course and progress of the late wars, from the violence of their implacable enemies, and their combinations both public and domestic. He represented unto them how eminently God had owned and prospered him in the great work in which he stood interested for the establishment of righteousness and peace, and at this present he could not but declare unto them the imminent danger in which both the city and the whole nation was like to be involved by reason of the contrivements of Charles Stuart and his party both at home and abroad, who secretly have used the utmost of their endeavours to embroil the nation and this city—the principal place at which they aim—in a new war, which suddenly would appear as soon as ever their intended invasion should take effect. To make the truth of this discovery . . . that he knew it to be true, and not only . . . versaries which were intercepted

promised to engage themselves to comply and act with them. And to make this yet more manifest, he informed that the Lord of Ormond—whom by his own party is now called the Duke of Ormond—had been in person in this city

also acquaint them that  
the cause for which he came  
March the ninth

But what was above all, he declared that in order to this invasion Charles Stuart . . . together an army of about eight thousand . . . quartered in several commodious places near unto the sea-side, as Bruges, Brussels, Ostend and other places, and that withal he had contracted for two and twenty ships, who were in readiness to transport his army,

concluded that seeing the dangers was so apparent and so near at hand, and that the safety and the peace of the city and the whole nation was highly concerned in it, he desired the city to be sensible of it, and laid open to them how . . . own security and the security of

He therefore recommended to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and Com-

mon Council of the city there assembled, the settling of their militia, and that it might be established in the hands of faithful and pious men, and such as are free from all discontent and faction to put them in a posture of defence, that they may be ready to suppress any tumult or insurrection designed by the enemy against the city.

This and much more was represented, as to the transaction of the affairs of State from the beginning of the wars unto this present, and the happy propagation of the gospel in these three nations.<sup>92</sup>

to meet the Protector's wishes they were asked "to raise the charge," which they were reported a week later to be doing.<sup>93</sup> According to another report, "they immediately issued out their orders to the commanders of the several regiments in the city of London to summon in all the inhabitants . . . who have or are in a capacity to be enlisted, who very cheerfully appeared."<sup>94</sup> It was said that some 800 horse were quartered in St. Paul's church and that the guards had been doubled.<sup>95</sup> Yet in the midst of these excursions and alarms, Thurloe wrote Lockhart that he had never observed a greater calm; that the armies in all three nations were sending in addresses to Cromwell assuring him that they would live and die with him<sup>96</sup>—addresses which were carefully published in the news-sheets.<sup>97</sup> In fact the danger of invasion and a rising was less than it had been some weeks earlier. The fleet lay outside Ostend and not only had destroyed some of the Dutch fleet but had made a considerable embarkation, Ormonde had not only left England but had virtually given up any idea of an attack; and the arrests which were being made almost from day to day naturally tended to disrupt the plans of the Royalists.<sup>98</sup> On the other hand, Henry Cromwell took occasion to warn against the renewed intimacy of Fleetwood, Desborough and Lambert,<sup>99</sup> and

"The Council of State . . . have resolved that the said Fleetwood, Desborough and Lambert should be removed from the city of London."

"The Council of State . . . have resolved that the said Fleetwood, Desborough and Lambert should be removed from the city of London."

So he and they are all hardened against the  
ing Friends at liberty are now ceased"  
(Hubberthorne to G. Fox, March 16, 1657, 8, in J. Barclay, *Letters of Early Friends*,  
vii, 50)

<sup>92</sup> *Clar. State Papers*, iii, 392, 394, 397

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

(-8), pp. 326-

27.

<sup>95</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, Mar. 11/21, Thurloe, vi, 863

<sup>96</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, Mar. 11-18, 18-25

<sup>97</sup> *Clar. State Papers*, iii, 392, 394, 397

<sup>98</sup> Thurloe, vi, 857-58.



thus up by an "arrestation" as they call it, bringing suit, by the most fair decisions of the Judges, they were granted restitution of the property taken away. This defendant Tyson, however, by interposing an appeal, has been

ours harassed by eight months delay and expenses And so we commend your Lordships to the divine graciousness Given, from our palace at Westminster the 12th day of March 1657/8

Your good friend,  
OLIVER P<sup>108</sup>

It seems evident that the official records of the Council still bear little relation to its activities According to Giavarina that body was meeting even on Sundays at this time, making plans to counteract the Royalist designs,<sup>109</sup> but the records reveal nothing but the usual two meetings a week in the course of which various petitions were considered,<sup>110</sup> warrants<sup>111</sup> and various passes issued to individuals to remove from London "the late Proclamation notwithstanding"<sup>112</sup> More especially it was concerned about money, making arrangements for "pay £6,000 in . . . his Highness' household, out of any moneys in the Exchequer, though by a former order the payment was limited to moneys coming in from the Pipe Office."<sup>113</sup> On Tuesday the members were to meet "with the money-men, to turne every stone for the supply of Ireland"<sup>114</sup> It is evident from these items and many like them that the question of money had be-

<sup>108</sup> Latin original in Algemeen Rijksarchief, St Gen 6916, at the Hague Received April 15 P<sup>109</sup> *infra*, App II (14)

<sup>109</sup> *Cal S. P. Ven* (1657-9), p 179

<sup>110</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), p liv, Rich Tomlyne, Baron of the Exchequer for

May 1660 (*Hist Mis Comm Kept* 7, App p 83, from *L. J.*, x, 26) Cp Rich Keble, serjt-at-law for £1,050 arrears due as Commr of Great Seal, ordered by H II Aug 8, ref to a committee (*Cal* 350) Pet of Enfield, co

Middlesex, for patent for collection on account of here, with Prideaux's note that such petitions "

<sup>111</sup> To C

Jo: Sci-

31)

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, pp 552-53

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*, p 330

<sup>114</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Mar 16, Thurloe, vii, 4

come even more acute and that apart from any threat from the loss of public support and the threats of the Royalists, the Protectorate was in grave danger of collapse through sheer bankruptcy. The burden of the cost of government, especially of the armed forces, was becoming too great to bear.

On the surface all seemed serene enough, though one does not have to dig much below that surface to perceive the dangers and difficulties of the situation. The government took occasion to publish the addresses from the several companies of the City, and the London Council, in reply to the speech the Protector had made to them on March 12. That reply they presented on March 17 when those appointed to deliver it were admitted to Whitehall between 11 and 12 o'clock and "Sir Thomas Foote, Alderman, in the name of the whole City, acquainted his Highness, That he was commanded to present him a Petition from his Highness City of London, which his Highness graciously receiving, it was Read." It was to the same effect as the addresses from the regiments, expressing "a full Evidence as well of that Reverence and high Esteem which the City beareth toward the Merits and Person of his Highness, as of that Duty and Fidelity which they are, upon all occasions, ready to express, for the strengthening of His hands in the Government, which is a matter that most nearly concerneth them, in order to the preservation of the Peace of this renowned City and the whole Nation, whose Interests are really inseparably united with the safety and Establishment of Him and His Successors, in opposition to the Common Enemy."<sup>115</sup> To which the Protector responded in kind in a speech in which he

in brief expressed his sense and high esteem of the fidelity and good affection of the petitioners, and desired that his hearty thanks might be returned to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, for the same.<sup>116</sup>

Intelligence from London reported that the City had advanced him £200,000,<sup>117</sup> but if that were true, there seems to be no record remaining of the transaction, though under the circumstances it seems not improbable. What is certain is that Sir Thomas Foote was obviously in connection with the Petition which had recently been drawn up and which only the dissolution of Parliament had prevented being presented to the Protector.<sup>118</sup> On the other hand that indefatigable enemy of the Protectoral government, Cornet Day,

<sup>115</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Mar. 15-22.

<sup>116</sup> *Stainer*, no. 54, from *Pub. Intell.* and *Merc. Pol.*

<sup>117</sup> *Routledge*, p. 31.

<sup>118</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Mar. 15-22. *A True Copy etc.* prints the *Humble Petition* and defends it—both printed by Livewell Chapman, see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 339.

wondered at the City's joining with the "jugler, that . . . deserved to be sawne in pieces,"<sup>119</sup> so that opinion seems not to have been unanimous.

The main business continued to be connected with the prospect of invasion and a Royalist rising, concerning which the Protector advised with Whitelocke<sup>120</sup> and incidentally ordered the sheriff of Yorkshire to send eight prisoners to Hull, though he neglected to advise Colonel Smith, the Hull commandant, of this move.<sup>121</sup> On their part, however, the Royalists were beginning to doubt the success of such an enterprise in spite of the Spanish decision to provide ships<sup>122</sup> and of the possibility that Monk might be won over if he were sufficiently irked by the Protector's decision to remove him from his post.<sup>123</sup> Ormonde was already advocating the recall from England of all emissaries "who cannot walk in the light,"<sup>124</sup> especially O'Neill, and even Charles had begun to agree with their opinion that their chances for this spring were growing less.<sup>125</sup> In the meantime the Protector took occasion to pay through Waterhouse his daughter's marriage portion of £15,000 which Falconbridge acknowledged;<sup>126</sup> and Henry Cromwell acknowledged the receipt of his father's commands in regard to Henry's cousin, Tom Steward of Stuntney, and promised to give "a good account thereof, as soon as the nature of the thing will permit."<sup>127</sup> And meanwhile, too, the Protector despatched further orders to Downing

### *To Mr George Downing*

SIR,

I have written to Mr Secretary, one . . . ylc, as also with the concept<sup>128</sup> which came enclosed of several Articles of Peace to be agreed upon betwixt the kings of Sweden and Denmark. And upon consideration thereof I have thought fit to return you this answer which is to be your Rule in treating with the Commissioners of the States General upon that subject

I think it reasonable that the Treaty of Roschild be the ground of the

<sup>119</sup> Information, Mar 18 Thurot, vii, 5-6

were Robt Hill-Thoin, Sir Jor-

dan Crosland, Sir Philip Mounts and Mr Pudsey

<sup>120</sup> Bristol to Ormonde, Mar 15/25, Carte, *Orig Letters*, ii, 135

<sup>121</sup> Sir Alex. Humu to Nicholas, Mar 18/28, *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), p 333

<sup>122</sup> *I e*, whose capture might do harm [Ormonde to Hyde], Paris, Mar 19/29, *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), p 327



tary, J. Crooke, arrived in London,<sup>135</sup> and at about this time Pritz and Potter, two of the Swedish commissioners left.<sup>134</sup> At the same time, too, after long negotiation between Lockhart and Mazarin a new treaty was finally signed by Servien and Brienne for the French and by Lockhart for the English, which renewed for a year the treaty of March 13/23, 1656-7, including the secret article. The new treaty contained six new articles, one of which guaranteed the siege of Dunkirk by April 30/May 10.<sup>136</sup> In the meantime the Protector wrote to a northern prince, possibly the Landgrave of Hesse:

[*To the Landgrave of Hesse?*]

MOST SERENE AND ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

As we have judged most worthy the laudable efforts of our [agent] Durie in reconciling the minds of the evangelicals, which efforts we have promoted by our authority, so since we have received your Highness's most gracious letter, which everywhere breathes humanity and a truly Christian piety with the most splendid declaration of your good will. For

strengthened in that conviction of ours by your support, and what we have always desired relating to evangelical pacification now also henceforth to be hoped for. For we have known how much your illustrious family has done

tion of mind, as we also hope, the other Protestant princes also be willing to watch over the common affairs of the Church we can expect and promise ourselves everything for the most happy success of this undertaking.<sup>136</sup> May God in his great mercy now bestow on them this spirit so that, when the disorders among themselves are composed, which are studiously encouraged by their adversaries, we may then arrive at a solid foundation of peace and Christian concord. Just as we, aiming especially at that goal, by our intervention between the two Northern kings opened the way to understanding of this sort, and just as we daily desire to reach at home that harmony which we recommend to others, so we favor Durie, already most acceptable to us, for your cause, supplying him most promptly with all things necessary for his purpose, inasmuch as we wish to neglect no occasion at all by which we may prove our service to God and His Church. Meanwhile we thank your Highness for his most distinguished sympathy evidenced in your letters. We praise God who established so firm a bulwark of a Christian republic in those regions, and to His divine blessing we most humbly commend Your Highness

<sup>134</sup> Cf. *Lockhart to Mazarin*, 1656-7.

<sup>135</sup>

1-8

<sup>136</sup> See *infra*, App. I (6).

<sup>137</sup> Trained in *Mazarin's* *Revue d'Art* (Autumn 1921) p. 27. The recipient's



Given at our Palace at Westminster the 18th day of March in the year 1657/8

Your good friend,  
OLIVER P.<sup>137</sup>

The increase of business was reflected in the three official meetings of the Council during the week of March 22, with the Protector present on Tuesday.<sup>138</sup> There is little in the minutes of the proceedings to account for this activity. They were chiefly concerned, as always, with provision for the payment and equipment of the armed forces;<sup>139</sup> and at a special meeting on Friday for widows and wives of men in the army, and the sick and wounded at Ely House.<sup>140</sup> The Council considered measures proposed by the Protector for public safety.<sup>141</sup> On Wednesday Thurloe reported the Protector's approval of a declaration for a collection for distressed churches in Poland, with additional clauses concerning some twenty Protestant families in Bohemia.<sup>142</sup> According to Whitelocke, on March 24 Cromwell ordered £200 to be paid out of the Treasury to Menasseh ben Israel,<sup>143</sup> which may have been the result of a Council order of the preceding September to replace his pension of £100 a year. Besides these details, on Monday, March 22 the Protector knighted the Lord Mayor, Chiveiton, and John I... in return for the City's loyal address.<sup>144</sup> The number of knights was increased by the elevation of John Twisleton of Horsman's Place, Dartford, Kent, Attorney General Prideaux and Solicitor General William Ellis to baronetcies.<sup>145</sup>

The main concern, however, remained the Royalist threat. On Sunday or Monday, Major Robert Harlow or Harley was sent to the Tower and examined by the Protector, together with Sir William Waller, who was, however, discharged, though his place as a prisoner was taken by Colonel Russell, brother to the Earl of Bedford, and the Earl of Cleveland.<sup>146</sup> Some, including Browne and Waller, were released on parole, but on Tuesday or Wednesday night search was made of all the houses in the City for four miles around, including

<sup>137</sup> I am indebted to the Rev Greville Cooke of Kettering, Northants, for a photostat of the document which is *pr infra*, App II (15).

<sup>138</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp liv, 338-39.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 338-39.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 338-39.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p 343. Thomason dates it May 2, but *cf Cal. S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp 344-45, and *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 5-12.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p 343.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p 343.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, *Clarke Papers*, iii, 145.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45; [Rumbold to Ormonde], Mar. 22, Routledge, p. 30.

Mingled with these demonstrations of the strength and solidarity of the Protectoral system were the usual incidents of foreign affairs. On March 24, Lockhart's secretary, Mr Swift, arrived with the treaty lately signed in Paris.<sup>166</sup> The day before, the "ambassador from the king of Florida"—whoever he and his putative master were—took leave of his Highness and "was dismissed with much satisfaction, and expressed an high sense of his good Entertainment, and of the reception given him by his Highness." His mission had been

<sup>148</sup> Thurloe to Lockhart, Mar. 25/Apr. 4, *ibid.*, pp. 24-25, cp. Swift to Lockhart, Mar. 23/Apr. 2, Routledge, p. 30.

"settlement of a Trade, and Friendship, with England, his Prince and Nation being great Enemies to the Spaniard in those parts of America."<sup>156</sup> Of far greater importance than the visit of this representative of the self-styled "king" are the "heads of a treaty to be made with the king of Sweden for a nearer union," drawn up by Thurloe. Chief among its provisions were plans for Sweden to invade the territories of the king of Hungary in Germany; for England to keep Spain busy at sea, especially by interrupting the West Indian trade; the levying of forces for Swedish service to be maintained at Swedish expense; and the provision by Sweden of copper, pitch and other materials at Gothenburg, hemp, pitch, tar and other materials at Hamburg.<sup>157</sup> All this may have been devised before Jephson left, but in any event, if it was, his mission was hopeless and he had already asked permission to return and Meadows was already slated to take his place. In addition to this on March 26 Thurloe advised Downing to drop the question of Dutch-Portuguese peace and let the Dutch buy their way out of the quarter of the world rather than in the Baltic, meanwhile signing no treaty about trade in the East Sea until they changed their relations with the house of Austria. Downing was also instructed to keep Nieupoort on that side of the Channel, if necessary by "underhand" means.<sup>158</sup> At the same time the Protec-  
sul in  
commending to him Isaac Ewer in place of Meadows

### Certificate

To all and each to whom these presents come, greeting  
Since to our merchants and fellow-countrymen sta-  
inces of United Belgium and engaging in trade, in  
his counsel and  
authority in satisfactorily furthering matters in trading negotiations and other transactions; be notified that, being completely assured of the loyalty, skill and wisdom of Gerbrand Sas, Doctor of Civil Law, and no less of his experience and natural fitness for assuming this function, we have named and appointed, and do constitute the aforesaid Gerbrand Sas as representative of the traders and citizens of this Commonwealth, who are residing within the aforesaid jurisdiction for the maintenance administration and execution of the function and service of Representative by the aforesaid Gerbrand Sas himself, while our peace continues in effect, and this with as

<sup>156</sup> *Pub Intell*, Mar. 22-29. The whole incident of the "ambassador" from the "king of Florida" is obscure, as to whether he was a real envoy from an Indian chief or a mere impostor.

<sup>157</sup> Thurloe, vii, 23-24, cp Jephson's instructions, *ut supra*, Aug. 22, and Bischoffshansen, pp 71-72.

<sup>158</sup> Thurloe to Downing, Mar. 26, Thurloe, vii, 31-32.

generous terms and manner and form and with the same power and authority  
 . . . . . Let any Representative of any nation whatsoever residing there

Also for maintaining and enjoying all due legal effective [?] rights and the  
 . . . . . pertaining there to giving and by these presents granting to him

Given under our seal in our Palace of Westminster Ma[rch] 26 16[58]  
 [OLIVER P.]<sup>10</sup>

*To the most serene and potent Prince and Lord, Frederick III, by the  
 grace of God King of Denmark, Norway, the Vandals and Goths, etc*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT PRINCE

Whereas through the divine mercy peace has been at  
 length renewed and established between your Majesty and the Crown of  
 Sweden, which peace we sincerely pray may be a most lasting and happy one

have hitherto employed for the making of this peace by our mediation In  
 order, however, that there may ever be attendant upon you an interpreter  
 of good-will towards your Majesty, we have for the present commanded our  
 well-beloved and faithful Isaac Eures to remain with your Majesty and by  
 setting forth our high esteem and zeal for your Majesty and your affairs to  
 devote all his offices to the constant furthering and perpetuating of the

in our name you will place in him as full confidence as in ourselves Finally  
 we commend your Majesty to the good and mighty God and pray that all  
 your affairs may proceed and prosper according to your wishes Given from  
 our palace at Westminster the 26th of March, in the year 1658

Your Majesty's good friend,

OLIVER P.<sup>100</sup>

This, then, was the way they spent their time, this little knot of  
 men about C . . . . . 17, though with less  
 enthusiasm . . . . . most of the rest of  
 . . . . . is evident to them, as to many others, that  
 . . . . . was weakening, even, perhaps, their hold  
 on the army All the rumors of the Protector's activities toward the

loc, pr



the King.<sup>170</sup> Meanwhile a certain . . . acknowledged to the Protector begged forgiveness. He would have confessed before but he was "dashed at your presence," though now he agreed to get a list of Charles' agents in England at the order of one Francis Cheynell,<sup>171</sup> who was possibly one of Thurloe's agents. On the other hand, Buckingham was now to have his liberty on bail,<sup>172</sup> and Major Boteler, sometime a major-general, took his place at the head of Cromwell's regiment,<sup>173</sup> to the considerable astonishment of every one, for Boteler had not commended himself as a major-general and he was distrusted by many of his fellow-officers.

Henry Cromwell was having a hard time in Ireland and he now took occasion to protest the distribution of lands, especially in Galway, which, he said, "went for a song," and hoped that they might be more successful in the case of Dundalk, "the very key of Ulster, naturally very fortifiable and . . . convenient for severall sorts of trade." He objected to the favor shown to Malyn, who had secured grants from his Highness, sealed . . . not, apparently, with the Great Seal.<sup>174</sup> In the meantime the list of Cromwellian dignitaries was growing. On March 31 baronetcies were conferred on Henry Wriglit of Dagenham in Essex and on Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, who had played some part in Ireland and was the son-in-law of Sir Hardress Waller, with the further distinction of being one of the few men, if not the only man, who was so honored by both the Protector and Charles II.<sup>175</sup>

The end of March and the beginning of April, 1658, saw the attention of the Cromwellian administration more or less evenly divided between alarm over domestic difficulties and foreign affairs. Jephson was anxious to return from Sweden, where his activities were producing little effect, nor, under the circumstances, could be expected to have much influence. Bradshaw, back in Hamburg from Danzig and Memel, which was as far as he got on his proposed visit to the Czar, was anxious to return to England, if only for a few months.<sup>176</sup> In addition to these, and to sending "a certain number of soldiers" to

<sup>170</sup> Capt. Smith to Cromwell, Hull, Apr. 2, *ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>171</sup> Stapley to Cromwell, *ibid.*, p. 25, Cheynell to Thurloe, Apr. 2, *ibid.*, p. 48. For Stapley's information see *ibid.*, pp. 65-69.

<sup>172</sup> Sir Rich. Browne to Nicholas, Apr. 2/12, *Cal S P Dom* (1657-8), p. 357.

<sup>173</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Mar. 30, Thurloe, vii, 38.

<sup>174</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, Mar. 31, *ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>175</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, vii, 220, without date in *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 5-12, cp. Firth-Davies, pp. 645-46.

<sup>176</sup> Bradshaw to Cromwell, Hamburg, Mar. 30, Thurloe, vii, 34, other letters pp. 35-36.

Sweden,<sup>177</sup> the Protector's time was occupied with two letters to Mazarin and two to Charles X Gustavus:

*To Cardinal Mazarin*

MOST EMINENT LORD:

It does not seem to us that John Drummond, a Scottish nobleman, were sufficiently recommended by the efficacious letter we sent to his Serenity the King of the French unless we added that he is a man of great merit, from whom he might have hoped for every increase of honors and our favor, if he, possessed by a certain incredible zeal in your affairs, had not desired to pass over to the patronage of the most serene King. Indeed, we disapprove of his inclination so much the less because we esteem him the more highly on account of his perfect

his merits and talents. In truth we should not so willingly request this of your Eminence did we not so greatly desire to be given by your Eminence the opportunity to make known and demonstrate our particular good will and devotion towards your Eminence. Given from our palace of Westminster, 25 March 1658.

Most devoted to your Eminence,

OLIVER P.<sup>178</sup>

*To Charles X, King of Sweden*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, MOST INVINCIBLE FRIEND AND ALLY,

The Letter of your Majesty, dated from the Camp in Zealand, Feb. 21, has brought Us all at once many reasons why, both privately on our own account, and on account of the whole Christian Commonwealth, we should be affected by no ordinary joy. The King of Denmark (made your enemy, I believe, by the interests, but by the arts of the common foes) has been, by your sudden advent into such a position, so much more advantageous to him than the war undertaken against you. Next, because, when he thought he could in no way sooner obtain such a peace than by a conciliation, your Majesty, on the prayer, mercy or the letters of our such an easy grant of peace, how much value your friendship and inter-

IN D E F E N D E R O F T H E P R O T E C T O R S H I P

it w  
they would send three or four thousand men because if Charles X Gustavus were in like need they would expect aid and because the Stuarts were always unfriendly, which

posed good-will, and chose that it should be My office in particular, in this pious transaction, to be myself nearly the sole adviser and author of a Peace which is speedily to be, as I hope, so salutary to Protestant interests. For, whereas the enemies of Religion despaired of being able to break your common front, and to divide you against each other, they will fear that this unlooked-for conjunction of your arms and hearts will turn into destruction for themselves, the kindlers of this war. Do you, meanwhile, most brave King, go on and prosper in your conspicuous valour, and bring it to pass that, such good fortune as the enemies of the Church have lately admired in your exploits and course of victories against the King now your ally, the same they may feel once more, with God's help, in their own crushing overthrow  
From our Palace at Westminster, March 30, 1658.

OLIVER P.<sup>179</sup>*To Cardinal Mazarin*

MOST EMINENT LORD

Several captains of our army, which is maintained in Flanders at your expense, relate to us that when they requested and demanded furlough, because of the illness usually contracted in winter or because of other just reasons, for restoring their health, in order that they might return whole and more active to their posts, their pay for the time it was necessary for them to be away from camp was withheld by the royal paymasters. They affirm that it is indeed a harsh condition in your military service if sickness is counted among military crimes and if the sick are considered, as it were, discharged. Therefore, we ask of your Eminence that by your authority you kindly cause to be paid whatever is owing to them, and that you subdue them and give spirit to others with so just a kindness that they will not refuse to undertake any risk or hardship for the most serene King. From our heart we pray for most joyful success to the King's invincible arms, and for comparable success to the wise deliberations of your Eminence. Given from our palace of Westminster on the first day of April, in the year 1658

Most devoted to your Eminence,  
OLIVER P.<sup>180</sup>

*To Charles Gustavus of Sweden*

MOST SERENE AND POWERFUL KING, GOOD FRIEND AND ALLY:

The more we grieved on account of the unexpected conflagration of war which had broken out between your Majesty and the King of Denmark, the more we were filled with a genuine delight when we learned from your Majesty's most pleasing letter that peace, which must have made an increase to both your states, has been restored. Indeed, seeing that we are

<sup>179</sup> Translation from Masson, v, 385-86. Another translation is in Phillips and copied in Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 444-45, and Columbia *Milton*, no 108. This may be merely a first draft of the letter of April 2 below.



not otherwise affected by all those things which pertain to the common utility of the Christian Commonwealth than by our own affairs, that we truly rejoice in those things which are connected with your Majesty's glory in accordance with the friendship which is the greatest surety for us with you, nothing could have happened to us more agreeably and more in accordance with our desires than this restoration of harmony between the most potent Kings our allies. Even your enemies themselves must at least acknowledge your constancy and fortitude, which they had their hands full in anticipating and holding in check in this war. But we would praise your moderation, equanimity and wisdom, insofar as you could so easily pass from arms over

to your friendly and useful friend. We trust, indeed, example among those who,

having mutually found with how much greater profit to themselves and to the common cause they can unite their strength than they can clash among themselves, have forgotten how to destroy. Truly we worship God the greatest and highest who has so far consented to bless any whatever of our efforts in

And furthermore we services, which were offered through our *And furthermore we* taken our authority

Majesty that you have thus far succeeded according to your desire, and we pray that the same felicity will be steadfast, and always unchanged in the rest of your undertakings. Given from our palace of Westminster on the second of April, in the year 1658

Your Majesty's good friend and ally,

OLIVER P

By mandate of His Highness  
Jo Thurlow<sup>111</sup>

Even in the midst of these activities, the Protector found time to have a conversation with Mr. Wheelwright, pastor of the church at Hampton, Massachusetts, of which Wheelwright made the following report.

I have lately been at London about five weeks. My Lord Protector was pleased to send one of his guard for me, with whom I had discourse, in private, about the space of an hour. All his speeches seemed to me very orthodox, and very experimental. I saw what opposition I met withal from some whom I shall not name, exhorted me to perseverance, in these very words as I remember, 'Mr. Wheelwright stand fast in the Lord, and you shall see that these notions will vanish into nothing,' or to that effect. Many men, especially the sectaries, exclaim against him with open mouths, but I hope he is a gracious man. I saw the lord mayor and sheriff

<sup>111</sup> Latin original in the Riksarkivet in Stockholm, pr. *infra*, App. II (20).

with their officers carry sundry of the fifth monarchy men to prison, as Mr. Can, Mr Day with others who used to meet together in Colman street to preach and pray against the Lord protector and the present power, . . .<sup>182</sup>

The minutes of the two regular Council meetings of the week of April 5<sup>183</sup> record little of importance beyond advising the Protector of the situation in Wales for a period of eight months, beginning April 9,<sup>184</sup> pursuant to the Protector's conversations "in private debate with the Major Generalls concerning the safety of the people against intended invasions"<sup>185</sup> Other measures to the like effect included a letter to Captain Smith of Hull, apparently ordering him to apprehend one Gardner, and possibly in regard to the activities of Slingsby's nephew, a Mr Stapleton, who had been with Slingsby ostensibly on family business.<sup>186</sup> Sir William Compton had already been sent to the Tower. John Russell, brother of the Earl of Bedford, was also sent to the Tower on April 8, Dr. Hewitt, a weighty figure in Royalist circles, the "evidence against him" being "most cleare"<sup>187</sup> It became clearer still on the information of John Stapeley, son of Colonel Stapeley of Sussex,<sup>188</sup> and of Henry Mallory of Preston, Sussex.<sup>189</sup> Meanwhile arrests went on,<sup>190</sup> though it does not appear that the danger was greater than before, if as great.

Meanwhile there came a batch of complaints from Henry Cromwell, to . . . Ingoldsby a baronet had made trouble . . . family, to correct which Henry desired his father to make Maurice Fenton also a baronet. He reproached Broghill for leaving England for Ireland and so

grieve his Highness, desert your friend Mr secr and Phi. Jones, leaving them alone to tug at all manner of difficulties . . . and leave me too, to see with one eye (viz G alone) and to want all those other helps your lordship's

<sup>182</sup> Hutchinson, *Hist of the Colony of Mass Bay* (1765), I, 193

<sup>183</sup> *Col & P Dom* (1657-8) on his 262-63 265 On Apr 10 the Protector approved

least 2000 horse to bee assembled to a race, and many if nott most of the eminent Cavaliers "

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid*, p 146

<sup>185</sup> Smith's reply, Apr 10, Thurloe, vii, 65

<sup>186</sup> Thurloe to Downing, Apr 9, *ibid*, p 63, *Clarke Papers*, iii, 137

<sup>187</sup> Thurloe, vii, 65-69

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, pp 74-75

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid*, p 63

being with his Highness does afford me . . . Why then should your lord-  
ship's absence? And . . . world, give his Highness ground to think you are weary

The rest of the business for the week had to do with foreign affairs, including, so far as the Protector was concerned, an order for a ship to carry back Lockhart's secretary, Swift, to France, a letter to Ferdinand, Duke of Tuscany; instructions to Meadows who had succeeded Jephson, the latter, however, being ordered to stop at Berlin to try to get a treaty with Brandenburg against the house of Austria,<sup>193</sup> and two letters for presentation to Charles Gustavus:

*To Our right Honorable Lord Admiral and Navy*

OLIVER P

Our will and pleasure is that you should cause to be transported from our Port of Rye to . . . Swift, who is bound thither about our important service. And you are to require the commander of the ship, having received him aboard, with the first opportunity of wind, and weather, to make for that place, and that in his passage he afford him all convenient accommodation. Given at Whitehall the 5th of April 1658.<sup>191</sup>

*To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand, Great Duke of Tuscany*

MOST SERENE PRINCE,

siding, we believe,  
lately put into you

contained, so that he was enforced, lest he should lose his ship and lading, together with his whole principal stock, openly to set forth the fraud of his freighter, after the manner of merchants, and when he had caused it to be registered by a public notary, to sue him at Leghorn. Joseph, on the other side, that he might make good one fraud by another, combining with two other litigious traders, upon a feigned pretence, by perjury, seized upon six thousand pieces of eight, the money of one Thomas Clutterbuck. But as for his part, the said Hosier, after great expenses and loss of time, could never

<sup>191</sup> Henry Cotton, *The Life of Oliver Cromwell*, vol. 1, pp. 56-57. Cotton, *ibid.*, pp. 56-57. Cotton, *ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

your highness, that you would vouchsafe your assistance to this poor oppressed man, and according to your wonted justice, restrain the insolence of his adversary. For in vain are laws ordained for the government of cities by the authority of princes, if wrong and violence, when they cannot abrogate,

to punish a daring boldness of this nature, beseeching Almighty God to bless your highness with peace and prosperity.<sup>194</sup>

From our court at Westminster,

April 7, 1658

*Instructions to Philip Meadows, our envoy extraordinary to his Majesty of Sweden*

We having had experience of your fidelity and sufficiency, as in other affairs, so in the late mediation between Sweden and Denmark, being willing  
recalled you  
you to come

to the intended treaty of Braunsberg

1 You are therefore, upon the receipt of these, with your best opportunity  
with him in the quality of  
ing remanded

2 And being arrived with him, you are to deliver your credentials, and

ders, which you shall from time to time receive from hence, and conformably to the emergencies in those parts.

3 And forasmuch as we understand, that there is a treaty of peace between Sweden and Poland, to be held at Braunsberg in Prussia, and moreover, that the French and States General are received, or probably to be so, for mediators therein, you are therefore timely to inform yourself concerning it

4 And in case that treaty hold, you are then to deliver the other letter<sup>195</sup> to the king of Sweden, which concerns that peace, and not otherwise, and to communicate with him in confidence thereupon, letting him know, that as well his affairs, as those which relate to the common interest of the protestants, moved us thereunto, and that your instructions are to square yourself in this negotiation, according to his advice

5 Besides these considerations, which we lay much to heart, the interest of commerce and navigation, in reference to this state, would in no case suffer us to let pass so notable a meeting without some of our public ministers there,

<sup>194</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 445-46, with additions from Latin in Columbia *Milton*, no. 109 and Vischer's ed. Lett, II, 342, summary in Masson, v, 386-87

<sup>195</sup> Meadows asked to have his title changed to Ambassador in letters to Thurloe Apr 18/28, May 21/31, May 29/June 8 (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vii, 730-34)

<sup>196</sup> See second letter of April 9, *infra*.

and we can never interpose therein with greater dignity than in the way of mediation

6 And to the said purpose you are to let the king of Sweden know also that we will in this mediation manifest ourself a firm and true, and faithful ally to him And as to his retaining of Prussia, you are very well to understand the mind of the king of Sweden, and in case you find him fixed thereupon, you shall then endeavour in the treaty, (yet with that circumspection and prudence, that becomes a mediator) that Prussia may be quitted to him by the king of Poland; and to that purpose to endeavour, with all befitting warmness, to incline the ministers of the States General thereunto, who are

to him and that state, as may remove that difficulty

7. Having obtained the king of Sweden's answer and acceptance of this mediation, you are thence to repair to the king of Poland, proffering the same office to him.

8 But in case you understand, before you come to him, that they will punctilliate with you, denying those respects, which have been formerly rendered to this nation in their ministers, or that you find it so upon the place, you are then to forbear, unless they yield and accommodate themselves

9 And in case the said mediation be accepted by both the said kings, you are then to repair to Braunsburgh, or any other place, where that treaty shall be, and use your endeavours to accommodate and bring to effect the treaty upon the grounds laid down in these instructions

10 But in case the king of Poland should not accept our mediation, you are then to advise upon the place, how to behave yourself, whether to be upon the place or not, however, you are to give all the countenance you can to the affairs of Sweden, and to the cementing him with the Protestant interest, and to take care, that nothing be negotiated between the said two kings to the prejudice and disadvantage of this state, either in honour, trade or commerce, but that on the contrary they be provided for

11 To the marquis of Brandenburg you are next to address yourself, either in person, or by his ministers, as your business, time, or the place will bear

you s  
Sweden and the elector of Brandenburg

12 To the prince of Transylvania, whose ministers will doubtless be there, with whom

13 If there be any from the duke of Muscovia, you are to take your

the States General, to hold up  
all good intelligence and correspondence

15 With those of Dantzick, to move according to the greater interest.

16 And as to the matter of commerce, you are not to be wanting there, to inform yourself therein, and to provide for the same, and the interest of the

id  
on

of the house of Austria wholly out of this treaty; and joining yourself with those, which are of the same sense in that particular, to make your party as

effectual

18 Concerning all the proceedings of your negotiation herein, and all other occurrences of state incident into your observation, you are to give, from time to time, the most exact account to ourself, or our principal secretary of state, from whom you shall receive our further pleasure<sup>127</sup>

9th April, 1658.

*To Charles Gustavus of Sweden*

MOST SERENE AND POWERFUL KING, GOOD FRIEND AND ALLY.

Amity having been happily restored and confirmed be-

same time, however, we have commanded Philip Meadow, sincerely dear and

our thoughts and intimate feelings with your Majesty Therefore we ask your Majesty to receive kindly this our Envoy Extraordinary, and not to doubt his trustworthiness any more than our good will towards your Majesty After recommending Divine Protection for your own excellence and felicity, we are still most ready to give and offer all our services to your

Given from our palace of Westminster on the  
1658

Your Majesty's good friend and ally,

OLIVER P

By mandate of His Highness,

Jo. Thurloe<sup>128</sup>

*To Charles Gustavus of Sweden*

MOST SERENE AND POWERFUL KING, GOOD FRIEND AND ALLY

Many and excellent things there are indeed which we esteem and admire in your Majesty, but above all we admire that Christian

hostilities alone, you seem to have fought against war Indeed, everyone who is imprudent and heedless is able to excite quarrels, but very few are those

<sup>127</sup> Thurloe, vii, 63-64

<sup>128</sup> Latin original in the Riksarkivet in Stockholm, pr *infra*, App. II (21)

who know how to allay and suppress them<sup>199</sup> This in a certain measure is a characteristic peculiar to your Majesty, seeing that it is related how, as soon as tranquillity was restored to Denmark, you have now also turned your mind to the peace of Poland. Moreover, whatever influence we have by our authority and service, we gladly devote to endeavours of this kind, and we seize every opportunity of pleasing your Majesty. We consider it as not inconsistent with this our intention to offer—through our Ambassador sincerely dear and faithful to us, to your Majesty's ambassador Extraordinary—our services to your Majesty for the reconciliation of this peace also. But if, as your Majesty, we shall by all means act so that nothing can be expected from one who is friendly to you and your greatness and glory. Besides, we congratulate your Majesty, and pray for every good fortune for your Majesty. Given from our palace of Westminster on the ninth day of April, in the year 1658

Your Majesty's good friend,

OLIVER P.

By mandate of His Highness,  
Jo. Thurloe<sup>200</sup>

So far as France was concerned, in spite of Mazarin's letter of March 27/April 6 regretting that he found himself unable to "defer to the desire expressed by the Protector in favor of Bordeaux," for reasons which he had explained to Lockhart,<sup>201</sup> the latter wrote on April 11 that he thought Mazarin might "be *président de mortier*"<sup>202</sup>—though apparently he wanted the loan of Cromwell's old regiments for three weeks, otherwise he could not answer to the success of a design against Dunkirk.<sup>203</sup> Mazarin thanked Cromwell for the promise of five or six ships in the Mediterranean and wanted them near Toulon by June 1 for six weeks, they to carry the English flag and keep all their prizes but to lend support to "the English fleet" to fight alongside them if there was any. Lockhart added a warning as a result of a conversation heard between Henrietta Maria and Jermyn, of a design to poison Cromwell, with a suggestion that the kitchen and cellar staff at Whitehall be watched carefully.<sup>205</sup>

The chief business of the Council during the week of April 12 was connected with the recent disturbances, plots and threats of invasion.

<sup>199</sup> These words are underlined in the original, possibly done after the letter reached Sweden.

<sup>200</sup> Cp. art. 4 of Meadows' instructions. Latin original in the Riksskrivret in Stockholm, *pr. infra*, App. II (22).

<sup>201</sup> Mazarin to Cromwell, Mar. 27/Apr. 6, *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii, 692.

<sup>202</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Apr. 11/21, Thurloe, vii, 70.

<sup>203</sup> Same to same, Apr. 11/21, *ibid.*, n. 52.

<sup>204</sup> Same to same, Apr. 11/21, *ibid.*, n. 70.

<sup>205</sup> Same to same, Apr. 17/17, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 361.

justice, for which a warrant was now advised.<sup>200</sup> It was not as yet fully decided, for, as Giavanna wrote, the proposal had been made and as yet

"not rejected nor has anything yet been decided. They are discussing the question and considering what steps it may be necessary to take. If the court is set up . . . it will mean loss and destruction for many, as a large number of royalists and Catholics will have to suffer, who will be accused by malice and things which may never have entered to get rid of such folk in any sort of way." To this he added that the Council had decided to summon another Council.<sup>201</sup>

There appears in both the Council meetings of the week considerable concern for the religious situation of the country which took the form of a draft warrant "for the better maintenance of ministers" in Scotland<sup>202</sup> and of provision for ministers for the force at Mairdyke.<sup>203</sup> And among the various activities of the Protector at this point were some documents of extremely varied character—an order to the Admiralty commissioners and the presentation to a living.

*To Our right Trusty and Wellbeloved the Commissioners of Our Admiralty & Navy*

OLIVER P.

Our will and pleasure is That you forthwith appoint one of our Ships of War which may repair to Calais, requiring the Commander thereof to ride there until he shall receive orders from Sir William Lockhart, knight . . . which he is to observe and follow  
Give  
3 210

*To the Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers*

OLIVER P.

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland Ireland and the Dominions and territories therunto belonging To the Commissioners authorized by the Ordinance for Approbation of

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. liv, 365.

<sup>211</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. 188-89.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 346, this was a draft.

*infra*

<sup>202</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 366.

<sup>203</sup> Original in *S. P. Dom.* clxxx, no. 150, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 366.



Publique Preachers or any Five of them, Greeting, We present Mr Francis Gibson to the Rectory of Miningsby in Our County of Lincolne now void and to our Presentation belonging, To the end he may be approved of by them and admitted thereunto with all its rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever according to the Tenor of the aforesaid Ordinance Given at Whitehall the thirteenth day of April, One Thousand six hundred Fifty and Eight <sup>211</sup>

The fear of conspiracies and invasion seems not to have greatly abated. The examinations of those who had been arrested went on; <sup>212</sup> the news-sheets continued to print the addresses which kept coming in; <sup>213</sup> and apparently on Saturday the 17th the Protector advised with Whitelocke in regard to setting up the new High Court of Justice. To this <sup>214</sup> . . . , contending that the conspirators should be . . . courts, but Cromwell "was too much in love with the new way and thought it to be the more effectual and would terrify the offenders." <sup>215</sup> It seems apparent from Henry Cromwell's observation to Broghill that the Protector was failing "His Highness's enemies," Henry wrote, "find him no fool. I wish he were equally distant from both his childhoods; but am glad to hear he will not be cozened again . . . I hope his highness brave resolutions not to be cozened again will beget a serenity in your lordship's intentions" to retire. <sup>216</sup> Whatever his condition, the vigilance of his government was not relaxed.

On Friday he had received Tichborne who came to present two papers, one from the London militia commissioners, the other from the trained bands, receiving them with the usual compliments and warnings, and on that same day he sent additional warnings to the officials of the Cinque Ports.

*Speech to the gentlemen presenting (1) The Humble Address from the Commissioners for the Militia of the City of London, (2) The Humble Representation and Petition of the Colonels &c, of the several regiments of the Trained Bands of the City of London At Whitehall, Friday, April 17, 1658*

[Substance only]

affections of the City in this time of danger, threatened by the common enemy.

<sup>211</sup> Original in Tangye Collection, London Museum; listed in Wm. Downing's

<sup>212</sup> . . . .

<sup>213</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 12-19, May 3-10.

<sup>214</sup> Whitelocke, p. 673

<sup>215</sup> Henry Cromwell to Broghill, Apr. 14, Thurloe, vii, 72.

And before he dismissed them, he was pleased to acquaint them with some

as some  
tamper  
tray it f  
several commissions were sent over to the parties, which commissions are ready to be produced

He intimated also unto them divers other things relating to the enemy's  
y were engaged in several parts and  
with whom a course will ere long be  
the world, an High Court of Justice  
being to be erected, by the advice of the Privy Council, for the trial of those  
persons, according to the Act of Parliament in that behalf made and provided  
Diverse other things were  
persons guilty were not named,  
upon trial come to be more fully known

[To the Mayors, Bailiffs, and Jurats of the Cinque Ports]

their wandering up and downe and other carriages, they show themselves to  
your troopes to be allwayes upon the coast and neere these landing places  
with orders to apprehend and seize upon all such persons as shall land, or be  
found wandering up and downe in the country, and to cause them to be secured  
untill they be examined and can give a good accompt of themselves and  
their business And all such as shall land in any of the Ports, the Officers of  
the Ports are required to make stay of them as aforesaid, and the same orders  
are to be observed,  
the Seas And all  
civill, are to be aiding and assisting to you in these things, who are required  
to use their utmost inducements to call all such persons as aforesaid to be apprehended and secured

April 17, 1658

The Council meetings, of the week of April 19<sup>218</sup> were still as unpromising as for some time past, concerned chiefly with money, ordering the payment of various amounts and naming a committee "to consider how the sums for public service may be forthwith paid"<sup>219</sup>— which, viewed from any direction, was a perplexing prob-

<sup>218</sup> Stainer, no. 55, from *Merc Pol*

<sup>217</sup> Copy in the Mss. of the Corporation of Rye. Pr in *Hist. Mus. Comm. Rept.* 17, App. IV, p. 230. Summary in *Lomas-Carlyle*, Suppl. 142

<sup>219</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. liv, 369, 371-72. On Apr. 20 the Protector approved an order of Apr. 8, and on Apr. 21, 21 orders dating back to March 16. There were the usual parish problems also

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370

lem. To this they added another resolution "to consider the pensions allowed, and if any may be discharged, and what other charges lie upon the revenue,"<sup>220</sup> which indicated at least one place where the government could get—or save—money. That was, in fact, the one great problem. Without more money than they had been able to raise it would be difficult or impossible even to maintain the army, and without the army the government would go down. It had not been possible to get the amount promised Charles X of Sweden; it had been difficult to find enough to support the military and naval forces abroad; it had been apparently impossible to pay the troops in Ireland; and it would seem from various pieces of evidence that

the more dangerous

That threat was still in evidence. The committee for a new High Court of Justice had not yet been announced but was advertised for early in the following week.<sup>221</sup> Meanwhile Goffe and Scobell continued to examine those who were suspected or who had indicated their willingness to testify.<sup>222</sup> Meanwhile on April 24 at the quarter-sessions in Old Bailey, Cornet Day and John Clarke were "indicted for speaking against the words against his highness the Lord Protector, upon which they were found guilty and Day fined £500 and 12 moneths Imprisonment and Clerk fined 200 Markes and 6 moneths Imprisonment."<sup>223</sup> At the same time the Protector issued a commission for Andrew Kerr as Commissioner or Lord of Sessions in Scotland, and took occasion to write in regard to the question of the disposition of Irish lands.

#### *Commission for Andrew Ker*

Oliver by the grace of God, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting Know yee that Wee being well assured of the faithfulness wisdom and prudence of our Trustie and Wel-beloved Andrew Ker Esq<sup>r</sup> one of our Cōmissioners assigned for Administration of Justice to our people in Scotland And one of the Lords of our Sessions here Have thought fitt to Graunt and confirme unto him the said Office and place of Trust aforesaid To be one of the Cōmission<sup>rs</sup> of Us and our Successors or Administracon of Justice or one of the Lords of Sessions in Scotland dureng Our will and with all and every the rights priviledges authorities pre-

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 371

<sup>221</sup> Apr. 21, "within three or four days", Apr. 24, "on Monday or Tuesday next", *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 19-26.

<sup>222</sup> Those most involved seem to have been John and Anthony Stapley, John Morant, Henry Mallory and a Capt. Woodcock of Lewes. Cp. Thwloe, vii, 83-90, 92-4.

<sup>223</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, Apr. 22-29

heminencies dignities and imunities whatsoever therto belonging as amply as any other of the said Cōmissioners or Lords of Session have had or enjoyed together with the yearly salary of three hundred pounds of lawfull money

ury or Treasuries And in such manner and forme as any Salaries have beene heretofore or shalbe hereafter paid to the Cōmissioners or Lords of Sessions aforesaid or any of them And wee hereby authorize and cōmaund the Cō-  
To passe our Graunt and  
Andrew Kerr In such man-  
ner and forme as Wee have herein directed under our Great Seale of Scotland  
For which this shalbe a sufficient Warrant Given at Whitehall the [20th] day  
of [April] In the yeare of our Lord 1657 [1658]<sup>254</sup>

*To the Lord Deputy and Council*

We have received yours of 9th March, in answer to ours concerning the satisfaction to be given to our town of Liverpool for the £10,000 allowed them by the Parliament, and we do very well approve of the way and expedient which you have therein offered for their satisfaction out of the remainder of the houses of our town of Galway, not already disposed of for the satisfaction of the £10,000 allowed to our city of Gloucester, and we do accordingly hereby signify our will and pleasure and do authorise and desire you forthwith to cause satisfaction to be given to our said town of Liverpool for the said £10,000 allowed to them as aforesaid, out of the said remainder of houses at Galway, at so many years' purchase not exceeding ten, as you shall think fit, which rate those entrusted on the behalf of Liverpool do represent to us as far different from that which was allowed to Gloucester, although there be no such disproportion between the merits of their case, yet nevertheless we wholly refer and leave the same to your judgment and determination<sup>255</sup>

April 20.

Foreign affairs continued to play their part in the deliberations of Council and Protector, without, however, any very definite conclusion. It would seem that new orders had been sent to Jephson, as on April 13/23 he advised the Kurfurst from Hamburg that he had received new instructions to see him as soon as possible<sup>256</sup>. Lockhart had promised to ask the Protector for two barks of fascines for Mazarin, having said it was impossible to provide fascines, 30,000 livres having been spent on them for the fortifications of Mardyke and it would cost that much again for this new supply. It appeared also that Mazarin had given Lockhart 30,000 livres during the winter

<sup>254</sup> " . . . ift reported in Council on Apr 20 (Cal 1, for Monk's request for a commission

for Ker, Nov. 1657

<sup>255</sup> Dunlop, II, 680.

<sup>256</sup> *Urk u. Actenst.*, VII, 793

to provide the fodder for three weeks for eight to ten thousand horses.<sup>227</sup> Mazarin further advised Bordeaux that the Chevalier de Montgaillard had been in London to make various purchases but especially to solicit the ambassador concerning certain things, which he did not specify. He also notified Bordeaux that the Portuguese minister in England had a great deal to say about the difficulties he had in negotiating with M. de Cominges,<sup>228</sup> which seems to indicate that much was going on behind the scenes which did not find its way into diplomatic documents. On his part the Protector "having received information from one Harewout . . . lately come from Bantam, of several crimes laid to the charge of C. . . [an English agent there], having also perused the papers sent to me Company relating to the matter, and finding no sufficient proof for a judicial trial," sent Malyn, his secretary, "to return the papers and desire the Company to make further inquiries," as a result of which, at Browne's request, William Prideaux was named in the place of Browne.<sup>229</sup> At the same time Colonel Richard Holdop, who had experience in the West Indies and was for a time governor of Surinam, but had not commended himself to his colleagues,<sup>230</sup> was nominated by the Protector as consul to Venice.

*To the most serene Prince, the Doge of the Venetians, and to the most illustrious Venetian Senate*

MOST SERENE PRINCE, ILLUSTRIOUS SENATE

Richard Holdipp, recently Colonel in our army, but now consul of the company of merchants trading in the Peloponnese, has asked to be provided with this our letter to your Serene Highness, since he considered that your favor would be the highest distinction and protection for him in the administration of his office, moreover that our recommendation would be of no small importance to him. This indeed, we ungrudgingly grant him, inasmuch as we have no doubts concerning his good advice to us and concerning your kindness, known and demonstrated to us by many proofs. Therefore . . . gather the most abundant . . . the Commonwealths and of this our recommendation, just as we ourselves shall rejoice in aiding any whatever of your citizens—this favor we rightly promise to your most serene Commonwealth. Moreover, we pray for your most serene Commonwealth's . . .

Your Serene Highness good friend &c.

<sup>227</sup> Mazarin to Bordeaux, *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii, 351-52.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 704.

<sup>229</sup> Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 254-55.

<sup>230</sup> Firth-Davies, pp. 727-29.

<sup>231</sup> Latin in Thurloe, vii, 83.

Besides these matters, some time before April 23 Elias Strauss, Bradshaw's secretary, arrived in London in behalf of the Duke of Courland "to ask the protection of his Highness to settle some naval matters which the duke's minister [Rudolph von Struch] who was here last year could not terminate, and also to decide some private matter between his master and the earl of Warwick"; but Giavarina, who reported the incident, predicted that he would "not obtain audience until the difficulties which have kept the Court preoccupied are entirely settled," since "during this time no foreign minister has been able to gain access to his Highness"<sup>232</sup> Only Lockhart had been able to see him, on April 24, probably in connection with the siege of Dunkirk.<sup>233</sup> From these and various other like circumstances it appears that the Protector was in poor condition to conduct public business. He seems not to have recovered from his illness in the preceding autumn more than enough to act more or less chiefly as a figure-head in affairs, confining himself to the absolute minimum of public business or appearances.

He did not on that account lose his hold on affairs. During the meetings of the Council in the week of April 26 the most important piece of business was an order that in the future no warrants for the payment of money be signed by the Council without the Protector's personal direction.<sup>234</sup> On Tuesday, April 27, the commission for erecting the High Court of Justice in accordance with the Act of September 26, 1656, for the security of the Protector's person passed the Great Seal, and commissions or letters patent were issued to the commissioners, of whom there were 140 named, seventeen to be a quorum. The oath the commissioners were obligated to take promised execution of their powers in pursuance of the Act, and they were to examine only such individuals as were to be named by the Protector and Council.<sup>235</sup> Besides these measures, May 5 was set for a day of fasting and humiliation for London and Westminster, May 19 for the rest of England.<sup>236</sup> To these were added, finally, the conferring of a baronetcy upon Edmund Dunch.

#### *Baronetcy for Edmund Dunch*

Oliver By the Grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland Ireland the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging To all and singular Dukes Marquesses Earls Viscounts Barons Knights Pro-

<sup>232</sup> Giavarina to Duke, Apr. 23/May 3, *Cal S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 192. Von Struch left in late July or early August, 1657 (*supra*).

<sup>233</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 19-26, Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Apr. 27, Thurloe, vii, 100.

<sup>234</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), pp. liv, 377-79, *ibid.* (1658-9), p. 1.

<sup>235</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 26-May 3, May 3-10.

<sup>236</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom.* (1657-8), p. 380, *pr.* in *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 26-May 3, Crawford, i, 373, no. 3093.

vosts Freemen and all our Officers Ministers and Subjects whatsoever to whom these our Letters shall come Greeting Amongst other the Prerogatives which adorne the Imperiall Crowne of these Nations none is of greater excellency or doth more amplifie our favours then to be the Fountaine of Honour and those who being of ancient Descent have gained Patrimony of their Supportation and have deserved

titles of Honor and Dignity for a reward to them and an encouragement to others Therefore in contemplation of the meritts of our trusty and welbeloved Edmund Dunch of East Wittenham in our County of Berks Esquire And for that he hath done and performed many faithfull and acceptable Services to us and the Commonwealth as well in severall Parliaments whereunto he hath been called as otherwise in his Country And hath also managed and discharged the Trusts reposed in him with great wisdom prudence and industry And he being a Gentleman of singular worth and merit and of an Ancient and honourable extraction WEE have thought fitt to advance him to the Ho

Posteriority Know yee therefore that wee of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere motion have made constituted and created and our Successors make constitute and create of East Wittenham in our said County of Berks and him the said Edmund Dunch to the State Degree Dignity Stile Title name and honor of Baron Burnell of East Wittenham in our County of Berks— Wee doe for us and our Successors preferr create and advance by these presents To have and to hold the said State Degree Dignity Stile Title name and honor of Baron Burnell of East Wittenham aforesaid to him the said Edmund Dunch and the heires males of his body lawfully begotten and to be begotten for ever Willing and by these

successively have hold and enjoy the said State Degree Dignity Stile Title name or Honor of Baron Burnell of East Wittenham aforesaid and shalbe called by the name of Baron Burnell of East Wittenham and as Baron Burnell of East Wittenham aforesaid shalbe forever hereafter reputed knowne and taken to be and shall and may hold and enjoy the same and the like privi-

Baron of England rightfully belonging and which other the Barons of England lawfully freely and honorably before this time have held and enjoyed or may now lawfully hold and enjoy And wee will and Command that the said Edmund Dunch Baron Burnell of East Wittenham aforesaid shall and may have these our Letters Patents sealed with our Great Seale of England without any fine or fee to be paid in our Hanaper for the same Although expresse mention of the certaintie of the premisses or of any of them or of any other Gift or Grant by us to the said Edmund Dunch heretofore made in theis presents is not made or anie Statute Act Ordinance Provision or Restraint to the contrary made or ordeyned or provided or anie other thing cause or matter whatsoever to the contrary in anie wise notwithstanding In witnes whereof Wee have caused theis our Letters to be made Patents—Witnes our Selfe at Westm<sup>r</sup>.

the sixth and twentieth day of Aprill in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred Fifty Eight.<sup>227</sup>

In addition to these there were some items of routine business, including under date of April 30 a privy seal to pay Sir Henry Crooke and other officers salaries as indicated, some of them dating back to June 24, 1654,<sup>228</sup> and by letters patent of May 1, Serjeant Maynard was made Cromwell's serjeant-at-law.<sup>229</sup> It was evident that there was to be work for the new High Court of Justice for examinations were going on, chiefly in London and Sussex.<sup>230</sup> As Thurloe wrote,

we have made sure of the cavaliers, haveinge most of them under strickt guards in the severall countreyes, . . . The persons to be tried [by the High Court of Justice] are not yet agreed I thinke Sir Henry Slingsby, doctor Hewett, Mr Mordaunt, Sir Humphry Benett, John Russell, &c. . . and it's certeyne Sir William Waller was fully engaged The people in most countyes, to cleare themselves from the suspicion of this designe, are petitioning his Highnes, and therein to declare their fidelity and readines to serve him.<sup>231</sup>

money; but no caches of arms or ammunition were discovered, nor a date or place for . . . it was generally agreed that ( . . . ) thousand foot and a thousand horse. Much depended on the course of events in Flanders, and something on the disposition of the troops. Henry Cromwell wrote of the appointment of Boteler to Packer's post, that

his Highness intended rather a rebuke to the personal contumacy of Packer, than to expresse distast to his whole party, for I doubt some may perswade his Highness he may command those more absolutely, who have been most used to obey him . . . which is the reason . . . why he chuses to employ such as Butler &c than others rather of better principles and parts.<sup>232</sup>

All this seemed to be confirmed by an audience which the Protector gave to George M'etwood, on or shortly before April 30, after the Swedish commissioners had left. In the course of the interview,

<sup>227</sup> . . . *Pub. Records*, App II, p. 216

May 3.

<sup>228</sup> Thurloe, vii, 95-99, 102-5.

<sup>229</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Apr 27, *ibid*, pp 99-100, cp *Pub Intell*, May 3-10

<sup>230</sup> Henry Cromwell to Falconbridge, Apr 28, Thurloe, vii, 101-2



"Thurloe explained the impossibility of the Protector to realize his resolutions" because of the state of affairs in England, to which the Protector added that

the interests of no prince were dearer to him than those of Your Majesty, that he would gladly support him if only his conditions were somewhat better set up. The projected invasion of the Scottish king and the threatened domestic conspiracy hindered all his good intentions at the moment. However, since he had made a definite decision this morning to call a new Parliament, he hoped to be

This appears to confirm other evidence in regard to the situation of affairs at this moment. The government was much disturbed at the time. He was considering the summoning of another Parliament. In only one thing did he seem determined -- that was the war in Flanders, and that may well have been as much for the sake of averting an invasion as for any other purpose. In any event at about this time he seems to have conferred upon Lockhart the command of Mardyke and of the army intended for the capture of Dunkirk.

*To Ambassador Lockhart*

[Substance only]

Giving him command of Mardyke and of the army which is to attempt Dunkirk. Impowering him to govern his forces according to the discipline of war.<sup>244</sup>

So far as other foreign affairs were concerned, Meadows demanded an audience of Frederick III to take his leave of Denmark, having already been ordered to Sweden, and incidentally requested again that his title be changed from envoy to ambassador.<sup>245</sup> Jephson had by now arrived in Berlin to find that some sort of an agreement had already been reached between Brandenburg and the house of Austria. His requests in his first audience on April 30, none the less, were that there should be a union of Brandenburg and Sweden -- with a suggestion that in case of war between those powers, England would certainly help Sweden; a request that Brandenburg should vote against the house of Austria in the impending imperial election, and a sugges-

<sup>243</sup> Fleetwood to Charles X Gustavus, Apr. 30, 1658, quot. in Bowman, *Protestant Interest*, p. 68, n. 3, and Firth, *Last Years*, II, 232.

<sup>244</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Thurloe, VII, 171. It seems impossible to date this letter. Cp. *ibid.*, pp. 69, 125, 155.

<sup>245</sup> Meadows to Thurloe, Apr. 28, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, VII, 730-31.

tion that Brandenburg keep out of the Anglo-Spanish war even if the Emperor and the electors should come in.<sup>246</sup> These were stiff terms, especially to a power like Brandenburg, which England had

In its regular meetings during the first week of May, the Council of various petitioners on reference from the Protector,<sup>247</sup> considered various matters in connection with Captain Stokes' articles of peace with Tunis,<sup>248</sup> agreed to and sent up to the Protector the draft of a grant for £1,200 for the better propagation of the Christian religion,<sup>249</sup> as well as a draft proclamation for summoning the new High Court of Justice to meet in the Painted Chamber on May 12. The reason given for the delay in proclaiming the establishment of the Court was that "The judges still boggle at the High Court of Justice, [and] the Prot[ector] told Chief Justice Glin that lawyers are always full of quirks."<sup>250</sup> However their names were included in the list published on April 27—"the two Lords Chief Justices . . . the Justices of the Upper Bench . . . the Justices of the Common Pleas",<sup>251</sup> but until that body assembled, examinations went on in the usual way, Sir Henry Slingsby's in particular. The case against him was the stronger in that he had endeavored to win over the officers of the Hull garrison, especially Waterhouse and Smith, who duly reported all his maneuvers.<sup>252</sup> Apart from this, the Danish representative reported that on Sunday, May 2, Cromwell issued orders that all ministers who preached and administered sacraments with ceremonies in use before 1653 should stop preaching in London.<sup>253</sup> In addition to these the Protector issued or signed various orders, warrants and other documents, including the second draft of the warrant "for the better maintenance of ministers" in Scotland.

<sup>246</sup> Jephson to Thurloe, Apr. 30, Thurloe, vii, 105-6, *Urk u. Arianst*, vii, 793-95.

<sup>247</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1658-9), pp. xvm, 1-2, 7.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4. The articles of peace were sent to the Council for the Admirals were sent to the Council for the Admirals. No Stokes shall present according to instructions from his Highness."

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 4.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4, *Pub. Intell.*, May 3-10, *Hist. Mis. Comm. Rept.* 5, App., p. 181.

<sup>251</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Apr. 26 May 3, May 3-10.

<sup>252</sup> Thurloe, vii, 111-13, 116-18, 121-25, 127.

<sup>253</sup> Petkum to Frederick III, May 7, *17th Rept. Dep. Keeper Pub. Records*, p. 64.

*Order to William Purves*

[Substance only]

Grant of all gifts and benefits enjoyed by his predecessors in the office of Clerk to the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, to which he has recently been appointed.<sup>254</sup>

May 3, 1658

*Charter to Swansea*

[Substance only]

Confirming letters patent 26 Feb., 1655-6 granting the town of Swansea be a free town and borough . . . the Portreeve, aldermen and burgesses to form a body corporate, and to elect one able and discreet person as a Burgess in Parliament.<sup>255</sup>

May 3, 1658

*To the Council in Scotland*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions therunto belonging. Forasmuch as We taking to consideration the sad condition of our people in Scotland living in the Highlands for want of the preaching of the Gospel and schools of learning for training up of youth in learning and civilities whereby the inhabitants of these places in their lives and whole demeanors are little different from the most savage heathens And finding it a duty lying upon Us for preventing thereof for the future, to study all means whereby not only the Gospel may be set up and professed but also the education of the youth therein provided and allowed . . . And forasmuch as We out of our sincere affection and zeal to the setting up, propagating and maintaining of the Christian religion in Scotland . . . God, vice suppressed and their children educated, having with advice of our Council of England mortified and appropriated the sum of twelve hundred pounds sterling to the use and end aforesaid to be employed and proportionated by our Council in Scotland for the time being to such person or persons as they shall employ therein. And we knowing no ways so much consonant with or

<sup>254</sup> *Y<sup>e</sup> first of May 1658* . . .

<sup>255</sup> . . .

formerly mortgaged or given to any person or persons now vacant and at our disposing by whatsoever manner of way, do therefore and for the better

others as they shall find most considerable to the end aforesaid, orders and

make for payment thereof, and generally all and sundry other things as well towards the improvement and discovery of the said chaplandries, deaneries and other such rents as toward the mortgaging proportionating of the said £1200 sterling to the persons aforesaid to do. And for so doing these presents shall be to our said Council for the time being a sufficient warrant hereby requiring the Keeper of our Great Seal of Scotland and the director of our Chancery there to exped and pass these under our Great Seal of Scotland per Saltum without any other warrant or seal. Given at [Whitehall, May 4, 1658] <sup>258</sup>

*To the Commissioners of our Admiralty of England*

These are to will and require you that you forthwith give order for one of <sup>trusty and</sup> General of the United Netherlands, together with her servants and other necessities to the Hague to her said husband, And that you take especial care the said Gentlewoman be treated in her said passage with due respect in all things answerable to her degree and quality Of which you are not to fail, And for which this shall be your warrant. Given at Whitehall, this fourth of May, 1658.

OLIVER P.<sup>259</sup>

*To Mr. Pell*

SIR,

The state of affairs being much altered in those parts, so that your longer abode there seemeth not so necessary, and that your return hither may be more serviceable to us, I have thought fit hereby to recall you, therefore you will do well, having taken your leave there in the best manner, to repair homewards, that we may receive from you the account of your

<sup>258</sup> *For the full text of this warrant, see the original in the State Papers, 1658.*

<sup>259</sup>

-9), pp. 4-5

whole negotiation, and you from us the encouragements which you have deserved. So I rest,

Your loving friend,  
OLIVER P.<sup>288</sup>

Whitehall, May 6, 1658.

By his Highness's command. J. THURLOE.

business, Henry Protector an address from the army in Ireland, loyal almost to a fault, "under all manner of tryalls for his highness's service,"<sup>289</sup> unpaid.<sup>290</sup> Apparently he had heard from Broghill that Cromwell had promised to "ratify and prepaire the army for due compliance &c and that he will also give assurance of those other things" which Broghill seems to have mentioned, as well as setting Broghill up at Hampton Court and promising that his "attendance upon business shall not be strained" beyond his strength, &c.<sup>291</sup> Broghill's intentions of returning to Ireland<sup>292</sup> seem apparent that the Protector was gathering about him men on whom he could depend. It seems no less evident that the cares of his position, joined to his own ill health, were wearing upon him, as the proposal to reorganize the army with new high officers appears to indicate. All in all it seemed that the Protectorate, if not the Protector himself, was nearing the end of its activities. It had made the last turn, it rested almost entirely on his own personal ascendancy, and if one may judge by various pieces of evidence, business was carried on chiefly by the Council, and he was himself becoming more and more a figure-head—but a figure-head without which the whole structure was likely to go down.

<sup>288</sup> Lemaire-Carlyle, Suppl. 143, from *Lansdowne MSS.* 754, f. 400, pr. in Vaughan, II, 334.

<sup>289</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, May 5, Thurloe, VII, 114, same to Falconbridge, Apr. 11, *ibid.* 115.

<sup>290</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, May 5, Thurloe, VII, 114, same to Falconbridge, Apr. 11, *ibid.* 115.

## THE LAST DAYS OF THE PROTECTORATE

occurred one of those more or less mysterious circumstances which had always marked the connection of the Protector with continental affairs. This was a plot arranged by a man named Sebastian Spinteler or Spindelero or Spintelet with Mazauin to deliver Ostend into French hands, in which the Protector now became involved. This, it seems, had been set originally for April 24/May 4, advantage being taken of a Kermesse in Ostend to surprise the place. Spindelero, after the manner of his kind, however, had also negotiated with Don John de Bocq, the governor of Ostend, advising him of the contemplated seizure of the place and giving him time to prepare for an attack. He

to pass by London, giving him credential-letters to the Protector, either, because he knew the need he should have of English Vessels, or not daring to make so great an  
league that was be  
the Protector as they imagined, for he shewed a great distrust of their dis-

<sup>1</sup> Giavalina to " ", 7-9), p. 197.

<sup>2</sup>Lockhart to . . . Perhaps it was Lockhart who delivered the "good present of venison" which the Protector sent to the King and Cardinal at Muddyle (Hartlib to Pell, Vaughan, n. 463).

128, Thutloe to Monk, May 12, *Clarke Papers*, iii, 149, Firth, *Last Years*, ii, 183-84

leading an expedition against the Spaniards" (from *Rawl. Mss. A24*, f. 4)

course, either, because he did not desire the French should make such a progress in Flanders, or that he knew more than his Eminence, being more distrustful, and having been bred up in a different School. Spintelet, however, by his ambiguous and insignificant Answers, that he did not swallow the Bait kindly, and that he could not gain upon him by his wiles (for his aim was to Trajan them both) he resolved to return to Zealand.<sup>5</sup>

... to Mazarin that the English ships would sail into Ostend, if they were not apprised of the details and the French did not have passports from the Protector with orders to his ships to give assistance, Mazarin sent one Payen, the French preacher at Dover

to London to Monsieur de Bordeaux . . . charging him to give the Protector speedy notice of the design, and to procure such dispatches from him, as Payen should tell him were necessary. But Oliver . . . not confiding in Payen's relation, thinking the business to be absolutely dash'd by the imprisonment of Spintelet . . . and desiring to inform himself more particularly, he sent for Payen late one night to examine the matter, who . . . did not refuse to do so. . . . Mazarin, however, did not think it proper to deal with Payen to change the Scene, and to act for the interest of the Cause. . . . P . . . . . twixt themselves, that Payen should go over into Zealand to negotiate with Spintelet. The Minister (by virtue of an Order from the Protector) found a vessel of 30 pieces of ordnance ready in the Downs to transport him into Zealand, with instructions, credentials, and all possible allurements, which he thought might work with Spintelet.<sup>6</sup>

It was agreed, apparently, that Ostend be put in the Protector's possession so long as he left its religion undisturbed. So Payen returned and was well received by Cromwell "who had ratified all the Capitulations, and was now dispatching him to finish the work."<sup>7</sup> Bordeaux, however, sensing that the Protector was working for himself, warned Mazarin who instructed Bordeaux to object to the plan. Whereupon Payen, "the Protector wax cold in the business, judging that . . . the Cardinal, or that he was not sound at heart," warned that "there was no good to be done with the English," but persuaded Bordeaux to . . . to the English in the Roads not to obstruct the passage of the French. The plan was not given up, for Mazarin ordered Marshal d'Aumont to take charge of the operation.<sup>8</sup> The net result was that d'Aumont at-

<sup>5</sup> *Relation, ut supra*, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50, 59-61, Mazarin to Talon, Mar. 27/Apr. 6, *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii, 336-37. Cp. *ibid.*, pp. 364-65, 368-69 for his criticism of d'Aumont for undertaking the operation.

arrived at Mardyke on May 14 with some 1,500 men from Mardyke, found himself in a trap, lost 500 men and was himself taken prisoner.<sup>9</sup>

Such was the story published in later years. All of it was partly true, part of it was all true; but it is apparent from all the evidence we have that the Protector had no real share in the scheme. Lockhart only heard of it on his return to Mardyke and found "it strange, . . . although it was not strange to those who were acquainted with it, . . . there seems no . . . no doubt that he wanted no part of it. According to Thurloe, he had disapproved of the plan when it was presented to him and Goodson had no orders to take any share in the matter.<sup>10</sup> Cromwell's aim was Dunkirk, and he had made his arrangements to that end. Lockhart, who had been given command of the situation, pleaded for the two half regiments promised, but which were still in Kent. Some two thousand men, he wrote, had arrived, but they were mostly raw recruits. He urged also that the two fleets be joined and that Morgan go to Flanders, as well as that he or some one else be formally put in charge as commander-in-chief.<sup>11</sup> In the meantime Turenne's activities had not been interrupted by the failure at Ostend. He brought his army together about Amiens at the beginning of May, and, accompanied by Louis XIV, made his way to Soex, less than ten miles distant from Dunkirk, while Castelnau advancing by way of Bourbourg joined the English at Mardyke. Everything thus pointed to an immediate attack upon Dunkirk, which was defended by some three thousand Spanish troops under the Marquis de Lede, one of the best soldiers in the Spanish army, who had earlier been Spanish ambassador to England.

While matters were thus shaping up in Flanders, final arrangements were being made in England as to the formation of the High Court of Justice. The Protector attended the Council meeting on Tuesday May 11 long enough to hear the resolutions in this matter . . . d for treason. These included . . . Smith, Colonel Gunter, Major William Clayton, Sir Richard Willis, Sir William Compton, Sir Humphrey Bennett, John Russell, Thomas Woodcock, and one Binstead; and for "misprision of treason" Mr John Nutt and Mr Edward Rivers.<sup>12</sup> It was apparent from the beginning that the government had no expectation of convicting more than a small number of those now accused, and there is a certain suspicion that the list was

<sup>9</sup> Firth, *Last* . . . Turenne

<sup>10</sup> Lockhart

<sup>11</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, May 11, and Goodson's account, *ibid.*, p. 128

<sup>12</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, May 6/16, *ibid.*, pp. 115-16, May 7/17, *ibid.*, p. 125

<sup>13</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), pp. 16-17.



padded with names of men whom it had no hope of convicting, or perhaps had no desire to convict. On Wednesday the 12th the High Court held its first session, but presently adjourned until the following Monday,<sup>14</sup> so that it appeared that, in spite of the objections of the lawyers, the Court was to function in accordance with the desire of the Protector.

Beyond this the chief business of the Protector and Council was the preparation and despatch of letters to Scotland, letters patent to Sir James Campbell as Lyon King at Arms,<sup>15</sup> instructions to the fleet and a letter to the Grand Duke of Tuscany

*To the Commissioners of Excise in Scotland*

Having received proposals from our Council in Scotland concerning im-  
nation, by  
belonging  
to that Crown, as we have already constituted you Excise Commissioners  
there, we order you and the Advocate and Solicitor-General to be very  
vigorous herein, and observe such directions as the Council in Scotland shall  
give. We have written expressly to our Commissioners for Administration  
of Justice in Scotland to set apart every Friday for this business.<sup>16</sup>

*To the Commissioners for the Administration of Justice in Scotland*

GENTLEMEN,

We taking into our gracious consideration the burdens  
lying upon our nation of Scotland towards the maintenance as well of the  
civil as military charge of that government, and finding them in some meas-  
ure to be occasioned by the alienation of several lands and rents anciently  
belonging to that Crown, contrary to the laws & constitutions of that our  
nation, and having in our heart the ease of that our people as much as in us  
lies, We are determined for that effect legally to reduce all the lands, rents  
and estates so illegally disposed, as said is, That b  
of our public revenue and lawfully restoring it to  
may be thereby enabled to support the government of that nation, with as  
little burden to the people as may be, Wherefore our will and pleasure is,  
That you Our Commissioners for Administration of  
Scotland do according to the primitive constitution of our College of Justice,  
and determining all  
you on our behalf  
by our Advocate doing therein according to law and justice; and that with all  
that end understanding that it was in use formerly  
urer to make the roll of such causes as should be  
heard upon Fridays and that it was the ancient custom for the better carry-  
ing on of these affairs that the Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal did

<sup>14</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, May 10-17.

<sup>15</sup> John Anderson, *Cal. of the Latin Charters* (Edinb., 1899), p. 592.

<sup>16</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1658-9), p. 20.

sit and meet with you, It is our will and pleasure that the Commissioners of our Exchequer or whom they shall appoint do make the rolls of causes to be heard on those days And you are not to admit any other cause whatsoever upon that day, until our Advocate publicly declare to you he hath nothing further to offer to you concerning us, and that the Chancellor and present Keeper of our Great Seal do sit and meet with you according to the ancient custom and privileges of his office, And hereof we require you to take special notice and to do accordingly without any delay.<sup>17</sup>

*Instructions to the fleet*

Whereas by treaty between us and the king of France, Dunkirk is to be besieged both at land and sea, to witt, at land by the French power, and at sea by our fleet, and we are given to understand, that the French army is  
you are forthwith, upon the  
ships, for preventing the  
enemies from coming into and going out of Ostend) to repair with the rest of the fleet with you before Dunkirk, and with them, such ships as you shall find there and thereabouts, and such as shall be sent unto you from other places, you shall [use] your best endeavour to block up the said town of Dunkirk, and to hinder any relief to be carried thereinto, and prevent the enemy from coming out from thence, and the commissioners of the admiralty have direction to send you victuals, and send other provisions, as will be requisite

You shall in this correspond with our ambassador in France, and likewise with the general of the French army, and shall comply with all designs, as far as you are able, for the taking of the said place

You shall afford to the French army such quantities of powder and bullet out of your ships, as you can spare for the said service, they paying ready money for the same, as also to lend them some battering guns, if they shall have occasion to use them

Whereas there are 5 companies of colonel Salmon's regiment to be transported to Mordeck, you are to send over our first ships to take some of them on board, and to be a convoy to the rest.<sup>18</sup>

Whitehall, 14 May, 1658

*To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany*

MOST SERENE GREAT DUKE,

In regard your highness in your letters has ever signified your extraordinary affection toward us, we are not a little grieved, that either it should be so obscurely imparted to your governors and ministers, or by them so ill interpreted, that we can reap no benefit or sign of it in your port of Leghorn, where your friendship towards us ought to be most clearly and truly understood rather, that we should find the minds of your subjects daily more averse and hostile in their demeanour toward us. For how unkindly our

<sup>17</sup> *Acts of Parl of Scotland*, vi, pt 11, 766, cp. *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), pp 18, 20 May 11, 1658

<sup>18</sup> Thurloe, vii, 133-34 In the handwriting of Secretary Thurloe.

fleet was lately treated by the inhabitants of Leghorn, how little accommodated with necessary supplies at last received, in what a hostile manner twice constrained to depart the harbour, we are sufficiently given to understand, as well from undoubted witnesses upon the spot as from the admiral himself, to whose relation we cannot but be indebted. We have thought him worthy to command our fleet. Upon his first arrival, he caused our letters to be delivered to you.

Had passed between our people and yours, when he desired the accommodation of Porto Ferraro, answer was made, it could not be granted, lest the king's enemy, should be offended. And yet what is there more frequently allows to his confederate, than

Or what is there that we can excuse ready to do us unkindness than assistance, for fear of provoking the displeasure of our enemies? At first indeed, prattic was allowed, though only to two or three of our seamen out of every ship, who had the favour to go ashore.

Dutch v

ever free to all that are not open enemies, was not suffered to them, but under

entrymen, or assist them in the least end of March, nobody was suffered to when our admiral had taken a small Neapolitan vessel, which fell into our hands by chance, above two hundred great shot were made at our fleet from the town, though without any damage to us. Which was an argument, that what provoked your governors without a cause, as if the rights of your harbour had been violated, was done out at sea, at a great distance from your town, or the jurisdiction of your castle. Presently our long boats, sent to take in fresh water, were assailed in the port, and one taken and detained, which being redemanded, answer was made, that neither the skiff nor the seamen should be restored, unless the Neapolitan

sea, suffered, were forced at length to set sail, and leave behind them the pro-

These things, if they were not and, as we hope they were not, we desire you would make it appear by the punishment of the governor, who so easily presumed to violate his master's alliances, but if they were done with your highness's approbation and order, we would have your highness understand, that we have not yet had time to have learnt to

court at Whitehall, May 4, 1658

Your highness good friend,

OLIVER P<sup>19</sup>

19 c.  
Orig. Thurloe.

To these the Protector added a list of the numbers of men and guns to be contributed by twenty English counties,<sup>20</sup> and another list of ships to be sent to sea:

*Order to Admiralty & Navy Commissioners for the summer guard*

OLIVER P.

rest upwards of the 50 . . . & Navy to take care thereof with all speed<sup>22</sup>

Beyond this there appears nothing of the Flanders enterprise in the documents of the time nor in the minutes of the Council. That body sat on Wednesday the 12th, apparently chiefly for the purpose of giving orders in matters of finance,<sup>23</sup> and at the Thursday meeting the Protector was present for a time when a petition of the Eastland merchants . . . to that of May 30, 1656.<sup>24</sup> . . . cavity outside of the walls of Whitehall. As a result of arrests made in the course of the week and on the authority of an informer, Corker, who warned of trouble brewing for Saturday night, on the morning of that day, the 15th, the guards were doubled throughout London; in the afternoon the horse and foot were ordered to arms; and by seven o'clock in the evening it . . . apprentices, a Sir William Leighton, a . . . and a major who went by the name of Rogers were taken into custody. The plan, as reported in . . . to set fire to the city at 11 o'clock . . . regiment in Southwark and "alarum" Whitehall.<sup>25</sup>

The alarm coincided too closely with the meeting of the High Court of Justice not to escape the suggestion that it was designed to that

<sup>20</sup> Listed in American Art Ass'n sale catalogue for Dec. 20-21, 1920, item 250, from the library of H. S. Marlborough.

<sup>21</sup> Cromwell's signature is above the list which precedes this order. It includes the . . .

mouth each 150-34, *Saphir* 150-32, *Maidston* and *Reserve* each 160-36, *Assurance* 140-30, *Providence* 120-28, *Nightingale* 110-24, *Dartmouth*, *Mermaid*, *Wakefield*, *Selby* 110-22, *Cheriton* 100-20.

<sup>22</sup> Original in Batchelder Collection 875-1, in the Library of Congress. The *Amity* (?) with 120 men and 30 guns was crossed out of the list. Dots indicate illegible words.

<sup>23</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), pp. 20-21.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> *Merc. Pol.*, May 13-20, *Pub. Intell.*, May 10-17, *Clarke Papers*, 111, 147, 150.

end. Bordeaux and Giavarina discounted the stories of the rising. Bordeaux said that many believed that the rumor was only to excite the people, and that the judges of the High Court do their duty;<sup>26</sup> while Giavarina enlarged on that topic. "It is true," he wrote,

that the partisans of King Charles are constantly meditating some rising in this kingdom, but it is also a fact that the Protector frequently causes conspiracies to spring up suddenly to give him an opportunity of imprisoning those whom he does not love or views unfavourably, and to display his vigilance and his earnest desire to preserve the peace and tranquility of his people, which he displays in order to induce them to obey him blindly and make the contribution to the way of taxes

the reasons given, and this general opinion is confirmed by the unlawful treatment of some who show no sympathy for either party who are not open to suspicion but of whom they wish to get rid in order to lay hands on their rich possessions.<sup>27</sup>

That the matter of kingship had not been wholly abandoned was indicated by the fact that it was reported that the Master of the Wardrobe had ordered two caps of crimson and purple velvet such as were worn only by princes.<sup>28</sup> But the main news was from foreign sources. From Denmark Frederick III wrote to commend Meadows, upon whom he had conferred the order of the Elephant.<sup>29</sup> From the Hague Downing reported that a deputy from Danzig was on the way to London to beg the favor and mediation of the Protector; that Nieupoort was preparing to return to England to discuss the marine treaty, and that some plotters had already set out for England and others were planning to go.<sup>30</sup> More important still, the attempt on Dunkirk was getting under way. Morgan had returned to Mardyke from England, relieving Lockhart who had acted as commander of the English contingent. Turenne was making his way through Flanders with 11,000 men to join the English foot and 1,200 horse.<sup>31</sup> And, incidentally, some time before May 10 the Protector gave permission to Thomas Rolt, Cromwell's cousin's son, a "writer" at Surat under the presidency of Nathaniel Wyche, to export three mortar pieces and 2,000 shells, which the Company found so "very repugnant" to

<sup>26</sup> Bordeaux to [?] May 17/27, quot. in Firth, *Last Years*, II, 72 n. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Giavarina to Doge, May 14/24, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), pp. 198-99.

<sup>28</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 150.

<sup>29</sup> May 10, cal. in *47th Rept. Dep. Keeper Pub. Records*, App., p. 76.

<sup>30</sup> Downing to Thurloe, May 14/24, Thurloe, VII, 130-31.

<sup>31</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 150, Giavarina to Doge, May 14/24, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 200.

its charter that they sought to discover how and for whom this order was procured.<sup>32</sup>

During the week of May 17, the Council met as usual on Tuesday with little of importance appearing in its minutes.<sup>33</sup> It recommended the declaration for inviting persons to send over necessities to Mardyke—bread, beer, butter, cheese, hay and barley—for which they would be paid there in cash.<sup>34</sup> It disposed of the money collected for the relief of the Piedmontese Protestants.<sup>35</sup> The High Court gave judgment on the petition of the late King's sword to be bought for his Highness' use and delivered to the sword bearer appointed to the court, and finally, besides giving orders for sending 600 suits of armor and other provision to Whitehall, gave permission for an advance of money to Falconbridge for a visit to France,<sup>36</sup> while the Protector signed letters to smooth his way

*To Cardinal Mazarin*

MOST EMINENT LORD

When, the arrival of the most serene King of the French name and signify to him the favorable disposition of our mind and offer him our services, we commanded him to go to see Your Eminence also because of

nothing as the occasion offers by which we can further either the public affairs of France or the private affairs of Your Eminence. And we commend Your Eminence and your wise deliberations to divine guidance and favor. Given from our palace of Westminster on the 20th day of May, in the year 1658.

Your Eminence's good friend,

OLIVER P

By Mandate of His Highness,

Jo. Thurloe<sup>38</sup>

sequestrations

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26, cp *Merc Pol*, May 13-20, *Cal S P Ven.* (1657-9), p. 203

<sup>33</sup> *Cal. S P Dom.* (1658-9), pp. 26-27

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 584.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>36</sup> Latin original in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Cor. Pol. Angleterre vol. 66 f. 60 re verso; Aug. II (27). French transl. in *Rev. des Rev.*, xxxiii, 233-34. "M. Le pro-

*To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Louis, King of France*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT PRINCE, OUR MOST AUGUST FRIEND AND  
CONFEDERATE

So soon as the news was brought us, that your majesty was arrived in your camp, and was sate down with so considerable an army before Dunkirk, that infamous nest of pirates, and place of refuge, we were greatly overjoyed, in certain assurance that in a short time now, with God's assistance, the seas will be more open and less infested by those plundering rovers, and that your majesty, by your military prowess, will now take speedy vengeance of the Spanish frauds, to the betraying of Hesden, and therefore send the most noble Thomas viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, to congratulate your majesty's arrival in your camp so near us, and that your

tecteur a Son Eminence Du 20 May 1655," Baschet, in his calendar made for the Deputy mistake Mazarin (*ut infra*) one was probably is substantially different from those printed by Symmons, which run as follows.

Most Eminent Lord,

Having recommended to the most serene king Thomas Viscount but acquaint your em- not ignorant of what moment and importance it will be to our recommendation first given him For cer- prudence and vigilancy supports and manages the whatever therefore grateful obligation your eminency assured you lay upon ourselves, and that we shall number it among your many kindnesses and civilities already shown us

Westmunster, May [20], 1658.

(Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 452-53, Columbia *Milton*, no 114.)

Most Eminent Lord,

is Bellasis, viscount Fal- arrival in the camp at long life and health in our name, and to return thanks to your eminency, by whose fidelity, prudence, and vigilancy, it chiefly comes to pass, that the affairs of France are carried on with such success in several parts, but more especially in near adjoining Flanders, against our

forces, as far as in us lies, or assuredly with our prayers to Heaven

From our court at Whitehall, May 20, 1658.

(Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 453, with additions from Latin in Columbia *Milton*, no. 115, Lett, *Cromwell*, ii, 327.)

prayers, that God would long preserve your majesty, and perpetuate our

From our court at Westminster,

May [20?] 1658.

OLIVER P.<sup>20</sup>

It is probable that the multiplicity of letters in connection with the visit of Falconbridge to France was due to the circumstances of the war, which made it seem necessary to exercise great caution in phrasing the letters of introduction of so important a person as the Protector's son-in-law; but whatever else he may have lacked, credentials were not among them. His visit was possibly of some importance in the situation of foreign affairs, which were at a critical stage. Nor were affairs at home less disturbed. The Court of Justice was scheduled to meet at three o'clock on the afternoon of Monday, May 17,<sup>40</sup> but it seems to have been delayed by the non-appearance of the civil judges who were still involved in the business of the Easter term, which did not end until May 24. According to Giavarina the Court had "held further sittings, but nothing of importance." The President of the Court, Sir John Holborne, and the President of Mr. [?], were more examinations, but though

they have disclosed nothing of importance, the Protector is very apprehensive that some spark may remain undiscovered which may suddenly burst into

<sup>20</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 454, *Columbia Milton*, no. 116, Waylen, *House of Cromwell*, Vischer's Lett, ii, 326, dated May 24, 1658.

<sup>40</sup> *Columbia Milton*, no. 113, print another letter to Louis XIV.

Most Serene and Mighty King, our most

of Thomas [?]

son-in-law, to travel into France, and no less his desire, and veneration to your majesty, to be admitted to kiss your royal hands, though by reason of his pleasing conversation we are unwilling to part with him, nevertheless not doubting but he will in a short time return from the court of so great a prince, celebrated for the resort of so many prudent and courageous persons, more nobly pre-

And though he is [?] unless we deceive ourselves, carries his own recommendation, yet if he shall find himself somewhat the more favoured by your majesty for our sake, we shall think ourselves honoured and obliged by the same kindness. God Almighty long preserve your majesty in safety, and continue a lasting peace between us, to the common good of the christian world.

OLIVER P.

From our court at Whitehall,

May [20?] 1658

<sup>40</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, May 10-17



some fresh attempt of the royalists, for it is clear that they cannot suffer this court of Justice.<sup>41</sup>

The meeting of the new High Court of Justice was, indeed, a critical moment for the Protector and his government, and they took measures accordingly. On Friday, May 21, London was reported as "holding a review of six regiments of the city trained bands, comprising 10,000 combatants, all brave and seasoned troops."<sup>42</sup> It is evident that the government was omitting no precautions; and the state of affairs in England itself was at striking variance with its position abroad. There the attack on Dunkirk was getting under way, greatly hampered by a week of rain and ensuing floods. The English government was providing 500 from Salmon's regiment and 500 from that of Gibson.<sup>43</sup> But already there were rumors of dissension between the allies. As the industrious gatherer of gossip, Giavarina, reported:

If the place is taken, by virtue of the treaty, the Protector . . . it should be left in the hands of the French, but one learns that Cromwell claims to have it for himself, to give him a footing across the water, and enable him to prosecute his vast designs. If, as is usual, his appetite grows with what it feeds on, the French may one day . . . If the Protector did not have designs on Dunkirk he would not be so eager in despatching ministers . . . But it might easily happen that the English and French took to quarrelling over . . . it is well known that before they had got the won the Cardinal and the Protector began to dispute about his skin. Mazarini had ordered d'Ormont [d'Aumont] not to employ Englishmen to garrison that town, while Cromwell claimed to have it absolutely, saying that this had been promised to him in the past agreements. So it is clear that these two nations, although united against Spain, preserve their natural antipathy, which might easily be converted one day into open hostility and cause the advantages which the French allow the English to enjoy to turn to their injury and prejudice.<sup>44</sup>

That, as it happened, did not occur in Cromwell's day, but it was only a question of time before the Venetian's prophecy came true. At the time he was writing these words, Turenne was advancing toward Dunkirk, hampered by the inundation of the plains which the Spaniards had brought about. By May 23, he had captured Cassel

<sup>41</sup> Giavarina to Doge, May 21/31, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 202-3.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6.

<sup>43</sup> 21/31, *Cal S P Ven*. (1657-9), pp. 203-4.

with the Duke of Gloucester's little garrison, and advanced to Soex, less than ten miles distant from Dunkirk, but the passage thither was made extremely difficult by the flooded country. Meanwhile on May 24 Goodson was ordered to sail to Dunkirk with most of his fleet, and Dunkirk was thus surrounded by land and sea, and its fall appeared inevitable even to its commander <sup>46</sup>

At home meanwhile affairs went on as before, with the High Court of Justice being prepared to bring the accused men to trial. On his part, however, the Protector issued an unusual number of documents of various sorts, none of them save the instructions to Falconbridge bearing immediately upon the events in Flanders:

*For Cap. Stoakes in the Streight or elsewhere These*

CAPT. STOKES,

We have here inclosed sent you the petition of Lazaro

here till your return home, but is therefore necessitated to return home. And therefore deal with him according to equity and good confidence. We have no more at present but committing you to God. We rest,

Your loving friend,

Whitehall May 21<sup>th</sup> 1658

Sig<sup>d</sup> OLIVER P <sup>47</sup>

*Instructions unto Thomas Lord Viscount Fauconberg upon his repair unto the French King*

OLIVER P

You shall upon the receipt of these instructions repair unto such place where you shall understand the King and Court of France to be and upon your arrival with the King shall present to him Our letters herewith delivered to you, And acquaint him that We having understood by Sir William Lockhart C<sup>o</sup> <sup>48</sup> that the M<sup>ajesty</sup> of <sup>49</sup> being come so near our

his better conveniency and accommodation during his residence in those parts

That his Majesty being pleased to honour the siege of Dunkirk with his own royal presence, exposing himself thereby to the danger and incon-

<sup>46</sup> Cp. Firth, *Last Years*, II, 184-85, and Bourelly, *Deux Campagnes de Turcotte*, pp 138 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Undecipherable.

<sup>49</sup> From photostat of original in *S. P. Dom. Interreg.* 18/182, cal. in Lomas-Carlyle, *Suppl.* 144.

venience of the war, We do esteem it as a signal testimony of the affection and good will which he bears to Us and this nation; and as nothing could have put a greater

but lay a firm foundation for the future peace, and the mutual interest of both, his Majesty being pleased with so much zeal and generosity to engage his own person in the first joint undertaking of the two nations, and thereby, witness

forces  
And

We esteem it our great happiness to be joined therein with a Prince of so great magnanimity, faith and virtue; assuring his Majesty that neither our own person or interest shall be thought too much by Us to venture in any occasion wherein We may be useful for the mutual interest of both. And as for

the great advantage we have by reason that he Majesty's goodness  
King and himself to this siege, as that  
that action, and render the work more

and increasing a perfect confidence and entire friendship between England and France

We do acknowledge  
o the conserving  
and increasing a perfect confidence and entire friendship between England and France

It will be also necessary that you also apply yourself to the Queen of France in Our name, and acquaint her that her Majesty having been pleased to take so great a journey, and make her Court and place of residence so

princely disposition to preserve the amity and confidence which is between them, and therefore we thought ourself obliged by you to give her Majesty

on our part to manifest the mutual interest  
fouled if this country

services

You shall also complement the Duke of Anjou, as you shall find it fit and proper upon the place And having performed these our commands, you shall make your return home, and give Us an account thereof

Whitehall, 25 May 1658<sup>28</sup>

You shall also complement the Duke of Anjou, as you shall find it fit and proper upon the place And having performed these our commands, you shall make your return home, and give Us an account thereof

Whitehall, 25 May 1658<sup>28</sup>

York Endorsed, "Instruc-

*To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis, King of France*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, AND MOST AUGUST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE:

Your majesty may call to mind, that at the same time, when the renewing the league between us was in agitation, and no less auspiciously concluded, as the many advantages from thence accruing to both nations, and the many annoyances thence attending the common enemies, sufficiently testify, those dreadful butcheries befel the Piedmontois, and that we recommended, with great fervency of mind and compassion, their cause, on all sides forsaken and afflicted, to your commiseration and protection. Nor do we believe that your majesty, of yourself, was wanting in a duty so pious, that we may not say, beseeching common humanity, as far as your authority, and the veneration due to your person, could prevail with the duke of Savoy. Certain we are, that neither ourselves, nor many other princes and cities were wanting in our performances, by the intercession of ambassades, letters, and intreaties. After  
ages, at length peace was granted, or rather a certain clandestine hostility covered over with the name of peace. The conditions of peace were agreed in your town of Pignerol, severe and hard, but such as those miserable and indigent creatures, after they had suffered all that could be endured that was oppressive and barbarous, would have been glad of, had they been but observed, as hard and unjust as they were. But by false constructions, and various evasions, the assurances of all these articles are eluded and violated: many are thrust out from their ancient abodes, many are forbid the exercise of their religion, new tributes are exacted  
them, from whence the soldiers frequently  
or murder all they meet. Add to all this, that  
paring against them, and all  
manded to depart by a prefixed day, so that all things seem to threaten the utter extermination of those deplorable wretches, whom the former massacre spared. Which I most  
by that Right Hand  
that same goodly ornament of your title of MOST CHRISTIAN, by no means to suffer, nor to permit such liberty of rage and fury uncontrolled, we will not say, in any prince, (for certainly such barbarous severity could never  
but in those sanctified cut-throats, who, professing themselves to be the servants and disciples of our Saviour Christ, who came into the  
precepts to  
able in your towering station, worthy to be able, rescue so many suppliants prostrate at your feet, from the hands of ruffians, who, lately drunk with blood, again thirst after it, and think it then safest way to throw the odium of their cruelty upon princes. But as for you, great prince, suffer not, while you reign, your titles, nor the confines of your kingdom, to be contaminated  
themselves to your grandfather Henry, most friendly to the protestants, when

the victorious Lesdigueres pursued the retreating Savoyard over the Alps. There is also an instrument of that submission registered among the public acts of your kingdom, wherein it is excepted and provided among other things, that from that time forward the Piedmontois should not be delivered over into the power of any ruler, but upon the same condition upon which your invincible grandfather received them into his protection. This protection of your grandfather these suppliants now implore from you as grandchild. It is your majesty's part, to whom those people now belong, to give them that protection which they have chosen, by some exchange of habitation, if they desire it, and it may be done: or if that be a labour too difficult, at least to succour them with your patronage, your commiseration, and your admittance into sanctuary. And there are some reasons of state, to en-

of your ancestor's pledged faith, your own piety, royal benignity, and magnanimity. Thus the immaculate and intire glory of a most egregious act will be your own, and you will find the father of mercy, and his son, king Christ, whose name and doctrine you have vindicated from nefarious inhumanity, so much the more favourable and propitious to your majesty, all your days. The God of mercy and power infuse into your majesty's heart a resolution, to defend and save so many innocent christians, and maintain your own honour.

Westminster, May 26, 1658

Your majesty's most friendly,

OLIVER P<sup>19</sup>

*To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador at the French Court. These*

SIR,

The continual troubles and serious instances of yours in the Court of France on their behalf, and after such hearty recommendations of their most deplorable condition to his Majesty, interposing his power and interest with the Duke of Savoy for the accommodating those poor distressed creatures to us, are matter of so much grief to us, and lie so near our heart, that, notwithstanding we are abundantly satisfied with those many signal marks you have always hitherto given of your truly Christian zeal and tenderness on their regard, yet the present conjuncture of their affairs, and the misery that is daily added to their affliction begetting in us fresh arguments of pity towards them, not only as men, but as the poor distressed members of Christ, do really move us at present to recommend their sad condition to your special care, desiring you to redouble your in-

stances with the King, in such pathetic and affectionate expressions as may  
 present sufferings and

For so restless and implacable is the malice and fury of their Popish adversaries, that,—as though they esteemed it but a light matter to have formerly shed the innocent blood of so many hundreds of souls, to have burned their houses, to have rased their churches, to have plundered their goods, and to have driven out

the furnace yet seven times hotter than before. Amongst other things

there proceeded against in a most severe and rigorous manner, and some threatened to be wholly destroyed and exterminated

2. And forasmuch as, in the said Valleys, there are not found among the natives men fitly qualified and of abilities for ministerial functions to supply so much as one half of their churches, and upon this account they are necessitated to entertain some out of France and Geneva, which are the Duke of Savoy's friends and allies,—their Popish enemies take hold of this advantage, and make use of this stratagem, namely, to banish and drive out the shepherds of the flocks, that so the wolves may the better come in and devour the sheep

3 To this we add, all Physicians and Chirurgeons of the Reformed the valleys And thus they

ment, but to destroy their bodies likewise for want of those outward conveniences and helps which God hath allowed to all mankind.

4 And as a supplement to the former grievances, those of the Reformed Religion are prohibited all manner of commerce and trade with their Popish neighbours, that so they may not be able to subsist and maintain their families and if they offend herein in the least, they are immediately apprehended as rebels

5 Moreover, to give the world a clear testimony what their main design in all these oppressions is, they have issued out orders whereby to force the poor Protestants to sell their lands and houses to their Popish neighbours whereas the Papists are prohibited upon pain of excommunication to sell any immovable to the Protestants

6 Besides, the Court of Savoy have rebuilt the Fort of La Torre, contrary to the formal and express promise made by them to the Ambassador of the Evangelical Cantons; where they have also placed commanders, who commit the Lord knows how many excesses and outrages in all the neighbouring parts, without being ever called to question, or compelled to make restitution for the same If by chance any murder be committed in the Valleys (as is too-often practised) whereof the authors are not discovered, the poor Protestants are immediately accused as guilty thereof, to render them odious to their neighbours

7. There are sent lately into the said Valleys several troops of Horse and companies of Foot, which hath caused the poor people, out of fear of a massacre, with great expense and difficulty to send their wives and little ones, with all that were feeble and sick amongst them, into the Valley of Perosa, under the King of France his dominions

utmost endeavours to make his Majesty thoroughly sensible, and to persuade him to give speedy and effectual orders to his Ambassador who resides in the Duke's Court, to act vigorously in their behalf Our letter, which you shall see, contains several reasons in it to induce this charitable and the same with your most earnest solicitations, representing unto him how much his own interest and honour is concerned in the making good that Accord of Henry the Fourth, his royal predecessor, with the ancestors of those very people, in the year 1592, by the Constable of Lesdiguères; which Accord is registered in the Parliament of Dauphiné; and whereof you have an authentic copy in your own hands, whereby the Kings of France oblige themselves and their Successors to maintain and preserve their ancient privileges and concessions Besides that the gaining to himself the hearts of that people, by so gracious and remarkable a protection and deliverance, might be of no little use another day, in relation to Pignerol and the other adjacent places under his dominions.

One of the most effectual remedies, to remove the cause of this oppression, is the re-union of other part of his dominions in lieu thereof,—as, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the Marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the Duke for La Bresse. Which

Prince, joined with the natural strength of these places by reason of their

intentions, and therefore we

26 May, 1658.

OLIVER P<sup>r</sup>

### *To the Evangelic Cities of the Switzers*

ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST NOBLE LORDS, OUR DEAREST FRIENDS

How heavy and intolerable the sufferings of the Piedmontois, your most afflicted neighbors, have been, and how unmercifully they have been dealt with by their own prince, for the sake of their religion, by reason of the fellness of the cruelties, we almost tremble to remember, and

<sup>28</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, CCXXV, from *Ayscough Mss* no 4107 (now f 2), Morland, pp 697-99

thought it superfluous to put you in mind of those things, which are much better known to your lordships. We have also seen copies of the letters which

the said peace are broken, and were rather a snare than a security to those miserable people. Which violation continued from the conclusion of the peace till this very moment, and still growing more heavy every day than other, unless they patiently endure, unless they lay themselves down to be trampled under foot, plashed like mortar, even when they have abjured their religion, the same calamities, the same slaughters hang over their heads, which three years since made such a dreadful havoc of them, their wives, and

cession will avail, to whom no breathing-time is allowed, nor any certain place of refuge. They have to do with wild beasts, or furies rather, upon whom the remembrance of their former murders has wrought no compassion upon their countrymen, no sense of humanity, nor satiated their ravenous thirst after blood. Most certainly these things are not to be endured, if we desire the safety of our brethren the Piedmontois, most ancient professors of the orthodox faith, or the welfare of our religion itself. As for ourselves so far remote, we have not been wanting to assist them as far as in us lay, nor shall we cease our future aid. But you, who not only are so near to the torturing of your brothers, and even almost to their outcries, but are also next exposed to the fury of the same enemies, consider for the sake of the immortal God, and that in time, what it behoves ye now to do: consult your prudence, your piety, and your fortitude, what succour, what relief and safeguard you are able, and are bound to afford your neighbours and brethren, who must else soon perish. Certainly the same religion is the cause, why the same enemies also seek your perdition, why, at the same time the last year, they meditated your ruin, by war among your allies. It seems to be only in your power, next under God, to prevent the extirpation of this most ancient scion of the purer religion, in those remainders of the primitive believers, whose preservation, now reduced to the very brink of utter ruin, if you neglect, beware that the next turn be not your

out of brotherly love,

our power so far distant, as we have hitherto, so shall we still employ our utmost endeavours, not only to procure the safety of our brethren upon the precipice of danger, but also to relieve their wants. May the Almighty God vouchsafe to both of us, that peace and tranquillity at home, that settlement of times and affairs, that all our zeal in the defence  
enemies<sup>61</sup>

OLIVIER P

From our court at Whitehall, May 26, 1658

<sup>61</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 449-50, with additions from Latin in Columbia *Milton*, no III; variant transl. in Masson, *Milton*, v, 389-90, and Morland, pp 703-5. Orig. in Zurich archives.



So far as these documents reveal, it seems apparent that the Protector was still bent on his original plans—the capture of Dunkirk, the protection of the Piedmontese, and his union with France—but there is no evidence that he entertained such “vast designs” as Giavarina attributed to him. Whatever “vast designs” he may have considered earlier, neither his health nor the situation of England at this moment permitted him to indulge his imagination with them. He still harbored deep suspicions of the house of Austria, which were, in the main, largely unfounded. The house of Hapsburg wanted nothing less than the outbreak of another Thirty Years’ War; and whatever designs Cromwell attributed to the Papacy only revealed his ignorance of the situation of that organization. Neither he nor England had anything to fear from either quarter. On the other hand the Protector clung to his connection with the Swedes. About this time Barkman left London,

“being charged to proceed with all speed to join his master in Germany, to communicate to him the Protector’s intention, and to inform him solely in order to assure the Swede of the friendly disposition of the Protector and to promise him an alliance against the house of Austria. I have been told,” wrote Giavarina, “in confidence that Barkman takes an offer of money to stir up trouble in Germany. The Protector’s sudden decision to promise money to Sweden was stimulated by letters from the king himself informing Cromwell of his inclination to make peace with Poland and with the house of Austria as well, unless his allies supplied him with energetic support. His fear of this happening and his natural desire to bring down that House led the Protector to take this step, although it is his interest and necessity to keep his purse for himself and not promise it to others, since five months have now passed during which the troops here have received none of their regular pay.”<sup>12</sup>

Whether or not Cromwell sent word orally to Charles X Gustavus that he would provide him with funds, it is certainly true that he needed them at home to pay his own troops. The Council of War of the Dunkirk adventure. The meeting of the Council on the last week of May revealed this clearly, for it was chiefly concerned with the payment of the troops. The Council also decided to confer a baronetcy on Griffith Williams of Carnarvonshire on May 28,<sup>13</sup> recommended one Rogers for a degree in music.

<sup>12</sup> Giavarina to Doge, May 21-31, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), pp. 204-5.

<sup>13</sup> The Council met as usual on Tuesday, May 27, 1658-9, *S. P. Dom* (1658-9), pp. 32-34, 38-39. The Council also met on May 11-25, in addition to several in person.

<sup>14</sup> *Parl. Hist.*, xxi, 220.

*To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge*

OLIVER P

Trusty and well-beloved,—We greet you well. Whereas we are informed that you cannot, by the statutes and according to the customs of your University, admit any to the degree of Bachelor of Music unless

men in that or any other ingenuous faculty, have thought fit to declare our will and pleasure, by these our letters, that, notwithstanding your statutes and customs, you cause Benjamin Rogers to be admitted and created Bachelor in Music, in some one or more of your congregations assembled in these our letters shall be your warrant

Given at Whitehall, the 28th day of May 1658.<sup>56</sup>

The rest of the activities of Protector and Council were chiefly routine, the main concern of the government being the meeting of the new High Court of Justice. That body sat on Tuesday, May 25, and included some thirty of the 140 or more named in the original list. Its first business was the case of Sir Henry Slingsby, who began his defence by challenging the status and authority of the court. He objected to it as being illegal, to the fact that he was allowed no counsel; that the judge and jury were one, and that he had not trespassed against the laws because he had never submitted to them, having been a prisoner at the time when the Act establishing the Court was passed; and finally pleaded not guilty. Confronted with the testimony of Waterhouse, Overton and Lieutenant George Thompson, all of Hull, he was removed without any verdict for the moment. The Court itself adjourned until Thursday when Mordaunt was to have been tried, but he was so ill that his trial was left until the following week.<sup>56</sup> Meanwhile further arrests were made—on May 25 William Weytell and Francis Witherington for holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, and on May 28 several people were apprehended at midnight at the *Rose* tavern and brought to the Protector on the next morning and committed to the Tower by his warrant.<sup>57</sup> There was, besides this, the information of one John Thomas about Manley—presumably the Turkey merchant already mentioned—that the Protector had examined and acquitted him a month earlier, that he had been taken again and had escaped, meanwhile be-

<sup>56</sup> Lomas-Caulyle, App 32 (2), from *Harl Mss* no 7053, f 152 (*Baker Mss* x, 373) and Oxford Univ *Grace Book*, II, p. 180

<sup>57</sup> *State Trials*, v, 871 ff, *Pub Intell*, May 24-31

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), p 576

traying various individuals whom he had engaged in the plot.<sup>58</sup> In this complicated web of intrigue it was even suggested that one of the reasons for Falconbridge's visit to France was to get him out of the way during the trials, since Slingsby was his uncle. His wife was reported to have interceded with her father and to have asked Bordeaux to enlist the aid of Louis XIV and Mazarin.<sup>59</sup> In any event Falconbridge left for Gravesend on May 26,<sup>60</sup> and was thus spared any connection with the fate of his uncle.

In the meantime much of the interest of the administration lay in the events in Flanders and in preparation for them. On May 25 there was an effort made to launch a new man-of-war, the *Richard*, the largest vessel in the navy except the *Naseby*. The new ship carried between seventy and eighty guns, she was 132 feet long, with a 41 foot beam, and was of "very great strength and beauty" to be launched at the time when peace was expected, "but of excessive

winter."<sup>61</sup> That, it chanced, was not true, for she was launched the day following, the only misadventure being that the horses of Richard's coach ran away "and tore my Lord Richard's coach all in pieces, my Lord Protector, Major Beak, and Mr Pierrepont, being in it; but, God be thanked, no hurt was done, but only my Lord Richard received some wounds."<sup>62</sup> This was a notable addition to English naval strength at a moment when it was much needed, for the attack on Dunkirk was getting under way. Like all such movements it was slow. Though the English and French forces numbered some 18,000 men, with 6,000 horse in reserve, as against the Spanish eight or nine thousand foot,<sup>63</sup> Turenne insisted on reinforcements from Cromwell, and Bordeaux was instructed to urge this upon the Protector.<sup>64</sup> Accordingly 600 recruits and seven companies out of the regiments were sent to Dunkirk to arrive in time to take part in the battle. Nor was this all the aid which the Protector gave to his ally, for on May 31 Stokes<sup>65</sup> was instructed to assist the French in a naval expedition in connection with an attack on the Spaniards

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>59</sup> Bordeaux to Mazarin, Lomas-Carlyle, III, 196, n. 3.

<sup>60</sup> "The ship was launched on the 26th of May, 1658, and was named the Richard." *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 209, cp. *Pub. Men of War*, pt. 1 (Camb., 1939), p. 17.

<sup>61</sup> Turenne to Bordeaux, Dunkirk, May 28/June 7, *ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>62</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, June 1, *ibid.*, p. 153, cp. *Clarke Papers*, III, 158, *Pub. Intell.*, May 31-June 7, *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), p. 409.

<sup>63</sup> Stokes was waiting orders from the Protector to allow the request of Thomas Browne, late consul at Tunis and now ready to reassume his duties (Stokes to TI

*To Captain Stoakes, commander in chief of our fleet in the Mediterranean sea*

OLIVER P.

Whereas the French king hath communicated to us that

manded a fleet of ships at Thoulon, and some regiments to be transported upon them, and hath hereupon desired of us, that some of our ships in the Mediterranean sea may keep company with his fleet, for their better security: you are therefore, upon the receipt of this instruction, to cause 5 or 6 of the ships, now under your command, to set sail for Thoulon, or at least at such time as you shall understand the fleet of his said majesty shall be in readiness to sail, and being come thither, or being met at such place as agreed upon, the commander of the said squadron of 5 or 6 ships shall keep them company upon their expedition, and sail with them to such place in the Mediterranean sea against the Spaniard, as the admiral of the French fleet shall desire, according as the wind and weather will permit, and as it will consist with the safety of France ag

The commander . . . times, and to take care, . . . French fleet, the honour of us and commonwealth be preserved

And having done this service, he is to observe such farther orders as you  
Given at Whitehall,

On Tuesday, June 1, the High Court of Justice reassembled to hear the case of Dr Hewitt. He put up the same kind of unavailing struggle that Slingsby had made earlier, arguing the non-legality of the Court; pleading unfamiliarity with the niceties of the law, trying to obtain counsel, insisting that the commission be read, and asking for the presence of all the commissioners, of whom only about a third were present. Prideaux, irritated by Hewitt's insistence, exclaimed "The Doctor did profess his Ignorance of the Laws, yet pretends more Knowledge than the Court," and, when Hewitt called for a determination of the case by judges, retorted that they were also the jury. Hewitt replied they were not a jury, to which Prideaux answered "this is the Grand Jury, the petty Jury, and your Judge." So the argument went on, Hewitt asking for a copy of the charge, then for counsel, refusing to admit any semblance of legality and declaring finally, "My Lord, the charge depends upon an Act of Parliament which was made about two years since, the Members of which Parliament were chosen by the people, yet notwithstanding one hundred and fifty of them were not permitted to sit"; and finally, refusing to plead, he was removed from the court.<sup>88</sup> Mordaunt came

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152

<sup>88</sup> *State Trials* (ed. Willis-Bund, Camb., 1879), I, 704-17

next and, taking courage from Hewitt's perseverance and possibly also from the fact that Stapley, would have been finally pleaded guilty when All this was, in a sense, shadow-boxing. The government's mind had been made up; however guilty or innocent the accused had been of conspiring against it, the result of the trial was a foregone conclusion. The Court met again on the next day, June 2, and sentenced Slingsby and Hewitt to be hanged, acquitting Mordaunt by one vote, and so carried out a decision which was apparent from the first.<sup>70</sup> Besides Mordaunt, Captain Thomas Woodcock was acquitted; the case against Sir Humphrey Bennet was postponed, and Mallory, though condemned to death after his recapture, was reprieved, though sentenced to imprisonment.

At the same time, the prisoners connected with the plan for a rising in the City were brought to trial. The trial of seven of the chief figures before the High Court of Justice was postponed until July 1, many of the minor characters meanwhile saving themselves by turning state's evidence and testifying to the delivery of commissions, the preparing of arms and the enlisting of men.<sup>71</sup> It would seem that another commission of some sort sat simultaneously with the High Court of Justice, for "several Aldermen of the Militia sate in the Guildhall, by order and appointment of his Highness the Lord Protector, who hath impowred them to make an enquirie into the late bloody design to have been acted in the City, in which they have made a good progress, and have appointed to meet again on Tuesday next. The power his Highness hath invested them with, is very large, for they are enabled to send for any persons out of prison, to examine Witnesses, etc."<sup>72</sup>

The crop of prisoners thus being disposed of, Cromwell reprieved Slingsby and Hewitt for three days and changed the sentence to beheading, presumably through the intercession of his daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, who was a friend of Hewitt's, and was reported at this time "under heavy afflictions,"<sup>73</sup> so great, indeed, that Hewitt's execution was supposed to have contributed to her death a few weeks later.<sup>74</sup> In the meantime the Protector took occasion to write to his son Henry:

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 717-31. Mallory was retaken and brought before Cromwell on June 4 and sent to the Tower (*Pub Intell.*, May 31-June 7), cp. his examination July 1 (*Thurloe*, vii, 220-21).

<sup>71</sup> *State Trials*, i, 731-32.

<sup>72</sup> Firth, *Last Years*, ii, 80.

<sup>73</sup> *Pub Intell.*, May 31-June 7.

<sup>74</sup> *Bu.* ; *Ludlow*, ii, 41.

*To Henry Cromwell*

HARRY CROMWELL,

I write not often to you Now I think myself engaged to my dear cousin Whalley to lay my commands upon you that you show all

tion I assure you, though he be so nearly related to us, as you know, yet I could not importune on his behalf so heartily as now I can upon the score of his own worth, which indeed is as remarkable as I believe in any of ten thousand of his years He is excellent in the Latin, French and Italian tongues, of good other learning, with parts suitable, and, which completes this testimony, is hopefully seasoned with religious principles Let him be much with you, and use him as your own Being most serious in this desire, and expecting a suitable return thereunto, I rest

Your loving father,

OLIVER P.<sup>75</sup>

June 1 1658

The Council met, as usual, on Tuesday and Thursday, with the Protector present to approve various orders,<sup>76</sup> but its chief business was the draft and declaration appointing a committee for the army, naming John Cleike, Richard Lucy, Edward Horseman, James Phillips, Gervase Bennet and John Hildesley as commissioners,<sup>77</sup> with a Protectoral order in regard to Oakham parish:

*Order*

[Substance only]

of 90<sup>l</sup> Adding that if any of the 111<sup>l</sup> be already settled by the Trustees, some other provision is to be made for them<sup>78</sup>

c. June 3, 1658

Friday, June 4, the Protector and Council kept a day of fasting and prayer for the Dunkirk enterprise, and their supplications were

<sup>75</sup> Lomas-Carlisle's *Journal* from Whalley's *House of Commons* in 1658. This was some Richard W.

Cp. *N & Q*, June 26, 1869

<sup>76</sup> *Cromwell's Papers*, 1658-59, p. 100. As the Council was not yet constituted, the orders were issued by the Protector.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

evidently successful, for on that very day Turenne's army engaged the Spaniards in the battle of the Dunes. The Spaniards held a ridge of sand dunes with a mixed force of some 14,000 or 15,000 men of various nationalities between the sea and the high road to Dunkirk, with the English regiments facing the Spaniards on the line nearest the sea. They led the attack on the strongest part of the Spanish position, climbing up the dunes on their hands and knees and driving the Spaniards back, and then advancing against the Duke of York's horse, which they routed. The Spanish left under Condé held its ground, but the Walloons and Germans of the Spanish center were driven back; and the result was a complete defeat of the Spanish forces. Condé himself escaped with difficulty, as did the Duke of York, and by noon the battle was over. The English, especially Lockhart's regiment, suffered severely, and Turenne took occasion in his despatch to praise the courage of the English troops, which, as a Spanish officer wrote, "came on like wild beasts." Lockhart in particular came in for especial mention. Taken all in all, it was an engagement which reflected the highest credit on the English contingent; and though it did not result in the immediate surrender of Dunkirk, it was the deciding factor, for the rest was a mere matter of time.<sup>79</sup>

There was no question as to the existence of the plot, or of the implication of those who were condemned for a share in it, whatever the extra-legal authority of the government. The government had long been cognizant of it, especially of the design in the City to break up the plan set for May 15, had been broken up by doubling the guards about Whitehall, by the march of Barkstead with a regiment and field-guns through the City and by calling out the trained bands, and the government was probably not in real danger at any time, for the City in general would doubtless have supported it. None the less it was naturally nervous, especially Henry Cromwell, around the Protector, to whom he now wrote, "I hope they do not intend to tickle you, as men do trouts, yet the letter about the retreat rather argues their desire to shuffle again, then better your hand . . . He, that runs along with you, may more easily trip up the heels, than he, that wrestles with you."<sup>80</sup> That element was never lacking during the Protectorate. It was suspected throughout that various men in the inner circle were assisting in the plot.

<sup>79</sup> Firth, *Last Years*, II, 193.

<sup>80</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurl

*Turenne*, ch. viii.

made the Protector's position precarious at all times, and at no time more than this

On the other hand many affairs went on successfully. Slingsby and Hewitt were executed on June 8, the former gaining the respect of the crowd by his manly bearing; the latter, with some of his colleagues among the churchmen, turning the event into what was scarcely less than a Royalist demonstration. Meanwhile Falconbridge returned from his visit to France,<sup>81</sup> Meadows wrote that as mediator he had signed the treaty between Denmark and Holstein,<sup>82</sup> Bradshaw's mission was called off because news came that Russia and Sweden had come to terms without his intercession,<sup>83</sup> and Cromwell wrote to Charles X:

*To Charles Gustavus of Sweden*

MOST SERENE AND POWERFUL KING, DEAR FRIEND AND ALLY.

As often as we regard the cruel designs and the manifold artifices of the common enemies of the Religion, so often do we think over with ourselves how necessary and of what benefit to the Christian World it

happened that this treaty could be sanctioned according to the inclinations of both, and that the one could give the most opportune assistance to the other, that we have caused the treaty to be published by your ambassadors, on account of which they have done so first with us. They have not, how-

prudence and diligence as they have been accustomed to employ in other affairs. But the perfidy of dishonest men, who, received often in good faith, nevertheless do not desist from setting in motion new affairs and resuming deliberations already often discussed and rejected with Exiles and even with Spanish enem

But as much as was permitted and rested with us, and as much as we have eagerly offered in past

departure on your most wise and brave exploits, and we heartily rejoice; and we desire by our

<sup>81</sup> *Pub Intell*, May 31-June 7

<sup>82</sup> Meadows to Thurloe, Hamburg, May 31, *Eng Hist Rev*, vii, 731-33. He en-  
Adventurers from Denmark  
(1657-9), p. 212.



incessant prayers that, God willing, you have a career as long as peace, happiness and victory, to the glory of His Divine Majesty . . .  
palace of Westminster on the fourth day of June, in the year 1658.

Your Majesty's good friend and ally,

OLIVER P.<sup>84</sup>

character, but . . . the fact that Lady Ormonde recovered all his property in Ireland.<sup>85</sup> The idea seems, however, fantastic and almost certainly had no basis in fact, despite Giavarina's elaborate account of the matter. Equally fantastic was the story of the casting up of a whale near Greenwich, but though it was "observed by many heere that a whale was taken in the same river a little before the breaking out of the last great plague,"<sup>86</sup> no special importance was attached to the circumstance until after the Protector's death when it was interpreted as "usher[ing] [in] his end,"<sup>87</sup> or, as Dryden wrote

But first the ocean as a tribute sent  
The grant prince of all her watery herd.<sup>88</sup>

In fact, except for the news of the victory of the battle of the Dunes, the proceedings of the government were more than usually dull in its two meetings during the first week of June, when the Protector was present at both meetings, which was uncommon for him at this period.<sup>89</sup> On Monday in the Protector's name the drapers, tailors, mercers, coopers, chandlers and hardwaremen of Gateshead were incorporated by "the wardens and commonalty" of that town and borough, and authorized to have a common seal—at the cost of £13/16 and a bit of salmon to Thurloe's clerk "as a token of remembrance for his extraordinary pains."<sup>90</sup> On account of the success in Flanders, the Protector stopped the detail from Gibbons' regiment, which had reached Portsmouth on its way to Flanders.<sup>91</sup> Two suspected spies—

<sup>84</sup> Latin original in . . .  
underlining is in the . . .  
Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 458-59, and Columbia *Milton*, no. 120 (somewhat different translations), Latin in Vischer's *Leti* (1710), II, 348, dated June 29, 1658, cp. Masson, v, 395-96.

<sup>85</sup> Giavarina to Doge, June 4 . . .

<sup>86</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, June 2, 1661 . . . *Papers*, III, 153

<sup>87</sup> Heath, *Flagellum* (1663), p. 205

<sup>88</sup> Dryden, *Stanzas on the Death of the late Protector*

<sup>89</sup> . . .

<sup>90</sup> . . . (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1841), 292,

Dodds, *Records* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1907), p. 107, *Gent Mag*, n. s. xiii (1862), 165

<sup>91</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1658-9), p. 56.

possibly Spaniards disguised as Dutchmen—were ordered apprehended;<sup>92</sup> and on June 8, the day of the execution of Slingsby and Hewitt, the Council recommended the trial of Henry Mallory and Sir Humphrey Bennet by the High Court of Justice and a commission to that effect was issued in the Protector's name,<sup>93</sup> as were new instructions for the Scottish Council:

*Instructions from his Highness to the Council in Scotland, for the government of that nation*

The Council of Scotland being herewith appointed are to observe the following regulations —

1. To repair at once to Scotland, study the state of the country, and consider how the peace and good government thereof may best be preserved.

2 To promote the preaching of the Gospel, and see that those concerned

are scandalous or insufficient, and appoint godly and learned persons in their place

4 To see that none hold the office of magistrate who have been disabled citizens, and burgesses of Parlia-

5 To see that all proceedings in Courts of Justice are according to the laws of England, in order that the peaceful union of England and Scotland may be preserved, and if they find such cannot be done according to the powers and rules given to the Judges, then to report such a case.

6 To certify the total of the Scotch revenue, with particulars of times of payment from lands, forfeitures, excise, customs, or yearly rents, and do the same once a year at least, and represent what might be done to improve the revenue

7. To use effectual means to recover any part of the revenue concealed or detained, either Crown lands, bishops' or deans' lands, &c, or any other, and to see the excise on imports and exports duly collected and accounted for, and issued from the Exchequer according to order, without infringing on the 1,200*l.* for maintenance of ministers and schoolmasters in the Highlands

8 To reduce all Crown lands illegally alienated from the State, and see the Ordinances in our several letters lately sent to the Exchequer Judges pursued

9 To suggest some means to reduce the public expenses of the State in Scotland.

10. To have power to arrest or take security from any persons opposing  
they reside, send them into England, or allow them to return

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 52-53

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, p. 53, *Pub Intell.*, June 7-14.

11 To consider some suitable reduction of public officers to such number as is absolutely necessary; and to have power by warrant to charge the Customs and 1/3 of the Excise money, with salaries of sequestration judges and other officers of justice, the rest of Customs' money, and all assessments and sequestration money, to be used for contingencies, except what is charged monthly for the forces in Scotland

12 To have power to transport to English plantations abroad such enemies of the State who are in arms as are in their power.

13 To see that no Baptist holds any office of trust, nor practices at law, nor keeps a school

To see that no person is employed for public service in any office, or in any other capacity, who is not a member of one of the churches of Christ, or others as they see cause.

15 To consider and report fit means to encourage the trade, commerce, and fisheries of the nation.

16 To ask and receive any help necessary from the Commander-in-Chief of Scotland and from civil magistrates for carrying out any of these instructions

To see that the said Commissioners, and Excise Commissioners, and other officers, do perform their duties connected therewith, and empower them to collect customs, &c, according to the rates levied in England, making seizures, issuing warrants, and distraining for non-payment, appointing collectors and sub-commissioners and also commissioners for receiving appeals, but thus not to prejudice the farm of excise in Scotland

18 To cause the monthly assessment in Scotland to be levied and paid in according to the Act of Parliament.

19 The said Council to have power to execute all the above instructions<sup>94</sup>  
June 10, 1658

In sharp contrast with this was another document of the same date:

*To the Supervisor for the Affairs of the Hospitals of Ely House and the Savoy*

OLIVER P

It is our will and pleasure that this bearer Mr Henry B. do deliver unto you the sum of £1000. for the use of the said Hospitals, and other privileges and advantages as the said Day received and enjoyed, according to our former order to the late Committee for maimed soldiers etc for his admittance thereunto And for so doing this shall be your warrant Given at Whitchall the 10th day of June 1658.<sup>95</sup>

The High Court sat again on Thursday, June 10, to try Sir Humphrey Bennet, Henry Mallory and Thomas Woodcock, but though the

<sup>94</sup> June 10, 1658, in *Cal S. P. Dom* (1658-9), pp 60-61, more fully in *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vi, pt II, 876-77

<sup>95</sup> Original in *S. P. Dom* clxxvii, no 48<sup>II</sup> Erroneously dated July 10 in *Cal S. P. Dom*. (1658-9), p. 103; sealed with private seal VII (Henfrey, *Numis. Crom*, p 185) See Feb 25, 1657-8, *supra*.

trial continued on Friday, the handing down of the sentence was delayed until the following Tuesday.<sup>98</sup>

and while in London took the opportunity to solicit "his Highness for the muster-master general's place," which he hoped to get if Henry Cromwell consented—which he did not, recommending instead Sir John King.<sup>99</sup> Henry also recommended to his father a Dr Edward Worth, who was to deliver an address from the Irish ministers, he being "of the judgment of the associated ministers in England," presumably a moderate Presbyterian.<sup>100</sup> Apart from these trifling circumstances the execution of Slingsby and Hewitt, the trials, and the great news from Flanders, the chief concern of the moment was the calling of another Parliament, which was desperately needed on account of the lack of money; but it was generally agreed that, even if called, it would not be before September.<sup>101</sup>

It was, however, extremely important, not the less for the situation on the Continent. The battle of the Dunes had been followed almost immediately by the return of the Anglo-French army to the siege of Dunkirk, which, after the death of its commander, the Marquis de Ledesma, surrendered on June 10/11, the remnants of the garrison making their way to St. Omer. Lockhart reported, three days before its fall, on his preparations for holding the place, with Mardyke and Fort Royal; 2,500 men to be at Dunkirk, 1,000 at Mardyke and 500 at Fort Royal. He would, however, so he wrote, need five or six strong troops of horse, at least 70 to a troop.<sup>102</sup> Montagu reported the day before the surrender that Dunkirk had declared for Cromwell and that the articles were being confirmed at Mardyke by Louis XIV.<sup>103</sup> It is true that Louis was extremely unwilling to turn over Dunkirk to the English, and that its rendition to the English was due chiefly to Mazarin. On the other hand the French troops sided with their king and were greatly irritated by the transfer of Dunkirk to the English, and Mazarin's enemy, the Cardinal de Retz, took occasion to voice the discontent of all those who were opposed to this move. Mazarin, however, stood firmly to his bargain with the Protector, and it seems apparent that the French would have won the battle of the Dunes

<sup>98</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, June 7-14.

<sup>99</sup> Dunlop, II, 676-78 (instructions).

<sup>100</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, June 9, Thurloe, VII, 161.

<sup>101</sup> June 9, *ibid.*, p. 162, Firth, *Last Years*, II, 157-58.

<sup>102</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, May 24, Thurloe, VII, 144, Fleetwood to same, *ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>103</sup> Montagu to Thurloe, June 13, *ibid.*, pp. 172-73.

and Dunkirk with difficulty or not at all without the aid of the English troops.<sup>104</sup>

While the siege of Dunkirk went on, both Louis and Mazarin took occasion to write to the Protector acknowledging the visit of Falconet, and the return visit of the Duke of Crequi, accompanied by Mazarin's nephew, M. de Mancini.<sup>105</sup> From farther afield Meadows complained about his status on his mission to Sweden, fearing that if he were only to give precedence to the ministers of the German princes. The Swedes, he wrote, were clamoring for the £30,000 promised by Cromwell, and Meadows begged that at least half that sum be sent, especially since France had sent 550,000 crowns.<sup>106</sup> There was, in fact, little hope of remitting £30,000 or any part of it to Sweden in the state of English finances at that moment, for the government could not even pay its soldiers, in Ireland; and while it put up a brave front abroad, its condition at home was bad, and getting no better. That did not, however, for the moment, affect its attitude with respect to foreign powers. Even while it was so hard pressed for means to maintain itself at home, on June 10th the Council took occasion to complain against the treatment of the ship *Endeavour*, taken on November 21, 1655, *en route* from Tenerife to London, by four French ships, after the peace and therefore in violation of it, with a loss of £16,587, with an order that copies of the owners' report be sent to Lockhart and Bordeaux with a note of "his Highness's unwillingness to issue letters of marque, and his desire that restitution should be made some other way."<sup>107</sup> And, at the same time the Protector took occasion to write to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in regard to a like incident:

*To the Most Serene Prince Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany*

MOST SERENE PRINCE

That which We indicated in Our letter written to Your Highness on the sixth of May concerning the capture of another English ship by the same Cordi is now confirmed. . . . who now carries out Our instructions at . . . ship *The Tripoline*, which was bought by Longland with his own money, was, while returning from Alexandria with a large part of his possessions and the wares of others, being of very great value, intercepted and plundered by two armed ships of the aforementioned Cordi, at the entrance of the Bay of Therma or

<sup>104</sup> Firth, *Last Years*, ch. xv, Brouilly, *Deux Campagnes de Turenne*, ch. ix.

<sup>105</sup> Louis XIV to Cromwell, Calais, 1 . . . *Lettres de Mazarin*, viii, 441-42, cp. also Lockhart . . .

<sup>106</sup> Meadows to Thurloe, Hamburg, June 8, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vii, 733-34.

<sup>107</sup> Cal. S. P. Dom (1658-9), p. 57. C . . . 1656, see *supra* and Columbia *Milton*, i . . . no. 73, and *supra*.

[illegible]

twelfth day of June, in the year 1658

Your Highness' good friend.

OLIVER P 108

The great news of the week of June 14 was, of course, the surrender of Dunkirk, which was put in charge of Lockhart. This event produced a whole series of audiences, conversations and especially letters. On Tuesday, June 15, the Duke of Crequi and M. Mancini were fetched in a barge by Sir Oliver Fleming to the Tower and thence carried to Brook House in his Highness' coach. On Wednesday afternoon they were conducted by Falconbridge and others to an audience "which his Highness gave them standing under a Cloth of Estate," not in the Great Hall but in a private room—"both remaining uncovered." The Duke's mission was to congratulate Cromwell on the success of the campaign and to assure the Protector of the esteem in which his friendship was held. Then, after Mancini had spoken briefly to "his Highness" as the emissary of his uncle the Cardinal, the Duke made a short reply to both, enlarging on his obligations to the king and his esteem for the king and his prime ministers—"so great and good an Ally", and the ceremony ended with the Protector's receiving the compliments of the other notables present<sup>109</sup>—among whom Bordeaux was not one, as the Duke had no official status.

its formal courtesy, all was not well between the French and the English. The question as to who should hold the place was further complicated with that of the freedom of the religion of its inhabitants. The Protector took an early occasion to write to Louis XIV and to

<sup>108</sup> Latin original is in the R. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo 1012, 214<sup>t</sup>, counterpaneled by Tibaldi. See *opus* App. II (24).

line 18/28, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-59), p. 217

Mazarin letters of congratulation; but he also wrote to Lockhart in regard to the matter of religion.

*To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Louis, King of France*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT PRINCE, OUR MOST AUGUST CONFEDERATE AND FRIEND

By so speedily repaying our profound respect to your majesty, with an accumulative  
our court, you have not only  
land, your singular benignity and generosity of mind, but also how much you  
favour our reputation and dignity for which we return our most cordial  
thanks to your majesty, as justly you have merited from us. As for the victory which God has given, most fortunately, to our united forces against our enemies, we rejoice with your majesty for it, and that our people in that battle were not wanting to your assistance, nor the military glory of their ancestors, nor their own pristine fortitude, is most grateful to us. As for Dunkirk, which, as your majesty wrote, you were in hopes was near surrender: it is a great addition to our joy, to hear from your majesty such speedy tidings, that it is absolutely now in your victorious hands, and we hope, moreover, that the loss of one city will not suffice to repay the twofold treachery of the Spaniard, but that your majesty will in a short time write us the welcome news of the surrender also of the other town. As to your promise, that you will take care of our interests, we mistrust it not in the least, upon the word of a most excellent king, and our most assured friend, confirmed withal by your ambassador, the most excellent and accomplished duke of Crequi. Lastly, we beseech Almighty God to prosper your majesty and the affairs of France, both in peace and war.

Westminster, June [19?] 1658.

[OLIVER P.]<sup>110</sup>

*To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal Mazarin*

MOST EMINENT LORD,

While we are returning thanks to the most serene king,  
be ungrateful, should we not also by our letters, pay our due acknowledgments to your eminency; who, to testify your goodwill towards us, and how much you make it your study to do us all the honour which lies within your power, have sent your nephew to us, a most excellent and most accomplished young gentleman, and if you had any nearer relation, or any person whom you valued more, would have sent him more especially to us, as you declare in your letters, adding withal the reason, which, coming from so great a personage, we deem no small advantage to our praise and ornament, that is to say, to the end that they, who are most nearly related to your eminency in blood, might learn to imitate your eminency, in showing respect and honour

<sup>110</sup> Symmons, *Milton*, iv, 456-57, *Columbia Milton*, no. 118, Waylen, *House of*  
v, 392-93, Latin in Vischer's *Leti*, ii,

to our person And we would have it not to be their meanest strife to follow your example of civility, candour, and friendship to us, since there are other matters of extraordinary prudence and virtue in your eminency far more renowned, from whence they may learn to govern kingdoms, and manage the most important affairs of the world Which that your eminency may long and happily administer, to the prosperity of the whole realm of France, to the common good of the whole christian republic, and your own glory, we shall never be wanting in our prayers to implore

Your excellency's most affectionate

From our court at Whitehall, June [19<sup>th</sup>] 1658.

[OLIVER P.]<sup>111</sup>

Few incidents in Cromwell's life have given rise to more controversy than the transfer of Dunkirk to English hands, nor to more legends. Among these the chief, perhaps, is the story told by Welwood in his *Memoirs* :

When the French Army being joined . . . its march to invest the Town [of Dunkirk] . . . the French Ambassador to Whitehall, and upbraided him publicly for his Master's design'd Breach of Promise, in giving secret Orders to the French General to keep Possession of Dunkirk, in case it was taken, contrary to the Treaty between them The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the . . . no such thing thought of . . . Upon which Cromwell pulling a Paper out of his

and demand them at the Gates of Paris There were but four Persons said to be privy to this Order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Mareschal de Turenne, and a Secretary, whose Name it is not fit at this time to mention The Cardinal for a long time blam'd the Queen, Whereas it was found after the Secretary's death, that he had kept a secret Correspondence with Cromwell for severall Years, and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the Copy of the Order abovemention'd<sup>112</sup>

(Thurloe, vii, 173)

Of a similar character is the obvious forgery printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 34 (1764), 444, ostensibly to MARIN

"Thou traitor, *Mazanne*, if thou refusest to deliver up *Dunkirk* into the hands of *Locke*, my friend and counsellor, whom I have sent with full power to receive it, by the eternal God I will come and tear thee from thy master's bosom, and hang thee at the gates of *Paris*."



That there was some difference of opinion over the possession of Dunkirk and the terms given its inhabitants, there can be little doubt, but so far as the open and official documents in the case are concerned, there is no suggestion of the terms of the surrender or of the English possession of the place. The Protector's letter to Lockhart, indeed, revealed a certain dissatisfaction as to the treatment of the Roman Catholic population

*To Col William Lockhart*

[Substance only]

About the government of Dunkirk. Fears that the Roman Catholic religion meets with too much countenance and the Protestant with too little. [Before June 21]<sup>113</sup>

The articles of capitulation granted by Turenne to the Spanish commander of the fortress, did, indeed, lead to such a conclusion as that of Cromwell, but the Act signed by Lockhart followed exactly the lines laid down by the treaty of 1657 and the conditions granted to the Catholic inhabitants of the town, guaranteeing that the terms thus stated would be confirmed by the Protector.<sup>114</sup>

The latter part of the week of June 14 was spent in the festivities in connection with the visit of Crequi and Mancini. Thursday was devoted to hunting at Hampton Court and Friday "at another charming country place,"<sup>115</sup> at the expense, apparently, of Falconbridge. On Friday there arrived another emissary from Louis XIV, one M. Sanguin, who came to bring the news of the final surrender of Dunkirk to Bordeaux, who accompanied him to an audience with the Protector on Saturday morning.<sup>116</sup> On that same Saturday afternoon Crequi and Mancini had their farewell audience with the Protector, "graciously accepted by his Highness with all demonstrations of respect and honor to his Majesty of France, and his chief minister the Cardinal, was pleased at the departure of these noble persons, to pass with them from that Room, and so along the next, to the Door of his Guard-Chamber, and there he dismissed them,"<sup>117</sup> "a transcendent courtesy never before used with any minister"<sup>118</sup> The French emis-

<sup>113</sup> Reply June 23/July 3, and Lockhart's letter to Thurloe, June 26/July 6, in Thurloe, vii, 197, 206

<sup>114</sup> See App. I (7), *infra*

<sup>115</sup> *Pub Intell*, June 14-21, Giavarina to Doge, June 18/28, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-59), p. 217

<sup>116</sup> Same to same, June 25/July 5, *ibid*, p. 219

<sup>117</sup> *Pub Intell*, June 14-21, cp Falconbridge to Henry Cromwell, Thurloe, vii, 192-93.

<sup>118</sup> Giavarina to Doge, June 25/July 5, *Cal. S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 220

saries also paid their respects to the Protector's wife and his daughters, Mary and Frances, but were unable to see Elizabeth, who was ill and grieving over the death on the 16th of her son Oliver, then a year old.<sup>119</sup> It would appear that even in the midst of these courtly ceremonies the Protector was not free from matters of business, for some time in this period Edward Burrough delivered, or had delivered to him a letter proposing that the Friends be given an opportunity to answer such objections as he had to their doctrines and practices,<sup>120</sup> though to what effect it seems impossible to discover. In addition to this on June 18 the Protector issued a "charter of mortification" in favor of the University of Aberdeen of properties formerly belonging to the bishopric of Aberdeen.<sup>121</sup>

These various activities prevented the Protector meeting with the Council<sup>122</sup> which sat as usual, concerned chiefly with finances. These were in no better shape than when the Council met on June 15 a draft order was passed to be sent to his Highness "for the better issuing and disposing of the 3<sup>d</sup> 6 months' assessment, beginning 24 June, 1658,"<sup>123</sup> and at the next meeting of the Council, on Thursday, six members were named "to consider fit security to be offered out of the revenue to borrow £10,000 for 6 months for State uses."<sup>124</sup> It further ordered seven men to be sent before the High Court on Tuesday, June 15, had on his plea of guilty. Woodcock had pleaded not guilty and that plea was allowed, whereas "concerning Sir Humphrey Bennet, it was not thought fit at present to make any further prosecution of him." Mallory was to have been executed on Friday the 18th, but "it pleased his Highness this day [June 17], upon humble suit made, to grant, that he be reprieved from the execution of the said Judgment till further order,"<sup>125</sup> which seems never to have come, for he was still in prison the following February, by which time the Protector himself had gone. Besides this the proclamation for the Merchant Adventurers, as recommended by the Council on May 13, was finally issued on June 14.<sup>127</sup>

During the week of June 21 care was taken for supplying the galle-

<sup>119</sup> "June 15, Thurloe, vii, 177, *Eng Hist Rev*, vii,

<sup>120</sup> Memoir of Edward Burrough, *Friends Library*, xiv, 448

<sup>121</sup> *Fasts Aberdonenses* (ed C Innes, Spalding Club Publ no 25, Aberdeen, 1854), pp 166 ff

<sup>122</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), pp viii, 62, 66

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, p 64

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, p 66

<sup>125</sup> John Bettley, Hen Fiyer, Edm Stacey, John Sumner, Wm Carrent, Oliver Allen, and Ed Ashton (*ibid*, p 67, *Pub Intell*, June 14-21).

<sup>126</sup> *Pub Intell*, June 14-21

<sup>127</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1658-9), p. 23, Crawford, i, 374, no 3097

sons at Dunkirk and Mardyke<sup>128</sup> and for enlarging the garrison at Dunkirk as Lockhart had recommended, in particular by a regiment of horse. In connection with this latter item, the newssheets carried an advertisement that any former officers of horse who might wish to serve at Dunkirk might apply to Captain George Brett, who had been commissioned by Cromwell as captain of a company of a hundred horse. It seems that it was planned to send a thousand horse in all.<sup>129</sup> This may have been in part a measure of precaution, to keep open the passage between Dunkirk and Mardyke. It may even have been a further precaution to secure the English in possession of the newly captured town, to which there was much objection on the part of the French. Mazariu's opponent, the Cardinal de Retz, took occasion to launch a violent attack on the minister for tamely submitting to the English occupation, going so far as to make light of the English share in the victory of the Dunes. It was scarcely less an attack on the Protector who was pictured as watching from the Tower of London the shedding of Catholic blood, whether French or Spanish, and as being a danger to the whole of the Continent.<sup>130</sup> Mazariu stood firm, however, and stuck to his bargain, so that there was no real danger that the French would endeavor to retain or retake the place. Despite de Retz's attack, Dunkirk was of no use to England save to the extent that it was a base for its piratical-minded inhabitants. Otherwise it was of no use to England, and was sold to France within a few days of its capture, who wisely disposed of it.

At this point Cromwell made a recommendation

*To the Master, President, and Fellows of St Peter's College, Cambridge*

[Substance only]

Recommending Jos Seaman, B.A. of your college, to Mr Moning's fellowship, which has been void 14 years<sup>131</sup>

June 21, 1658

And on the very next day he made another of those recommendations for a degree to the same University, which, one may think, were too

<sup>128</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1658-9), p. 75. Among the petitions was one from Henry Henn to buy certain lands in Greenwich, apparently near H. H. land there (*ibid.*, 1657-8, pp. 229, 230, and 1658-9, p. 61).

<sup>129</sup> Firth-Davies, pp. 671 ff.  
<sup>130</sup> *Cromwell*, no. 1021. Eng. Trans. "France no friend to England."

<sup>131</sup> Mentioned in a letter from the University of Cambridge to the College, Dec. 24, 1658, in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1658-9), p. 229. Jos Seaman was the son of Lazarus Seaman, Master of the college.

common in his career, however much this one may have been justified:

*To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge*

OLIVER P

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—Whereas by our appointment several students in our University of Cambridge have been invited abroad to preach the Gospel in our Fleet, and for their encouragement have

been exhibited on the behalf of Mr John Castle of Trinity College, showing that whilst he was abroad as minister in the *Newcastle Frigate*, he was dis-

seniority, by reason of a statute of the University denying degrees to any non-resident

In performance of our duty, we have decreed that others in the like service, shall be

Castle be by you created Master of Arts, and which, according to the custom of your University, he had enjoyed had he been resident at the usual time of taking degrees

Given at Whitehall, the 22d day of June 1658<sup>122</sup>

the activities connected with the capture of the ship, to send a draft warrant to the Protector for executing the Acts against unlicensed books, which was duly issued in his name; and Fleetwood, Wolsley, the Lord Chamberlain, Jones, Desborough, Lisle and Strickland proper persons to be added to the comm

notable that among the volumes under discussion was Dr Peter Heylyn's "Respondet Petrus" against which, and its author, articles had been drawn up and approved by the Council. This action in the case of Heylyn, a lecturer in historical geography in Oxford and always a champion of Laud—was the more surprising in that this book, a reply to Bernard and Sander-son, was but one, and that not the greatest, of the controversial writings which he had issued in preceding years<sup>123</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, App 32 (1), from Cambridge *Grace Book H*, p 181. Castle entered Trinity College and had the same tutor as John Dryden, both pensioners (Carlyle's note)

<sup>123</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), pp 71, 75-77, cp *Dict. Nat. Biog*, "Heylyn," "Saunderson," etc

*To the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company, and to Henry Hills and John Field, printers*

been made against the publishing un-  
books, to prevent the designs of the ill-  
affected, who are continually writing and dispersing dangerous, blasphemous, and Popish pamphlets, books, and papers,—as it concerns the public peace to have these laws duly executed, we, having had good experience of your care therein, commit to you the execution of the said Acts, and author-

Whitehall June 22, 1658

Next day the Protector issued to the authorities of Chester a grant of the hospital of St John the Baptist

#### *Grant*

Oliver by the Grace of God, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland Ireland and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting

Whereas Wee are given to understand as well by the Humble Petition of the Mayor Aldermen and Citizens of Our City of Chester in Our County Palatine of Chester as by the Certificates of several Gentlemen of the County of Chester that the Mastership of Our Hospitall comonly called the Hospitall of St John Baptist of and in Our City of Chester being an auncient with a competent Revenue for the releife and maintenance of severall poore people in the said City has lathe become void by the

Hospitall hath for some time past either lye wholly uncollected or else hath of the Founder and those which cannot but be to wrong and injury of the And to the end the is now much decayed may be revived and the Revenue to come duly such impotent and aged poore of the said Hospitall was intended Wee are willing to apply a fitting and timlie remedy in this behalfe and considering that the most effectual way to have the charity of the Founder to be employed according to his true intent and

we with the advice of Our Privy Councell doe Grant unto the said

Mayor Aldermen and Cittizens of Our said Citty of Chester and there Successors the ffree Guift and donacon of the Mastershipp of the said Hospitall and that they shall and may forever hereafter have the ffreed disposition thereof when and as often as the same shall become void And Our Will and Purpose

be and for-  
dure-  
that time  
of the said Hospitall and of the revenue thereof and

And further to that end and purpose Wee have made assigned consti-

form aforesaid and shall soe continue for and dureing the time of his Major-  
alty onely To hould exercise and enjoy the said office or place of Master or  
Warden of the said Hospitall with all and singular the rights  
whatsoever thereunto belonging and to be belonging To be employed and dis-

We hereby further grant for Us and Our  
Successors unto the said Mayor Aldermen and Cittizens of Our said Citty of  
Chester and there Successors That every Mayor of the said Citty beinge by  
vertue of these  
his Mayoralty  
and Comon Councell of the said Citty of Chester for the time being or the  
greater part of them in Comon Councell assembled all his receipts and dis-  
bursements of the Revenue of the said Hospitall and how the same hath been  
employed and disposed of and We will that the said accompts soe from time  
to time to be made and given shall be ffairely written in a book to remain in  
the Councell Chamber of the said Citty for ever And We doe further  
grant to the said Mayor Aldermen and Cittizens of Our said Citty of Chester  
and there Successors that the Mayor Aldermen and Comon Councell of the  
said Citty for the time being or the greater part of them shall have full  
power and authority from time to time to nominate and appointe the Poore  
People of the said Hospitall upon any vacancy by death or otherwise and  
shall and may from time to time visitt the said Hospitall and make Ordaine  
and Constitute Orders and Constitucons (not repugnant to the Laws Consti-  
tucons and Customs of England) for the good rule and government of the said  
Hospitall and for managing the Rcvnue thereof and for reforming the abuses  
of the said Hospitall And Further We Doe Grant untoe the said Mayor  
Aldermen and Cittizens of Our said Citty of Chester and there Successors  
that the Mayor Aldermen and Comon Councell of the said Citty for the time  
being shall have the power and authority by vertue of these presents to re-  
move and displace the poore of the said Hospitall from time to time for mis-  
behaviour or other iust or reasonable cause And to Doe all other things lawfull  
and necessary for the well managing and government of the said Hospitall  
and the Revenue thereof according to the Constitucons of the said Hospitall  
and according to the true intent and meaning of these presents And Further  
We Doe Grant Unto the said Mayor Aldermen and Cittizens of Our



tice of the case, which we should do with more urgency even, if the good-will of the influence will be regarded by us in the nature of the greatest favor Given June in the year 1658  
 Your Eminence's most attached,

OLIVER P 138

How business was carried on appears from a report from Thurloe, which reveals how few were the numbers on which the government of England depended at this moment "There are," he wrote, "9 in number [Fiennes, Fleetwood, Desborough, the Lord Chamberlain Pickering, Whalley, the Comptroller Philip Jones, Goffe, Cooper and himself], who dayly meet for consideringe of what is fitt to be done in the next parliament The first head debated was, how wee should be secured against the cavalier partye"—one way being an oath of "But this way," he adds, "is disliked; because it is thought probable they will all take it, and none of them keepe it" An alternative was to lay a burden—half of their estates—on all to keep them down, but he concluded ruefully, "least of all will it be swallowed by the parliament, who will not be perswaded to punish both nocent and innocent without distinction" It is evident from this, as from much other testimony, that the government still felt itself in danger, threatened as it was from both sides The situation was—as no one knew better than Thurloe—extremely difficult, and it had not improved with the years, as had been hoped. The government could not go on as it was. It was necessary to call a new Parliament, and what the outcome of that move would be no one knew, but every one in the administration feared

On the other side of the picture was the success abroad, which, however useless and in a sense illusory, served to maintain the prestige of Cromwell's government not only abroad but at home. In Dunkirk Lockhart had assumed the title of general since Thurloe's letters had borne that superscription The greatest difficulty, he wrote, was that of religion. He wanted all Protestants to be allowed to come under English protection, but would receive no Catholics into that category until instructed He had, he added, had occasion to rebuke the soldiers for not respecting the Catholic churches They kept their hats on, lighted their pipes at the altars, and desired to pil-

<sup>138</sup> Original, countersigned by Thurloe, in the Tangye Collection, now in the London  
 Muse

tion,



lage the churches—of which there was, however, apparently only one. He concluded with thanks to the Protector for “the great goodness . . . to myself, my poore wyfe, and family,” and recommended the widow of his late secretary, William Swift, for charity, as well as a Captain Flower, who carried his letters to Cromwell and Thurloe. He was, he said, getting affairs organized; he had plans for fortifying the Splinter harbor along its banks, which would be better and cheaper than relying on Mardyke or a 24 gun frigate, but he needed “Toossine, ane ingenièrè” whom the Protector promised to send over. He wanted to have under his charge one of the troops of horse to be sent to Dunkirk; Fleetwood to be his lieutenant-colonel, if possible; and he noted also the Marquis de Montpellion, Turenne’s nephew, concerning whom Turenne had already sent a letter of recommendation.<sup>148</sup> In all this there was evidence of a design to establish Protestantism in Dunkirk and so extend it to Flanders.<sup>149</sup> It appears also that Whitelocke had been consulted with regard to accepting the governorship, but he “ . . . undertake it, though it was a Command very honourable and profitable.”<sup>150</sup> It seems apparent that, having failed to gain a foothold for Protestantism at Bordeaux or Rochelle, Bremen or elsewhere, the plan had never left the Protector’s mind of somehow gaining a bridgehead on the Continent for another effort to introduce or strengthen that communion there. From that point of view Dunkirk was still a part of the Protestant Interest—if the last of it. It would also, as Thurloe pointed out, be a “bridle to the Dutch,” and leave “a back door behind them in Flanders” to the French, “which might be made use of . . . whilst they were engaged elsewhere.”

Even in the midst of these great events the Protector took occasion to write another letter about the usual difficulties which Englishmen met abroad:

*To the States General of the United Provinces*

HIGH AND MOST MIGHTY LORDS

It has been brought before us by a suppliant remonstrance by Thomas Breton, Simon Delboe, Andrew Middleton, John Taylor and other merchants of the English East India Company, owners and sailors of a ship *The Postilion* whose master is John Kingsman, that their aforesaid ship reached the coast of Bantam where her course lay and entered the harbor of Bantam before which certain ships belonging to the Dutch East Indian Company, with what interest was unknown, were lying at anchor.

<sup>148</sup> Lockhart’s letters to Cromwell and to Thurloe, *ibid.*, pp. 143-44, 191-92, 197-98, 201-2, 206-7.

<sup>149</sup> Cp. Firth, *Last Years*, II, 219, Bischoffshausen, p. 207, cp. also Michael, *Cromwell*, II, 147.

<sup>150</sup> Whitelocke, p. 674.

as a pretext that your Lordships are on unfriendly terms with that city. In order that all these matters may be subjected to your eyes in the same manner in which they are set forth to us, we have enclosed in these letters of ours a copy of the Remonstrance itself. And we do not doubt that it is an occurrence equally displeasing to you and to us that under the conditions of official friendship the caprices and unbridled acts of private persons should proceed as is too often reported from those regions. That they may not be able to flourish further with impunity it will be your duty to effect, and that as soon as possible, satisfaction may be given to the petitioners for the losses and injuries with which they have been afflicted contrary to the terms of the alliance. When this is done you will win for yourselves the greatest reputation and praise for your justice and fairness. We also shall receive the reward that we have always expected for our extreme good will toward you and your fortunes. And so we commend your Lordships to the divine favor. Given, from our palace at Westminster, the 25th day of June 1658

Your Lordships' good friend,

OLIVER P<sup>141</sup>

This letter was to be presented by Downing with a request "according to order & instructions" that he received

& satisfaction given to the persons concerned<sup>142</sup>

His further "particular & expresse orders" were

to assure their Lord<sup>ss</sup> that his most Serene H<sup>ty</sup> is resolved not only in this & all other particulars on his part firmly religiously & inviolably to observe the treaty but to endeavour by all other & farther good wayes & meanes to cultivate augment & promote all amity & good correspondence with their Lord<sup>ss</sup> (maugre the calumnies & evil insinuations of such as favourise his

ready to make good the same<sup>143</sup>

It is apparent from various pieces of evidence that the formal meetings of the Council as expressed in their minutes were not the only

<sup>141</sup> Latin original, countersigned by Thurloe, in Algemeen Rijksarchief, St Gen 6916, at the Hague, pt *infra*, App II (26). Presented by Downing July 3/13, along with his memorial (*Diary*, pp. 96-97)

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, p 96

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*, p 97

occasions on which that body met. It would seem, in fact, that part of it, at least, was in almost continuous session. So far as its minutes are concerned, however, it assembled only twice, or at most three times a week, as it did in the week of June 28, when it met on Tuesday, Thursday and briefly on Saturday.<sup>144</sup> It was chiefly concerned with two things—supplies for Dunkirk and Mardyke, and money. As to the first, Joachim Hane was sent to Dunkirk.<sup>145</sup> As to the second, it was made acute by the presence of several officers petitioning for quarterly privy seals for payment, so as to be free from obstruction by the Council. They were, they said, already three quarters in arrears, and bills and deeply in debt; whereupon the Council referred the matter to a committee "to see which of the sums mentioned to-day as owing to his Highness can be got in, and how the above arrears may best be satisfied."<sup>146</sup>

This was the great problem of the Protectorate, as it had been of the Commonwealth. They could not get the money, and their expenses, what with the army and the foreign war, continually outran their revenue. A statement undated, but probably of June 24, declared,

that the debts of the Commonwealth, with arrears to the armies and fleets to October 1656, as given in to Parliament, amount to £1,200,000. The charge for the following year is estimated at £2,400,000. The provision suggested for the year 1657 is £1,000,000, which leaves a deficit of £1,400,000. The new buildings, and the Exchequer revenue is fallen short £200,000, which causes the armies to be in arrears £300,000, and the Navy £540,000, besides former debts, and now there is ½ a year's salary due to all the militia forces in England.<sup>147</sup>

The government report of 1656, even this report did not tell a true story. The government had estimated the charge of 14,000 men to be employed for the navy at sea for one year from July 1, including provisions and other disbursements, at £766,557; the wages due officers and men now at sea

<sup>144</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1656-9), p. 77-79, 82, orders, petitions, etc.

<sup>145</sup> There is an entry of £54 still due in 1660 "from Mr Frost dated June 24, on a 'warrant on Mr Frost from Oliver Cromwell for 16 Loads of hay & 230 spars delivrd fort of Mardike—50/- already pd'" (communicated by Miss Dorothy Clarke from original in Glyn Mills Bank).

<sup>146</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), p. 77.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

to June 30, 1658, estimated at £286,011/10/5<sup>148</sup> These were but estimates, which were notoriously inexact, the totals almost without exception always being far more than were estimated, and this took small account or none of still older obligations. It is, in fact, extremely difficult to understand where the government got even the money it did. All revolutionary governments find finance the most difficult of their problems, but it seemed evident that the Protectoral system was coming near the end of its resources, and that, short of a general confiscation, especially of the Royalist property, it was certain to fall by the weight of its debts.

In the meantime the Protector wrote, or signed several papers of minor importance.

*To Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy and the Council of Ireland*

[Substance only]

Touching Colonel John Clarke's arrears, which are to be satisfied out of lands in Ireland<sup>149</sup>  
June 28, 1658

*To Colonel Croxon, Governor of Chester*

[Substance only]

To set at liberty Robert Davyces, Esq<sup>150</sup>  
Whitehall, June 30, 1658

*Presentation of Richard Mayo to the vicarage of Kingston-on-Thames*

OLIVER P

OLIVER LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, To the Commissioners authorized by the Ordinance for Approbation

deed under his hand and Seale bearing date the Twelfth day of May last past  
and right of Presentation  
County of Surry when the  
same should first and next become voyd by death, resignation or any other  
to the Vicarage of King-  
aid now voyd and to Our  
approved of by them and  
admitted thereunto with all its rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever according to the Tenor of the aforesaid Ordinance Given at Whitehall the First day of July 1658.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 426.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* p. 427.

<sup>150</sup> C

<sup>151</sup> Tangye Collection, London

On July 3 a new declaration was drafted ordering a day of public thanksgiving to be observed July 21 for deliverance from their enemies and from the plague, for the abasement of Spain, and the acquisition of "a port-town, not the worst in Flanders."<sup>152</sup> It appears also that about this time the Protector's portrait was being—or had been—painted by Cooper. Beverning had asked Downing for one early in May, and now the French ambassador at the Hague, de Thou, expressed a desire to have one, which Downing thought would be "worth the cost, which is little."<sup>153</sup> The main business of the time, however, was the renewed activity of the High Court of Justice, which met again on Thursday, July 1, for the trial of the seven men arrested on June 17. The trial was short and swift, for on the day following Ashton, Fryer and Betteley were condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered on July 7, Sumner, Stacy and Allen on July 9. Only Carrent got off, chiefly because Christopher Pitts, called as the "king's witness," refused to take the oath, and was thereupon committed to prison "during the pleasure of his Highness," and fined £1,000. This was the more surprising in that the officer who searched Carrent's house found arms, powder, and head-pieces there, all knowledge of which Carrent denied, saying "he knew not how they came into his house, or that such things were there." According to the President, Iasle, "where Witnesses are silent, I shall be silent: Bless you God, and my Lord Protector."<sup>154</sup> It seems evident as one studies the reports of these trials that some arrangement was entered into with the government by certain of the accused, and it is notable that in every case at least one of the prisoners escaped the death penalty, without any apparent reason, which gives rise to the suspicion that some saved themselves by turning informer or state's evidence.

It is no less apparent that arrests were still going on,<sup>155</sup> and that the whole success of the designs, whatever they were, depended on the elimination of the Protector. As Henry Cromwell wrote in connection with the proposals for keeping down insurrection.

"Does not your peace depend upon his Highness life, skill, and faculty, and personall interest in the army, as now modelled and commanded? I say, beneath the immediate hand of God, why should we not preserve him?"

But besides the difficulties which he met at home, the Protector had his troubles abroad, chiefly with respect to the rendition of Dunkirk.

<sup>152</sup> *Cal S P Dom.* (1658-9), pp. 82-83.

<sup>153</sup> Downing to Thurloe, May

121, 230

<sup>154</sup> "Iasle," *Cal S P Dom.*

<sup>155</sup>

577

<sup>156</sup> Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, June 30, Thurloe, vii, 218

For various reasons he wished to delay the ratification of the Dunkirk treaty, and Lockhart suggested an excuse. In the confusion of the surrender . . . garrison, t . . . of the final set instead of at the end. Therefore, Lockhart urged with a certain disingenuousness,

ground of his Highness waving the foresaid act must be pretended to be upon the scruple concerning the articles, which I hope I shall be able to revell and perplex, as the ratifying of that act shall fall to the ground<sup>157</sup>

He had, he continued, carried out the Protector's desires concerning Mardyke, having taken possession of the place and induced two companies of French guards to remain a day or two with four companies he sent there. If they could be spared, he wrote, he would like "12-1500 corslets for our pikemen . . . a stand of 500 pickes well armed, with head-piece and corslett"<sup>158</sup> Meanwhile Hugh Peter had arrived at Dunkirk, where he stayed about ten days, putting "himself forth in great charity and goodnesse, in sermons, prayers and exhortations, in visiting and relieving the sick and wounded; . . . talent God hath bestowed upon him" for showing the soldiers their duty to God" and acquainting them "with their

Government, and affectione . . . us, the armies were making progress, having reached Bruges on Saturday, July 3, and subsequently a position between Newport and Ypres, so, the enemy having abandoned Dixmude, according to Giavarina, the French were almost at Brussels.<sup>159</sup> At home they were still accepting volunteers for the regiment of horse for Flanders, enlistments now being taken by Captain Mill.<sup>161</sup> On Saturday, his mission having been accom-

<sup>157</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, June 29/July 9, *ibid*, pp. 214-16

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215

<sup>159</sup> *C. . . . .* *ibid*, p. 249

<sup>160</sup> 2/12, *Cal S P Ven* (1657-9), p. 223, intelligence from Bruges, July 3/13, Thurloe, vii, 230-31, Lockhart to Thurloe, June 29/July 9, *ibid*, pp. 237-38

<sup>161</sup> *Pub. Intell*, June 28-July 5.

plished, Sanguin had his farewell audience<sup>162</sup> and, presumably, carried with him letters for Louis XIV and Mazarin.

*To Louis XIV of France*

That Dunkirk had surrendered to your Majesty, and that it had been by  
 . . . . .ard by re-  
 . . . . .to testify  
 . . . . .formed by  
 your royal letter, and have had abundantly confirmed by the gentleman in  
 whom, from the tenor of that letter, I have all confidence,—the master in  
 ordinary of your Palace In addition to this testimony, though it needs no  
 farther weight with me, our Ambassador with you [Lockhart], in discharge  
 of his duty, writes to the same effect, and there is nothing that he does not  
 ascribe to your most firm steadiness in my favour Let your Majesty be  
 assured in turn that there shall be no want of either care or integrity on our  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 cesses and on the very near approach of the capture of Bergen, and may God  
 Almighty grant that there may be as frequent exchanges as possible of such  
 congratulations between us.<sup>163</sup>

[July 1, 1658]

*To Cardinal Mazarin*

MOST EMINENT LORD

Your . . . . .  
 by the most noble Lord . . . . .  
 congratulating us on the capture of the city of Dunkirk and its surrender to  
 us, not only pleased us and made our joy more complete, but also obtained  
 from us our particular thanks, which ought to be given chiefly to Your  
 Eminence Your wisdom and authority, combined with your great good will  
 towards me, have furnished me the cause of your congratulation Albeit I am  
 so content with the confirmation of this by Your Eminence that I could desire  
 nothing more, nevertheless our ambassador to the King, in writing accurately  
 the details to me, has omitted nothing by which he could inform me with  
 what great faith and expression of friendship all these things were accom-  
 plished by you, or by which he could answer to your opinion of himself As  
 regards our promises, just as it is manifest from what we have done hitherto  
 how conscientiously we respect our treaties, so in the future if Your Eminence  
 thinks his judgment may be at all placed in our trust, he will find no cause to  
 repent having the security of my assurance that my word and his opinion will  
 be the same concern for me, seeing that, for example, all shall see that the  
 affairs of France are not ruined but are strengthened and advanced by our  
 friendship Even if Your Eminence should perhaps be unable to destroy the

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> Pr in Masson, v, 393-94, from the Latin in the Skinner Transcripts, Latin p1, in Hamilton, *Milton Papers*, pp. 7-8, and in Columbia *Milton*, no 143

envy which is the companion of his excellence and greatness, nevertheless he may easily suppress all calumnies and reap the abundant fruits of the plans formed with us. Given from our Palace of Westminster, on the first day of July, in the year 1658

Your Eminence's good friend,

OLIVER P.<sup>164</sup>

During the week of July 5 the Protector attended part of each of the two meetings, on Tuesday the 6th and Thursday the 8th<sup>165</sup>—the last he was ever to attend at Whitehall, for the rest he met the Council at Hampton Court. There was much to be considered. At the Hague Downing foresaw that the English success in Flanders, especially the possession of Dunkirk, would make trouble with the Dutch.<sup>166</sup> From Sweden Meadows painted a gloomy picture of the desertion of the greater part of the English levies and the failure to provide Charles X. Gustavus with his £30,000.<sup>167</sup> But the chief business was, as usual, finance, in addition to drafting an oath of loyalty to the Protector for the inhabitants of Dunkirk and Mardyke.<sup>168</sup> The *... in the Admiralty* Commissioners on naval affairs were read *... for the coming year.* It was a dismal chronicle, including the arrears due in the various departments, the Commissioners complaining that "the credit of the navy is so impaired, *... y-*ment of bills due 10, nay 14 months past, are such that people will not trust the State," that even *... yards were 12 months behind in their wages*<sup>169</sup>. The Army Committee objected that "there have been so many alterations and additions to the establishment of 15 Oct. 1655, that the issue of money to the forces is much disordered," and requesting an entirely new establishment, which *... 170*. In addition the Army Committee was ordered to assign £8,000 for the forces in Ireland, £11,400 for those in Scotland; and the remainder of £210,000 "payable on the 6 months' assessment ending Dec. 25 1656," for the forces in England.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Latin original, countersigned by Tharloe, in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. *Cop. Pol. Anglois*, vol. 60, f. 264, nr. *entre* Ann. II (1658). P. F. in slightly

also in *Columbia Milton*, no. 144. Cp. Masson, v, 394.

<sup>165</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1658-9), pp. xviii, 87-88.

<sup>166</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1658-9), pp. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>167</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1658-9), pp. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>168</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1658-9), p. 90, text in *Pub. Intell.*, July 12-19.

<sup>169</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1658-9), pp. 85-87.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.



On July 6 was passed the draught declaration for the day of thanksgiving which had been recommended by the Council on July 3,<sup>173</sup> and on that same day the Lord Mayor of London with the sheriffs and aldermen attended the Protector and through Lislebone Long congratulated him on the escape from "the late horrible Conspiracie" and for bringing the conspirators to justice. The next day some of those conspirators were, indeed, led to the scaffold, when Ashton and Betteley were executed and Fryer was reprieved when he was on the ladder. On the 9th Allen, Stacy and Sumner were led to execution, but only Stacy was hanged, the other two being reprieved.<sup>174</sup> Meanwhile in Leeds, Thomas Harrison, high sheriff of York, Francis Allanson, alderman of Leeds and others, as directed by the Protector and Council,<sup>175</sup> examined various individuals supposedly involved in a plot "to drive the sub-commissioners of excise, and their agents" out of town on May 26, the day set for the London rising, but they failed to discover that the accused "had any further design, or that they corresponded with the Popish or malignant party, or any . . . Quakers," though several hundred of the last group had been meeting in the vicinity.<sup>176</sup> In addition to this, private adventurers petitioned his Highness for satisfaction for damages sustained by the loss of the *Postillion*, the *Frederick* and the *Francis and John* taken by the Dutch. . . . with the consent of the Council, the Protector issued letters patent permitting Robert Nicholas to act as assize judge for Wiltshire.

*Oliver by the grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland & Ireland and the Dominions & Territories thereunto belonging*

To all to whome these presents shall come, Greeting

Whereas by the Statute in Parliament held at Westminster the sixteenth day of January in the three & thirtieth year of the Reigne of Henry the eight

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88, cp. pp. 82-83.

<sup>174</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, July 5-12.

<sup>175</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1658-9), pp. 47-49.

<sup>176</sup> Thos. Harrison to the Protector, July 7, Thurloe, vii, 242, information taken July 6, *ibid.*, pp. 240-42.

<sup>177</sup> Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 269. On July 16/26 Downing delivered "by express order . . . a copy of a petition . . . presented to his Highness by divers merchants of the East Indy Company . . . concerning 3 ships . . . taken . . . by some ships belonging to the East Indy Company of the United Provinces" demanding their

been by the approbation, consent or knowledge of their Lo<sup>ps</sup> . . . so he doubts not . . . they will speedily make it appeare . . . how farre they are from suffering such practices . . . & how much they value the mayntenance of that peace . . . & how farre they will be from necessitating of him to seek his right by any other way" (Downing's *Diary*, p. 101).

late king of England It was enacted & established by authority of the same  
 that no Justice nor other Man learned in the Law should use or exercise the office of Justice of Assize within any county where

the said Justice was borne or inhabited under paine to forfeite for every offence done against the forme of that Act One hundred pounds as in the Statute aforesaid more fully is conteyned Knowe yee that in respect to Justice and the publique good in the County of Wiltes Wee have granted and by these presents doe grant to our trusty and welbeloved Robert Nicholas

the said county of Wiltes by virtue of our letters was borne & inhabiteth in the said County of Wiltes, and that without any payne or forfeiture of any sume of Money in the name of a payne or penalty by him for the same any way to be forfeited or lost The Statute aforesaid or any other Statute Act Ordinance Law or Custome to the contrary thereof made ordeyned or provided in any wise notwithstanding In Witnes . . .

OLIVER P<sup>177</sup>

On Saturday, July 10, the Protector went to Hampton Court, where he stayed for over a month, attended by his Council, with which he met more frequently than he had of late in town.<sup>178</sup> There he received news from abroad, which was, on the whole, encouraging. From the Hague Downing wrote that the preacher in the English church there no longer prayed for Charles Stuart, but in effect for the Protector;<sup>179</sup> that de Witt had at first seemed satisfied that Cromwell would be willing to advise with Holland about his designs abroad, but later objected that the Protector "did wholly manage the counsells of the king of France to the advantage of England" since he had acquired his foothold in Flanders, but "that the king of Swethland did wholly manage the counsell of his Highness to his advantage, and the prejudice of England," since Sweden was so powerful in the Baltic. Downing suggested that it was partly the fault of Holland that Sweden occupied such a position in the Baltic, since the Dutch had hindered a separate peace between Sweden and Denmark, which

<sup>177</sup> Facsimile in *Magg's Cat* 616 (Christmas 1935), Plate II "Signed to be His Highness pleasure by Mr. Seely Thurloe" and executed by Nathaniel Taylor, Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery, received July 9

<sup>178</sup> G. V. (1657-c) 22-23, 161  
 that very d  
 direction was sent "to John Barrington to bring into his highness presence the merchants Robt Knightly, John Pmell and Jeremiah Baxter, petitioners for relief in a debt of £700 owed them by one Capt Ant Strange who had escaped after killing Capt Geo Bowyer The Protector desired them "to speak with him in this business for his better information" (*Cal S P Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 467, cp *ibid.*, pp. 460-61)

<sup>179</sup> Downing to Thurloe, July 11/21, Thurloe, vii, 257

would have reduced the power of the Swedes.<sup>180</sup> Meanwhile the Protector gave Thurloe "immediate command" to write to Downing to tell him to represent to the States General how necessary it was to make peace with Portugal.

to w<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup>nesse's name to the lords the States ( <sup>h</sup> thinks it, as well in respect of their own state, as of their neighbours and allies, that a peace be made betwixt his majesty the king of Portugall and them, for many weighty considerations, which you by your former instructions . . . are able to demonstrate <sup>h</sup> and fri<sup>h</sup> said king and states, that being accepted, and his highnesse continuieing in the same good intentions, <sup>h</sup> gall ambassador to use all ending and composing of the said differences, and to use your utmost diligence to obtain in the firste place a cessation of acts of all hostility, as a necessary preparative for a finall conclusion<sup>181</sup>

However, <sup>h</sup> apology for Montagu's detention of some seven Dutch ships in the Downs on their way from Cadiz, concerning which Montagu had written for instructions<sup>182</sup> and had been told by Cromwell to release them at once<sup>183</sup> On his part Lockhart recommended giving Mazam 2,000 more men for the summer if the English could be relieved of besieging Gravelines by sea. It had been found more expensive to keep Dunkirk than to take it, and he did not, therefore, recommend accepting either Bergues or Furnes, whose cession had been suggested to the Protector<sup>184</sup> Finally it was reported that Leopold, king of Hungary, had been elected Emperor on July 8, his coronation to take place on July 15/25 at Frankfurt. <sup>h</sup> to be done out of design to oblige Germany <sup>h</sup> July 13, as usual, and was then summoned to meet on Thursday at Hampton Court, where the Protector

<sup>180</sup> C. . . Downing was reported to have received on July 10/20 an order from the Protector to let the Elector know through John Copes that he was sorry that the King of Sweden had denied audience to the Elector's envoy at Flusburg, with an offer that the Protector would be happy to . . . (Copes to Elector,

<sup>182</sup> Montagu to Thurloe, Jul . . .

<sup>184</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July . . .

<sup>184</sup> Lockhart to Thurloe, Jul . . .

<sup>185</sup> *Pub Intell*, July 19-26

11-9), p. 224.

was able to attend.<sup>186</sup> One guess as to the occasion for the meeting there was that Lockhart had arrived secretly and the whole Council met with him and Cromwell on Wednesday<sup>187</sup> and transacted their regular business on Thursday. Though Giavarina suggested that since there had been no recent news from Flanders, something must be afoot,<sup>188</sup> from the Council reports there seemed to be nothing out of the ordinary. The principal business was, as usual, finance, especially an effort to meet the expenses of Dunkirk, Mardyke and Jamaica, with the necessity for shipping more troops and supplies to Dunkirk.<sup>189</sup> According to Thurloe's statement of the "state of the cash," there was £7,210/9/7 "resting in the receipt of the Exchequer," against which there were charges of something over £57,000.<sup>190</sup> This, if anything, was a gross understatement of the government's indebtedness, which, even according to Thurloe's own figures, was over £100,000<sup>191</sup> and this takes no account of previous deficiencies and obligations. It was on this ground that Giavarina wrote that the convening of Parliament

will not be postponed any longer because the great shortage of money and the

energy beyond the sea, [They] will also take up again the question of conferring the royal title on the Protector, I know on good authority that the question was recently raised in the secret Council.<sup>192</sup>

This may have been the group of nine concerning which Thurloe had earlier written to Henry Cromwell, and it may have been connected with what he now wrote, that,

His Highnes, findeing he can have noe advise from those he most expected it from, sayth, he will take his owne resolutions, and that he cannot any longer satisfie hymselfe to sitt still, and make himselfe guilty of the losse of all the

<sup>186</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1658-9), p. xxiii

<sup>187</sup> Ayloff to Langley, July 15, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 5, App. p. 183 (*Sutherland Mss.*)

<sup>188</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 16/26, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 226

<sup>189</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom* (1658-9), p. 100. "order the counterparts of all such conveyances of land as were passed, and the reconveyances by purchasers for security of money unpaid" to be given to their solicitor, the Admiralty judges, their advocate and Gabl Beck to return accounts at once. Mr Ashley (*Fin. and Comm. Policy under the Protectorate*) calculates that, excluding the deficits of Scotland and Ireland, in 1658 the total revenues fell short of expenditure by over £1,000,000 a year.

<sup>190</sup> Thurloe, vii, 264-65

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265

<sup>192</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 16/26, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 226

honest partye and of the nation itselſe, and truly I have long wiſhed, that his Highneſſe would proceede accordinge to his owne ſatisfaction, and not ſoe much conſider others, who truly are to be indulged in every thinge but where the beinge of the nation is concerned <sup>154</sup>

At the ſame time by advice of the Council the Protector ſigned a grant to the Univerſity of Edinburgh:

*Grant to Edinburgh Univerſity*

Oliver by the Grace of God Lord Protector of the Comon Wealthe of Eng-

rentes thereof are exceeding ſmall and much thereof ariſeing out of the Beneficence of the Citty being the founders and good will to the advancement of the education of our Order beareing date given graunted and diſponed And for us and our Successors doe hereby give

of ye ſayd Univerſity ſuch uſes as ſhall be found moſt expedient By the Counsell of the Burgh of Edinburgh with advice and conſent of the Maſters and Regentes of the ſayd Univerſity All and whole the full Revenue of Two hundred poundes ſterle yearly, to be received and taken out of any Church Landes in Scotland not yet diſpoſed of, And Wee doe hereby impower and authorize our Counsell in Scotland to appoynt the locality thereof, as they ſhall thinke moſt effectually for the uſe of ye ſayd Univerſity, And ordaine our Com<sup>rs</sup> of our Exchequer in Scotland to paſſ a Signature thereupon, in ordinary forme for ſecuring the ſayd Univerſity thereof, yearly, as ſaid is, To be holden of us and our Successors in free Bleich, For the yearly paymt of a penny Engliſh money, at the Terme of Whiſunday (if it be required) allanerly And that the ſ<sup>d</sup> Signature and charter to follow ſhall be further extended with all claues needfull And ſpecially requiſed of our Privy Counſell, for the Com<sup>rs</sup> for Adminiſtracion of Juſtice to our Privy Counſell, to be ſent to the ſayd Univerſity of Horning on a charge of tenn dayes and other executorialls needfull, To com<sup>nd</sup> and charge the Fewers Farmers tennantes Takismen and others adebted in paymt of the fruites rentes emolumentes and duties of ſuch church Landes as ſhalbe given in Locality for the ſayd Revenue of Two hundred poundes ſterle yearly To readily answer obey and make thankfull payment of the ſame to the ſayd Proveſt Balies and their Successors or to their Chamberlanes in their Names for the behoofe and to the effect aforeſayd As well of all yeares and termes bygone that the ſayd Rentes are adebted and reſting owing as yearly in all

<sup>154</sup>Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, July 13, Thurloe, vii, 269

tyme coming, the termes of payment thereof being by past, And that the sayd Charter conteyne a Precept of seaseing And that preceptes be direct thereupon in due forme And further our Will and Pleasure is And wee doe hereby requyre our sayd Com<sup>rs</sup> of our Exchequer our Chancery there to pass and expedie theis presentes under our sayd Great seale of Scotland Per Saltum And for soe doinge theis presentes shalbe to them and every of them a sufficient Warr<sup>t</sup> Given at [Whitehall, this 15th of July, 1658.]<sup>195</sup>

On the next day he wrote a letter to his son Henry with regard to a certain Lieutenant-colonel Nelson, sometime active in the Irish campaign and later, it appears, still more active in transporting Irish into Spain.

*For our Dear Son the Lord Henry Cromwell, our Deputy of Ireland*

SON [HARRY],

I have received a Petition from Lieut.-Col. Nelson touching that he may have some out of lands in Ireland I do believe he hath been a very great sufferer, and that his sufferings have been of some advantage to Ireland, by carrying away those people thence And I know and so do you, the services of t<sup>h</sup> in his own person, and how well he hath deserved for the same of the Commonwealth For those considerations I was, and am, exceeding willing and indeed desirous, that something might be done for him, which might not only repair his losses but be a mark of favour to him. And therefore, although I have not done the thing he desires, as judging it not to be within my power, yet I do most earnestly recommend him unto you, desiring that you and the

family will be in a very ill condition And if you shall agree of any thing to be done by me therein you shall find me most ready to do it And so I rest,

Your affectionate father,

OLIVER P<sup>196</sup>

Hampton Court, July 16, 1658

On Tuesday the High Court of Justice met only to be adjourned to November 1,<sup>196</sup> its duty for the moment having been done The next thing was the proposal to hold another Parliament It was noted

<sup>195</sup> *Acts of the Parl<sup>t</sup> of Scotland*, vi, pt II, 877, *Cal S P D* 1658-60, no. 1658-60.

back to the Council that letters should be written accordingly, on Aug 12 the Council ordered it, and it was finally approved on Nov 3 (*Cal S P Ire* 1647-60, pp 671, 861)

<sup>196</sup> *Pub. Intell*, July 12-19

that Lord and Lady Falconbridge had gone to the north, Richard Cromwell and his wife to the west, "all . . . to engage the gentlemen and others of the country to assist such in the election as they shall propose,"<sup>197</sup> Cromwell himself remaining at Hampton Court at the bedside of Elizabeth who was dangerously ill. Richard seems to have returned almost at once for he was reported to have arrived at Hampton Court on Saturday and "was received by their Highnesses with the usuall demonstrations of their high affection toward his lordship."<sup>198</sup> On that same day the Protector knighted Colonel Henry Jones for his distinguished service at Dunkirk where he had fought beside Fenwick, who was killed.<sup>199</sup> At the same time, it was said, the Protector had effected a reconciliation between Lord Pembroke and his wife.<sup>200</sup>

Of such unimportant details was the Protector's life made up at this moment. From abroad Downing reported a Cavalier attempt to stab him, because of displeasure at his spoiling their haven in the Hague and causing Charles Stuart no longer to be prayed for<sup>201</sup>—but it may be that the Protector was not so much concerned. Meanwhile, he wrote, he had . . . the East India business concerning which the Protector had complained.<sup>202</sup> Lockhart wrote that Mazariin wanted another 2,000 foot, which Lockhart suggested be reduced to 1,000–1,500. The . . . ing another treaty, hinting that . . . ing came of it.<sup>204</sup> Meadows used the dissolution of Parliament as an excuse for not providing Charles X. Gustavus with his £30,000 as promised; and the Protector sent that monarch a friendly letter—but no money.<sup>205</sup>

### *To Charles Gustavus of Sweden*

MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, GOOD FRIEND AND ALLY

From the letter of Your Majesty, given on the twenty-fourth of June, we gladly learn that our letter has been received by Your Majesty in quite that spirit in which it was written by us, namely, the things

<sup>197</sup> R. Temple to Sir R. Leveson, July 13, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 5, App. pp. 171–72.

<sup>198</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, July 19–26.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>200</sup> Rachel Newport to Sir R. Leveson, July 13, *Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.* 5, App. p. 145.

<sup>201</sup> Downing to . . . 2.

<sup>202</sup> Same to . . .

. . .

. . .

<sup>205</sup> Charles could not understand why the Protector did not make himself king, according to Meadows (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vii, 740).

which you set forth there concerning the Evangelical Cause and Your Majesty's interests have received the proper consideration likewise with us. Indeed we know well the power and designs of the enemies uniting with each

been reckoned on in such a cause, are pressing each one from his own side against the common enemy—to be associated by the bonds of a closer alliance, in order that we may be able to offer each other mutual assistance, lest their cunning be honored with greater success for each other than our friendship. If in this affair, because of difficulties at home, we have hitherto been able to effect or contribute less than the necessity of the common interest seemed to have demanded, there is nothing which could have happened more contrary or annoying to our most favorable good will and disposition. Although we cannot, without a grateful recollection of divine favor, neglect what genuine fruits we have mutually and in turn received from this good will itself, nor how greatly that good name of the friendship of the one carried the other along the course of his successes, so that the power of friendship

services con-  
pating every-  
where the enterprises of enemies we may by the event itself, in so far as it is permitted, prove our zeal to Your Majesty, and seeing that the enemy, in enticing to their side the Prince of Brandenburg, seem to have regarded their gain as most important, since indeed it was of greater importance for him to be among us we are ready to offer our counsel and authority for recalling him, if it can be done, who has been captured and enchanted by the arts of the enemy. If we can accomplish this, we shall appear  
considerable momentum to the completion of the commo  
end we have given the necessary instructions to Philip Meadow, our ambassador to Your  
this business depends on the prud  
As for the rest,

desired end, in no respect refusing anything which is estimated to be of mutual advantage and is in our power. We shall so eagerly embrace all plans which may  
ditions, tha  
burden or take refuge in those measures which are least desirable to both  
and divert the enemy and  
the other hand, in a good disposition, that you can thenceforth fear nothing from the former and can expect everything from the latter. But we know that Your Majesty's ambassadors are to the extent of their diligence and integrity writing at length and in detail to Your Majesty and the common cause, what in fact is the present condition of affairs, how, the better God will develop and advance this condition, the more splendid proofs of this good will and the more abundant fruits Your Majesty will receive. And so we most humbly and



dutifully commend this present condition of affairs to divine favor Given from our Palace of Westminster on the sixteenth day of July in the year 1653

OLIVER P<sup>206</sup>

With the Protector's move to Hampton Court the Council's programme changed. It met at Hampton Court on Tuesday the 20th, with the Protector present for a time, and then again on Thursday.<sup>207</sup> But meanwhile it voted to sit every Tuesday at London, and every Thursday at Hampton Court for the time being.<sup>208</sup> The part of its business which was not secret was confined mainly to considering petitions,<sup>209</sup> and renewing the charter of Tewkesbury.<sup>210</sup> Giavarina repeated his account of the preparations being made for the meeting of Parliament in September, and though there seems no other evidence to this effect, it is not improbable.<sup>211</sup> At the Tuesday meeting a letter of July 14 to the Protector from the Irish authorities was read asking a competent guard of ships to secure the coast and recommending Kinsale as a better place for victualling than Milford Haven, which was accordingly ordered, with regard to sending small vessels to ply on the south and west coasts, and due regard to the cost.<sup>212</sup> Wednesday, the day appointed for thanksgiving for the success in Flanders, was kept by the Protector and Council at Court.<sup>213</sup> On July 22 Thurloe wrote to Captain Fairfax to countermand the earlier order by which he had been sent with five ships under command of Stokes to aid the French, which he was now to disregard. On his part Whetstone complained of the lack of respect of his captains, who did not give "any great sign of their affection and duty to his Highness, by putting any dishonour upon one so nearly related to him"<sup>214</sup>—which is perhaps a greater reflection on Whetstone than on Cromwell.

With these were mingled other lesser matters of administration. Dr Thomas Clarges, Monk's brother-in-law, in London to attend the customs commissioners, found that all sums above a certain amount must be forfeited "and till a parliament provides to the contrary . . . no relief can be given . . . but by privy seal from his

<sup>206</sup> Latin original, countersigned by Thurloe, in the Riksarkivet in Stockholm, in Anglica, "Parlamentets och Protektorernas originalbref till svenska konungahuset, 1645-1660" *Pr. infra*, App II (28).

<sup>207</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1658-9), pp. xviii, 99.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>209</sup> Anne, widow of Capt. John Ward, killed at Dunkirk, Lazarus Armenio on whose behalf Cromwell had written to Stokes, *ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>211</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 23/Aug. 2, *Cal S. P. Dom* (1658-9), p. 220.

<sup>212</sup> *Cal S. P. Irel* (1647-60), pp. 671, 861, cp. 11.

<sup>213</sup> Whetstone to Cromwell, July 19-26.

<sup>214</sup> Whetstone to Cromwell, July 19-26, Thurloe, vii, 285.

Highness," so that the commissioners believe the law too strict and suggested that Henry Cromwell "move his Highness in it, that privy seals may be graunted accordingly, as occasion shall require."<sup>215</sup> Biddle, the Unitarian, wrote to thank the Protector for the 10s a week allowed him while he was a prisoner in the Scillies, noting that now he was free he could find other means of subsistence.<sup>216</sup> And, incidentally, the Protector appointed a Mr. Abercrombie rector of Wyberton, Lincolnshire.<sup>217</sup> Hearing that Nieupoort was arriving at Gravesend on Saturday he ordered a reception and sent Andrew Marvell with the Protectorial barge to receive him. It appears that Nieupoort sent his son from Gravesend to advise Thurloe and Fleming of his arrival, Giavarina reported that Cromwell sent Thurloe "to London on purpose to find out the business on which the Dutch minister has been sent again,"<sup>218</sup> and that Thurloe sent a letter by Marvell who was instructed to say that "it would be most acceptable to his Highness if he would willingly omit any opportunity, to declare his good intention to the same, although it were but in point of ceremony, and desired therefore, that I would take such resolution concerning my coming to London, as I should judge would give the most content to your high and mighty lordships."<sup>219</sup> Such were the niceties of the Protector's court. With them went a complaint from Sir Thomas Antinople that the Venetians had shot at the *Lewis* frigate and asking for redress and protection<sup>220</sup>—which undoubtedly gave Giavarina more to do than to gather up gossip about the Protectoral court.

Such was the way in which the Protector spent what were to be the last days of his life. On 11 July the Council met, as agreed, on 11 July. William Marvell was at Hampton Court, where the Protector attended.<sup>221</sup> At the first meeting it discussed Fleetwood's report on the Protector's desire for an estimate of the number of men wanted for the next year's fleet and empowered the Admiralty Committee to provide for 30,000 men for six months. It appears also that, in addition, the Mediterranean fleet was to order victuals accordingly from the Admiralty Commissioners until October 1, and

<sup>215</sup> *ibid.*, p. 283.

<sup>216</sup> *ibid.*, p. 288.

<sup>217</sup> Wm F. Gable, offered by Am. Art. Assn., Feb.

13, 1924, *Cut* III, no. 287.

<sup>218</sup> Nieupoort to States General, July 30/Aug. 9, Thurloe, VII, 298, Giavarina to Thurloe, Aug. 9, Thurloe, VII, 298.

<sup>219</sup> Thurloe, VII, 298.

<sup>220</sup> *ibid.*, p. 287.

<sup>221</sup> *ibid.*, p. 283.

to call in defective ships and send substitutes so that the fleet would remain the same size. Also at his Highness' request £6,000 was to be provided immediately for Lockhart for the expenses incurred in constructing the works for the Dunkirk garrison, and the Council appointed a committee to " . . . . . " In connection with the naval situation the Protector apparently had "directed that the squadron in the Straits be continued out the next winter, except the *Tredagh*, *Jersey*, and *Yarmouth*, now coming home"<sup>222</sup> Mingled with these greater affairs was the order for the payment of Henry Bishop as apothecary to Ely House, which had been authorized by the Protector Feb. 25, 1657-8 and continued on June, 1658<sup>223</sup>—which, among other things, seems to indicate how scarce money was. And among these minutiae it appears that the Protector wrote a letter to Arthur Jones, Viscount Ranelagh of Ireland, the husband of Katherine, Lord Broghill's sister, protesting Ranelagh's treatment of his wife;<sup>224</sup> and that on July 29 he signed a document with regard to the custody of an idiot.

### Order

#### OLIVER P

Oliver by the grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. To all to whom etc Greeting

Whereas by an Inquisition taken at Churchover in our county of Warwick, the sixteenth day of June in the year of our Lord God One thousand six hundred fifty and eight John Drought of Bramcote in our said county of Warwick is found to be an Idiot and not able to govern himself or his estate And whereas security with two sureties is given in our court of Chancery on the behalf of the said Idiot as in such cases is used by Scarning Philipps of Wolvey in our said county of Warwick thereunto Know ye that we have given committed and granted, and by these presents do give commit and

reversions services and hereditaments and of the rents revenues & profits thereof which the said John Drought hath or ought to have in possession or reversion and which by any lawful ways or means at any time or times hereafter may or ought to come descend or grow out onto the said John Drought and which . . . . . our said county of . . . . . land and also the custody and order of all the goods chattels farms, stock, stores plate money debts jewels wares merchandises and other commodities and profits whatsoever to the said John Drought belonging or in any wise

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, pp xxiii, 101-2, 431.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, p 103.

<sup>224</sup> Waylen, *House of Cromwell*, p. 296; cp Thurloe, vii, 396.

appertaining and the use and merchandising of the same unto the use behoof  
 of the said John Drought and to the relief sustentation  
 of his children and family (if any be) and also for the  
 preservation safeguard and reparation of the messuages lands tenements  
 houses farms and premises aforesaid during the Idio[cy of] the said John  
 Drought To have and to hold the said premises unto the said Scarning

chattels and debts aforesaid once every year and as often and whensoever the  
 Chancellor Keeper or Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal for the  
 time being shall think fit, and shall also obey and fulfill the judgment and  
 sentence of the Chancellor Keeper or Commissioners aforesaid of and upon  
 all causes growing upon the same Accompt In witness, etc.<sup>225</sup>

Thurloe was in London on Wednesday, July 28, and gave the for-  
 eign envoys an opportunity to communicate their business to him.  
 Among them was Giavarina who gave Thurloe the reply to the Pro-  
 tector's letter about sending Holdipp to the Morea. He also offered  
 congratulations on the discovery of the plots and the success in  
 Flanders, "because many of the foreign ministers did so and  
 . . . it pleased the Protector greatly." He also gave Thurloe an  
 account of the power of the Turks, their threat to the Venetian re-  
 public and the need for combined assistance in the cause of Christen-  
 dom, to which Thurloe replied,

the Protector would be only too glad to see the republic relieved of the most

guard for your Excellencies by his deeds and do his duty to Christendom. His  
 wish to serve the republic was very great, but he could not give it effect be-  
 cause of commitments at home and abroad which absorbed all the money  
 and which demanded all his diligence and attention

To this Giavarina added his cynical observation that all this talk  
 was wholly futile because "they are utterly destitute of money."<sup>226</sup>

<sup>225</sup> Various endorsements "To his Highness the Lord Protector. May it please  
 your Highness to grant you Letters Patents under the great Seal of England in due  
 form and made according to the tenor hereof bearing date the 28th of July 1658, on the face,  
 August 3, 1658, on the  
 ers of the Great Seal

of I  
 App 11, p 199), which Ramsey says he bought (*Studies in Cromwell's Family Circle*,  
 etc (1930), p 120)

<sup>226</sup> Giavarina to Doge, July 30/Aug. 9, *Cal S. P. Ven* (1657-9), pp. 229-30.

Thurloe added his account of the reappearance of Nieupoort. "He comes," wrote Thurloe,

with very sweet words in his mouth, but I beleeve that his Highnesse, nor the concerned merchants, will be satisfied with words for their carnage in the East Indies, where they make nothinge of declareinge enmity against our men, takeinge their ships, and imprisoning their persons, and if very good satisfaction be not given here for those things, it will very much shake the peace between the two states<sup>227</sup>

Nieupoort had hoped to see the Protector in London on Tuesday the 27th when he came up for the Council, but on that day Thurloe told him that Cromwell would not leave Elizabeth; though on Thursday Cromwell sent orders by Fleming to Nieupoort that the latter should appear at Hampton Court for audience on Friday the 30th, at 3.30 in the afternoon. So Fleming brought the Dutch ambassador out in three horse coaches, all of which were filled with three six horse coaches. He was received by Thurloe and

"brought into the lodging of the lord protector, who told me, that his own indisposition, and other domestick inconveniencies, had hindered him from coming to London, and to speak with me there. Having answered to this with due compliments, after that, he had caused the company to withdraw, and only with the lord president, Laurence, and the secretary of state, and the Lord Stuckland being stay'd by him,"

the differences with Portugal, the marine for "by reason of" did not think fit to trouble him with a large said, that he had offered his mediation with a sincere inclination, and that there is nothing, which he would more willingly see, than that your high and mighty lordships should

others, to resume the business further with me, and that the business should work shall be brought scoured somewhat in be glad to hear your high and might

<sup>227</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell

<sup>228</sup> Nieupoort to Secretary of State

vii, 299

"for a Conference touch-  
h he says "that his most

Memorall of the 9th of August last past [July 30], have commanded him the sayd Resident to use his utmost endeavours together with the Amb<sup>r</sup> of France that repa-

While Elizabeth had been desperately ill at Hampton Court, with her father in close attendance on her, he himself was taking the opportunity to travel which coincided with him for the time the work he was at.

Henry Cromwell wrote two letters of recommendation, one for a Mr. [Theophilus?] Sandford for "his service in the army" and one for Colonel Axtell,

who had served in Ireland, to have some foreign service, which his Highness "was pleased to have some discourse with him about, before he came hither." Axtell, who was noted for his harshness and had been a member of the party opposed to Henry Cromwell, had either made his peace with Henry or had so conducted himself that Henry was satisfied with his conduct. It was noted that Axtell's conduct in Ireland had been good.

For the moment, however, the chief difficulty was with the Dutch. Downing was finally getting some results from his protests over the capture of the ships at Bantam, concerning which the Protector had written on June 25. On July 26/Aug 5 Downing had presented another memorial, partly about the ships taken off the Flanders coast, but

yet further encouraged to give other such like proofes as lately he hath done of his sincere intentions not to molest or hinder the traffike of their subjects with his enemies & whereby it will be made appeare to the whole world how little their Lo<sup>d</sup> doe value the private and particular Interests of any particular persons or Companies in comparison of so solemne a peace made betweene his Master and the United Provinces.<sup>220</sup>

The ships involved were the *Postillion*, the *Frederick*, the *Francis* and *John*, and finally the *Isaac* of Bantam, which the States General finally agreed to restore, but grudgingly, insisting that the Dutch

reparation & satisfaction may be made by the Crown of Portugal to this State & their present

equi-

, Thuroloze, vii, 295, 309. Mary Cromwell and her husband returned to Hampton Court on Friday, July 30 (*Pub Intell*, July 26-Aug 2).

<sup>220</sup> Henry C.

<sup>221</sup> J.

<sup>222</sup> J.



he betook himself to your majesty humbly demanded the judgment of the conservator, appointed to determine the causes of the English, but was sent back to the cognizance of that court, from which he had appealed. Which though in itself not unjust, yet seeing it is evident, that the merchants of Tamira make an ill use of your public edict to justify their own private cozenage, we make it our earnest request to your majesty, that according to your wonted clemency you would rather refer to the conservator, being the proper judge in these cases, the cause of this poor man afflicted by many casualties, and reduced to utmost poverty, to the end he may recover the remainder of his fortunes from the faithless partnership of those people. Which when you rightly understand the business, we make no question, but will be no less pleasing to your majesty [to see done], than to ourselves. From our court at Westminster, Aug 1658.<sup>237</sup>

More and more business tended to be transacted by the Council, very often without the presence of the Protector. It met on Tuesday, August 3, in London, and on Thursday at Hampton Court, Cromwell being absent, partly, no doubt, on account of his health and partly on account of the condition of his daughter, Elizabeth.<sup>238</sup> Part of its time was taken up with a new development in Scotland. There had appeared a document known as the *Testimony of the Presbytery of Jedburgh*, which was condemned as "an eminent affront and dishonour to the State . . . in contempt of . . . the Act of Settlement,—and tending to the disturbance of the peace." Its subscribers were therefore to be reprimanded and ordered "to attend to their flocks diligently in future, without meddling with matters so much above their cognizance."<sup>239</sup> Monk considered Colonel Kerr the one most responsible for this outburst "and he had the least reason of any man in Scotland to do it, being in the condition of a prisoner, and so much obliged to his Highness."<sup>240</sup> From this they turned to schedule a meeting with the Merchant Adventurers to hear the petition of persons connected with the new draperies in Essex and Suffolk.<sup>241</sup> It also considered a letter from the Irish Council with regard to the establishment of lighthouses on the Irish coasts, which seemed to meet the usual fate of such communications—reference to a committee.<sup>242</sup> The business on Thursday was mostly in connection with two letters from Lockhart, resulting in the ordering of supplies for

<sup>237</sup> C. . . . . *Columbia Milton*, no 121, cp Masson, v, 396

<sup>238</sup> . . . . .

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*, pp 104, 107-8

<sup>240</sup> Monk to Thurloe, Aug 24, Thurloe, vii, 356

<sup>241</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), pp. 106-7

<sup>242</sup> *Cal S. P. Irel* (1647-60), pp 672, 861, cp. Dunlop, ii, 682-84 and notes.



Dunkirk, with lesser matters, chiefly personal, but including a demand for more money.<sup>243</sup>

All public business, so far as the Protector was concerned, was, however, subject to the health of his daughter, Elizabeth, who for some time had not been expected to recover. As Marvell wrote,

A silent fire now wasts those Limbs of Wax,  
And him within his tortur'd Image racks

She lest He grieve hides what She can her pains,  
And He to lessen Hers his Sorrow feigns.<sup>244</sup>

She apparently suffered from cancer<sup>245</sup> and there was, it seems, no hope for her from the beginning. It affected the Protector deeply, as appears in Harvey's tribute

The sense of her outward misery in the pains she endured, took deep impression upon him, who indeed ever was a most indulgent and tender Father,

And no doubt but the sympathy of his spirit with his sorely afflicted and dying Daughter, considering also his great burdens, cares, and labours in Government, Hard censures, bitter reproaches, and unjust calumnies from friends . . . . . enemies, of all whom hee better

of the world, as far as the Protestant Interest extended. It was enough to have deprest and sunk the stoutest and most undaunted courage in the world.<sup>246</sup>

In any event she died about three o'clock on the morning of August 6, at Hampton Court, and it is scarcely too much to say that Cromwell was not the man to be easily comforted, since it was reported that he "was so affected by the death of his daughter that he would of affairs went on despite the Protector's grief." Giavarina reported the arrival of a deputy from Danzig in London, one Cavalier George Wa[u]stenhoff, resident in Holland, to treat with the Protector in regard to assistance in keeping the Baltic open. "Some say he has already arrived and is living incognito, . . . They say that the Dutch inspired this mission to secure a backing for Nieuport about the Baltic, the trade of which is vital to them, for without it they would be ruined."<sup>247</sup> He may, indeed, have come over with Nieuport a short time before and remained incognito, for Downing had reported as

<sup>243</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1658-9), p. 109, Lockhart to Thurloe, Aug. 2, Thurloe, vii, 308.

<sup>244</sup> Marvell, "Poem upon the death of O. C." in *Poems and Letters* (ed. Margolouth), i, 124.

<sup>245</sup> Ludlow, ii, 41.

<sup>246</sup> [C. Harvey], *A Collection of several Passages*, etc. (1659), pp. 1-2.

<sup>247</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 6/16, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1657-9), p. 233.

early as May 14 that he had been ordered "to . . . to London, earnestly to beg his Highness's favour . . . to be half [of Danzig] . . . and . . . is to cross the Sea with him [Nieupoort]." To crown this episode, the newssheets reported, as might be expected, that on August 3 the oath of allegiance to Cromwell was taken by the townsmen at Dunkirk, "with very much chearfulness and resolution; but the Soldiers deserve high commendation, who echoed forth their fidelity with . . . *Long live the Protector.*"<sup>248</sup>

It was good to have some agreeable news from somewhere at this moment. Downing reported from the Hague that so far as he could judge, there was not as yet any treaty of the States General which would engage them against Sweden. De Witt complained that whereas the Protector had managed the French alliance to his own advantage, the king of Sweden had managed England to his and to the prejudice of England. None the less Downing, acting under the Protector's orders, did what he could to smooth the way to an arrangement. The Swedish representative, Appelboom, declared that his king would not ratify the "ilucidations" while de Witt was "very unwilling to quitt them, and both sides doe confess that there is very little in the ilucidations, which is not in the treaty itself; . . . and in comply . . . ought de Witt to consent, that if . . . that as to what concerns matter of trade . . . he would referr it to his Highness, whereby they might be assured to have the tolles adjusted afterwards."<sup>249</sup> The problem was difficult for all parties concerned. Charles X Gustavus was determined to control the Baltic, including Danzig, if possible. Cromwell was strongly in favor of Sweden but anxious to keep the Baltic open for trade. To the Dutch the freedom of trade in the Baltic was all but indispensable, and they were especially anxious to keep open the passage to Danzig. The Danzigers were fiercely independent. The Danes, caught in these conflicting interests, had just been defeated by the Swedes, but they had a friend in Holland. It was to the interest of the Protector to prevent further hostilities if possible, and to keep on good terms with Sweden without breaking with Holland, and he proposed, therefore, to act as a mediator among these rival powers, meanwhile keeping in view the mercantile interests of his country in the Baltic.

It was especially hard on him at this moment to be involved in such a complicated situation, not only on account of the death of his daughter but on account of his own ill health. Elizabeth was buried on Tuesday, August 10, in Henry VII's chapel at midnight, the funeral procession having arrived by water at the Painted Chamber at eleven

<sup>248</sup> . . . May 14/24, Thurloe, vii, 130

<sup>249</sup> Downing to Thurloe, Aug. 4/14, Thurloe, vii, 310.

that night <sup>251</sup> The funeral was simple, by the Protector's order, <sup>252</sup> but he was not able to attend, because he was so ill of the gout, so that Mrs Cromwell and Mary, Lady Falconbridge, stayed with him, and the family was represented by Richard and Lord Falconbridge, with Mrs—or Lady—Wilkins, Cromwell's sister, as the chief mourner <sup>253</sup> The Protector was still unable to attend the Council meeting at Hampton Court on Thursday at which some Irish business was considered, <sup>254</sup> together with the petition of the merchants on whose behalf Cromwell had remonstrated with the Dutch government <sup>255</sup> A letter to the Council in Scotland was ordered to assist Martin Noel and his deputies in the collection of the excise on salt there, <sup>256</sup> confirmed by a proclamation by the Protector commissioning Noel and his deputies on the expiration of the term of the former farmers and ordering the matter passed the excise and chancery officers in Scotland under the Great Seal of Scotland. <sup>257</sup> Besides these administrative minutiae, on August 13 at Hampton Court the Protector made Attorney General Prideaux and Solicitor General Ellis baronets <sup>258</sup>—and on the next day was reported as being in better health <sup>259</sup> It was evident, however, that it was none too good He was breaking fast, and there is no better evidence of that than the fact that there remain no documents from his pen, nor with his signature after that event. The death of Elizabeth, coming in the midst of his own sufferings, marked the end of his activity In a sense it marked the end of his Protectorate. The rest was an anti-climax, and though the play had to be carried on to the end, that end was already in sight

## II

As the month of August, 1658, wore on it became more and more apparent that the end of the Protector approached He had not been well for nearly a year, and in spite of his efforts to rest at Hampton Court, in spite of his drinking of the waters recommended by his physicians could do, it was only too evident that he was failing fast None the less he had to go on. He could not retire, even had he wished He could not, like

<sup>251</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 9-16, cp *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vii, 46, for a full description

<sup>252</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 13/23, *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 236

<sup>253</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 161

<sup>254</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 9-16, *Cal. S. P. Irel.* (1647-60), pp. 861-62.

<sup>255</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 9-16, Foster, *Court Minutes*, v, 276-77

<sup>256</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ven.* (1657-9), p. 236

etc. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Repts.*, *Home Mss.*, p. 202

<sup>258</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Aug. 9-16.

<sup>259</sup> *Clarke Papers*, iii, 161, Thurloe, vii, 337.

a legitimate sovereign, abdicate. There was no competent successor in sight. As he had drawn into his own hands little by little the entire power of the state, he had failed to provide any one who could take his place when he was gone, and that situation had already begun to disturb those who until this time had carried the burden of administration. The reports of his health varied almost from day to day, but it is evident that it was very bad. First he was said to have considerably recovered from a dangerous illness, then on Tuesday, the 17th, "he went abroad for an houre, and findes himselfe much refreshed by it"<sup>280</sup> The next day, however, he succumbed again to what was diagnosed as a fit of tertian ague, which left him promptly but soon recurred.<sup>281</sup>

He was still greatly depressed over Elizabeth's death,

13 Which read, said hee (to use his own words as near as I can remember them) This Scripture did once save my life, when my eldest Son died, which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did

And then repeating the words of the Text himself, declared his then Contentment, 'tis true, *Paul*, you have learnt this, and attained to this measure of grace, but what shall I do? Ah poor creature, it is a hard lesson for mee to take out, I finde it so! But reading on to the 13th verse, where *Paul* saith, *I can do all things*

Christ, is my Christ too, And so drew waters out of the well of salvation, Christ, in the Covenant of Grace.<sup>282</sup>

He was well enough to attend the meeting of the Council at Hampton Court on Thursday, the 19th; to assent to an order authorizing Robert Guibon to convey the Duke of Buckingham to the Tower,<sup>283</sup> and to consider Thomas Lock's patent for mines royal in Derbyshire;<sup>284</sup> but he either was unable or did not wish to see Nieu-poort who appeared for an audience.<sup>285</sup> On the other hand George Fox wrote,

I met him riding into Hampton Court Park, and before I came at him, he was riding in the head of his lifeguard, and I saw and felt a waft of death go forth

<sup>280</sup> Thurloe, vii, 321, 340, *Clarke Papers*, iii, 161

<sup>281</sup> Thurloe, vii, 354-55, 364

<sup>282</sup> Harvey, *Coll of Several Passages*, pp 10-11.

<sup>283</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), pp 117, 579 He was committed Aug 24 (*Pub. Intell*, Aug 23-30)

<sup>284</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), p 118, *Pub Intell*, Aug 16-23

<sup>285</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug 20/30, *Cal. S. P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 237

against him, that he looked like a dead man, and when I had spoken to him of the sufferings of Friends and warned him as I was moved to speak to him he bid me come to his house . . . and the next day [I] went up to Hampton Court, and then he was very sick, and Harvey told me, which was one of his men that waited upon him, that the doctors was not willing I should come in to speak with him<sup>266</sup>

Nevertheless, sick as he was, he was not able to escape entirely from business in the intervals of his attacks. That pressed on him from every side. In addition to Fox, the Quaker Edward Burrough addressed a letter to the Protector, but, as Burrough said bitterly—and perhaps not very truthfully—the Protector was “too busy with his own schemes of family aggrandisement to care much what persecution fell upon the Quakers”<sup>267</sup>. He was not too ill nor too busy to send his secretary, Malyn, to interview Naylor, perhaps with a view to his release, but the visit came to nothing, apparently owing to Naylor’s obstinacy<sup>268</sup>. In the meantime Pell, Jephson and Bradshaw had all returned to London<sup>269</sup> but Meadows found himself in a difficult position—he could neither leave nor do any good by staying, on account of Sweden’s invasion of Denmark. He had gone directly from Copenhagen to Charles X, and there might be a suspicion that he was a party to . . . as to his next step . . .

qualms as to his attack on Denmark, for on August 18 he directed to the Protector an apology for the move, to be delivered by Barckman who was being sent back to Cromwell for this particular purpose<sup>271</sup>—a letter, incidentally, which Barckman was probably unable to deliver.

At the same time the Danish king wrote to the Protector protesting the Swedish action in breaking the peace and asking aid from England;<sup>272</sup> while across the Channel the siege of Gravelines had finally ended in its surrender. Negotiations were begun on August 17/27 and three days later the garrison marched out of the place and in accordance with the agreement retreated to Newport<sup>273</sup>. All this happened too late to be of much interest to the Protector who, by his doctors’ advice, returned to Whitehall on August 24. He was very ill, and word was sent to Henry Cromwell of his father’s condition,

<sup>266</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginning of* . . .

<sup>267</sup> “Memoir of Edward Burroughs” . . .

<sup>268</sup> Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 272, from Malyn’s letter to Cromwell, Nickolls, *Orig. Letters*, pp. 143–44.

<sup>269</sup> Giavarina to Doge, Aug. 20/30, *Cal S P Ven* (1657–9), p. 238.

<sup>270</sup> Meadows to Thurloe, Aug. 16, *Eng Hist Rev*, vii, 741–42.

<sup>271</sup> Thurloe, vii, 342–43.

<sup>272</sup> Aug. 23, *cal in 47th Rept. Dep. Keeper Pub Records*, p. 76.

<sup>273</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Aug. 16–23, 23–30.

"yet it beinge a tertian, and his Highness beinge pretty well in the intervalls, the doctors doe not conceive there is any danger as to his life."<sup>274</sup> None the less "James's House" because the air was considered better there as it was the water. "The water" great discoveries of the Lord assurances of his being restored.<sup>275</sup> But no sooner had that been written than he had another attack on Tuesday night, followed, however, by a good period of rest. On Thursday night-Friday morning about two o'clock he had a re-

into a breathing sweate, which we hope he will come well out of,"<sup>276</sup> but his condition was far from good. By Saturday he was reported as having double tertian ague, two fits in twenty-four hours, "one upon the heeles of another, which doe extreamely weaken hym, . . . Never was there a greater stocke of prayers goinge for any man then is now goinge for hym."<sup>277</sup> That day was observed by the ministers solely for his recovery.<sup>278</sup> On Monday he was reported to have "scace beene perfectly out of his fitts" since Saturday.<sup>279</sup>

It would seem, however, that between these spasms of pain the Protector still somehow managed to transact some business, either personally or by deputy, and the Council did the best it could in his absence. On the 26th a baronetcy was conferred on William Wyndham of Orchard Wyndham, Somerset,<sup>280</sup> and the Council, besides routine action on petitions and supplies for Dunkirk and Mardyke, considered the petition of Mary Fairfax, the wife of the Duke of Buckingham. It seems, too, that Mary's father, on the occasion of Buckingham's arrest on his way to Cobham to see his sister, was so angry "that he went to Whitehal to the protector, and expostulated the case so as it put him into great passion, turning abruptly from him in the gallery at Whitehall, cocking his hat, and throwing his cloak under his arm, as he used to do when he was angry." Cromwell's servants "expected he would be sent to bear the duke company at the tower the next morning, but the protector was wiser in his passion."<sup>281</sup> This, which happened about August 25, was the last the two saw of each other, or both Brian Fairfax and Bucking-

6, *Cal S P. Ven* (1657-9), p. 238

<sup>274</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Aug. 27, Thurloe, vii, 362.

<sup>275</sup> Same to same, Aug. 30, *ibid.*, p. 364.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 364.

<sup>278</sup> *Pub Intell.*, Aug. 23-30.

<sup>281</sup> *A Catalogue of the pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham . . . with the Life* by Brian Fairfax (1753), p. 31

ham declared that if Cromwell had lived less than a week longer than he did, Buckingham would have died on Tower Hill <sup>282</sup>

This was not the only disturbance he endured. On Tuesday, August 31, about noon, Ludlow arrived at Westminster, and, as he says, "when passing by Whitehall, notice was immediately given to Cromwel, that I was come to town. Whereupon he sent for Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and ordered him to enquire concerning the reasons of my coming in such haste, and at such a time." Ludlow attended Fleetwood Wednesday morning "and understood from him that Cromwel suspected I was come with a design to raise some disturbance in the army, and that he was desirous to know the occasion of my journey" <sup>283</sup> It was evident by that time that, though the Protector still took an interest in affairs about him, his end was approaching. There was already much speculation as to his successor. As early as August 27 Giavarina wrote that Richard had been chosen to that post, but Thurloe made no mention of it until after Cromwell's death, when he said it was done on Monday, August 30 <sup>284</sup> Barwick reported that the Protector had made Richard commander-in-chief of the armed forces about a week before his death and puts the day of naming Richard as his successor "the very day before he dyed . . . and that so sleightly, as some doubt, whether he did it at all." <sup>285</sup> Beginning on Saturday the 28th he was much worse, and on the 31st the doctors gave him up, he having had constant attacks since Saturday. <sup>286</sup> Monday there was a terrific storm, and on that day, according to report, "Cromwell (upon a revelation they say) told his physicians, he should now live to perfect the work. At his death he had

meeting—Ingoldsby and one other being the only ones not summoned to it <sup>287</sup>—and another at Fleetwood's on Tuesday <sup>288</sup> Meanwhile it was noted that "some of the grantees, distrusting the place, removed their trunks out of the house," and that "the Fifth-Monarchy-men sent out their emissaries post into most parts of England, having notice how desperate his condition was. . . . They have pitched upon Lambert for their general, and Harrison is content with the next command under him" <sup>289</sup>

<sup>282</sup> Robt. Bell, *Memorials of the Civil War* (1849), II, 253

<sup>283</sup> Ludlow, II, 43-44

<sup>284</sup> G. . . . , p. 238, Thurloe to

Henry

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<sup>287</sup> J. Barwick to Charles II, Thurloe, VII, 416

<sup>288</sup> Falconbridge to Henry Cromwell, Aug 31, *ibid.*, pp. 365-66

<sup>289</sup> Clarges to Henry Cromwell, Sept. 1, *ibid.*, p. 369

<sup>290</sup> Barwick to Charles II, *ibid.*, p. 415

If one agrees with Montaigne that a man's real self may be judged largely by his conduct on his death-bed, and if we can believe the stories of Cromwell's last hours which have come down to us, something may be learned of his character and mental processes from those scanty and disjointed records of his last words. It has been suggested that his broken inquiries as to whether one who had been "in grace" could fall from it, to indicate that he had some misgivings as to his status before the throne of the Almighty.

In his last hours, his groom of what professed to be some of the Protector's sayings at that time. According to that account the Protector's main concern was with religion. His speech was of "the Covenant," of which there "were two, but put into one, before the foundation of the world. It is holy and true," he is reported to have said to those about him, "it is holy and true, it is holy and true. Who made it holy and true? Who kept it holy and true? The great Mediatour of the Covenant. The Covenant is but one, Faith in the Covenant is my onely support, yet if I beleeeve not, hee abides faithful. . . . Whatsoever sins thou hast, doest, or shalt commit, if you lay hold upon free Grace, you are safe, but if you put your self under a Covenant of works, you bring your self under the Law, and so under the Curse, then you are gone." And again, "Is there none that saies, who will deliver me from the peril? Man can do nothing, but God can do what hee will. . . . *It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God,* . . . The Lord hath filled mee with as much Assuance of his Pardon, and his Love, as my soul can hold. . . . Children, live like Christians, and I leave you the Covenant to feed upon. *Love not this world,* I say unto you, it is not good that you should love the world." Harvey "full of holy expressions . . . the very night . . . to his everlasting rest, which were to this purpose following".

good, hee frequently used all along, and would speak it with much chearfulness and fervour.

Again, hee said, . . . hee further serviceable to God and his People, but my work is done, yet God will be with his People.

Hee was very restless most part of the night, speaking often to him self. And there being something to drink offered him, hee was desired to take the same, and endeavour to sleep, unto which hee answered,

*It is not my design to drink or to sleep, but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone.*



Afterwards towards morning those who watched by his bedside heard his prayer:

### *Prayer*

Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in Covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee, for Thy People. Thou hast made me, though we have done some good, and Thee service, with, Lord, however them Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love, and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the Name of Christ glorious in the world Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy People too And pardon the folly of this short Prayer—Even for Jesus Christ's sake And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure Amen <sup>222</sup>

So, fortunate to the last, he died on his "lucky day," September 3, the day of Dunbar and Worcester, his death accompanied by one of the worst storms in English history, variously interpreted as a convulsion of nature mourning the passing of a great hero, and as the coming of the Devil to carry away his soul which he had bartered for success as long before as the battle of Worcester. He was fortunate in more ways than one. Not only did he die in time to make his fame secure, but clearly than another from a study of the last days of his Protectorate it is that, barring some miracle, its days were numbered. As it was then situated it could not have gone on much longer. Financially it was tottering to its fall. Politically its position was always precarious and never more so than in its last days. Its only strength lay in its army and its fleet and though they gave it a strong position in diplomacy, it was an edifice built on sand. Yet if what Burke said is true that "The Revenue of the State is the State," Cromwell, at his death, was nearly at its last gasp. Had he lived he could have done even had he lived would have enabled his government to survive; for, apart from other considerations, finance had never been his strong point.

to assess the value of reported death-bed scenes or utterances. With every good intention that they and, like loved for the present case

<sup>222</sup> Lomas-Carlyle, iii, 217.

That financial weakness pursued him even beyond the grave. It seemed necessary to those in charge of affairs to give him a splendid funeral, more magnificent than any such function had ever been in English history, and preparations were made at once to that end. It was estimated that its cost would be some £60,000, which, in the situation of English finance at that moment, was little less than fantastic. None the less the plan was carried out to the last detail. Richard was immediately proclaimed Protector—according to his father's wishes, as expressed by Thurloe, though there was considerable doubt as to the genuineness of the choice by the Protector. The Council ordered formal announcements of the Protector's death sent to the Army officers, the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland, to the Council in Scotland and to the fleet, and the judges were recalled to London.<sup>293</sup> On September 4 Richard took the oath of office and issued his first proclamation, continuing in office those who were his father's officials.<sup>294</sup> His succession was proclaimed on the day before in the name of the Council, the Lord Mayor of London and others to the number of 44.<sup>295</sup> Somerset House was ordered cleared for the Protector's funeral,<sup>296</sup> and for the future residence of his widow and his daughter Frances. The Falconbridges were to have James's House,<sup>297</sup> but that was turned over finally to Lady Cromwell.<sup>298</sup> She was originally granted £20,000 a year, which was later reduced by Parliament to £8,000. Richard was granted £20,000 a year.<sup>299</sup> The furnishings of Whitehall were apparently removed in great part by the Protector's widow and not recovered until 1660.<sup>300</sup>

There is a certain amount of confusion in the accounts of the next proceedings. It is generally agreed that the Protector's body was embalmed, in \_\_\_\_\_, as it was in a st. \_\_\_\_\_ of the time an effigy was prepared and on September 26 it—possibly with the body—was transferred to Somerset House, where it remained in private for some days until all was prepared for public view.<sup>301</sup> The Master of Ceremonies, Fleming, on Tuesday, September 7, gave official notice of the Protector's death to the foreign envoys, with an official statement of Richard's succession,<sup>302</sup> while

<sup>293</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), pp 129-30

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid*, p 130

<sup>295</sup> *Pub Intell*, Aug 30-Sept 6, Thurloe, vii, 383-84

<sup>296</sup> *Cal S P Dom* (1658-9), p 130

<sup>297</sup> *C. . . . .* (1658-9), p 248

<sup>298</sup> *C. . . . .*

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid* pp 129-30, 130

and n, cp Evelyn, *Diary*, June 18, 1660

<sup>301</sup> Prestwich, *The Death, Funeral Order of His Highness*, etc quot in Burton, ii, 516ff This is the best account of these proceedings

(1658-9), p 242, Nieupoort to

Richard sent a Mr Underwood, a gentleman of the bedchamber, to give Henry Cromwell a full account of their father's illness.<sup>304</sup> On September 10 Richard and the Council spent a day of fasting and humiliation for Oliver's death,<sup>305</sup> though a public fast was apparently not observed until October 13, save in London, where the officials and militia held such a fast on September 15.<sup>306</sup> Meanwhile mourning was provided for a large number of persons, including the London officials and some 80 others, the government officials and servants including the watermen and the public printers, the judges and justices, the life-guard, the vice-admirals and captains in the navy, the governors of the garrisons, thirty yeoman warders of the Tower and some twenty ministers.<sup>307</sup>

All this took time and it was not until Monday, October 18, that the Protector's effigy was shown in Somerset House, where four rooms were set aside for the ceremony. Each was hung with black and provided with escutcheons of the Protector's arms. The effigy was made of wood, covered with wax, dressed in velvet, with a robe of purple and gold lace and ermine, with strings and gold tassels on the "knicke", a richly embroidered belt and a gilt sword, a sceptre in his right hand representing government, a globe in his left hand representing principality; on his head a purple velvet cap trimmed with ermine; behind the head a chair tissued in cloth of gold, on which rested an imperial crown, set with precious or semi-precious stones. This was to remain until the day of the public funeral<sup>308</sup> which was originally set for November 9<sup>309</sup> but was postponed until the 23rd.<sup>310</sup>

There was some question as to the formalities to be observed on such an occasion, and, according to Ludlow, Kinnarsley was set to find precedents. He found them first, oddly enough, in the funeral ceremonies of Philip II of Spain, but as Nieupoort reported later, the order to be followed was that of James I, though the lack of funds prevented the full funeral pageantry.<sup>311</sup> The tickets issued for the funeral, to be presented for admission to Somerset House, instructed the mourners to be there at eight in the morning of November 23. No coaches were to be allowed to pass from thence to Westminster on that day.<sup>312</sup> According to certain evidence—not conclusive—the body was removed from Somerset House on Wednesday, November 10, carried through St James's Park to Westminster and interred in

<sup>304</sup> Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, Sept. 7, *ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>305</sup> *Pub. Intell.* Sept. 6-13.

<sup>306</sup> *ibid.* Sept. 27.

<sup>307</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1658-9), pp. 131, 141, 143.

<sup>308</sup> *Pub. Intell.*, Oct. 18-25.

<sup>309</sup> *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1658-9), p. 152.

<sup>310</sup> *Thid.* on Sept. 18; *Pub. Intell.* Nov. 1-2.

<sup>311</sup> *ibid.* Nov. 2.

<sup>312</sup> *Lutwell*, II, 520 n.

the vault in Henry VII's chapel in the Abbey.<sup>313</sup> The funeral itself, might have been expected, "divers hours in passing"

The procession was broken up into various groups divided by drums and trumpets, and included the whole pageantry of the Protectorate,

tives of the army, the navy, the judiciary and the church, the officials of London, the foreign representatives, and finally the carriage with the effigy, accompanied with banners, and officers and "persons of honor" bearing his Highness' pieces of armor.<sup>314</sup> Thus arrayed, with soldiers, the long procession made its way to the Abbey, a great and impressive spectacle, only marred, as Evelyn wrote in his diary, acidly, by the conduct of some of the troops who marched along in disorderly fashion, smoking as they went.<sup>315</sup>

At the west gate of the Abbey ten gentlemen, probably the same that put the effigy in the hearse at Somerset House, carried it from the chariot to the east end of the church and placed it in a "noble

lains.<sup>316</sup> The whole pageant was extremely expensive, the lowest account being £22,000 to £28,000, the highest £60,000.<sup>317</sup> Certain estimates give accounts for the drapers at £14,000 to four different men, two of whom afterwards failed, and none of whom, apparently, were ever fully reimbursed.

None the less he was, and he remained, the hero of Puritanism and of Nonconformity. But why? He founded no sect, like Fox and Biddle, to say nothing of Knox and Cartwright. Though he championed the cause of the Protestants on the Continent, he took no such active steps as had Gustavus Adolphus. Though he led in the death of the King and the overthrow of the old monarchy, he was unable to

What he did was to lead Puritanism, and to play a part which, as in the case of Frederick II and the Empress Catherine of Russia, inspired their subjects—and historians—to call them "the Great." He led Puritanism to military victory and glory, overthrew Anglicanism—if only for a time—broke through the divinity that held the King, and set up a brief personal dictatorship. That was his

<sup>313</sup> *Clarke Papers*, III, 167-68, *Hist. MSS. Comm. Repts., Various Coll.*, I, 19 (*Berwick MSS.*).

<sup>314</sup> Burton, II, 518-29, *Pub. Intell.*, Nov. 22-29.

<sup>315</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, Oct. 22 [sic].

<sup>316</sup> Burton, II, 529, *Pub. Intell.*, Nov. 22-29.

<sup>317</sup> Burton, II, 529, Heath, *Chronicle*, G. S. Green, *Oliver Cromwell*, an historical play, cp. Prestwich, *Respublica*, pp. 193-203; *N. & Q.*, ser. 2, x, 322.

worldly achievement, that and his insistence on "toleration"—which led to a limited extension of religious freedom. Recognition of his own ascendancy was, in fact, the measure of that toleration. But greatest of all was that, whatever he accomplished or failed to accomplish, he set himself among the immortals of history.

A little more than two years later his corpse, with those of Bradshaw and Ireton, was exhumed, carried to Tyburn and there all three were hanged, then decapitated, and the heads set on pikes on Westminster Hall; and from that circumstance arose one of the longest, the most minute and most inconclusive controversies which derived from his whole career. Where was he buried and what became of his head? Upon those questions, from that time to this, have raged the most extraordinary arguments which, with one exception—that of his true character—have marked the whole course of his great career. What appears to be the simple truth of the matter has been submerged beneath a mass of opinion, rumor, conjecture, legend and mere invention which has made it all but impossible to resurrect that truth from the mass of fable which has covered it for three centuries. So far as one may be able to judge from this incredible structure of controversy, the fact seems to be that his body, like those of Bradshaw and Ireton, was buried in a pit by or underneath the gallows; that his head, after being exposed for some years on the wall of Westminster Hall, blew down in a gale and vanished. In spite of the enormous industry and investigation lavished upon the question by antiquarians, it is, historically, of little or no importance what became of his mortal remains, and had it not been for the circumstance that a worthy clergyman, the Reverend Mr. Wilkinson, in the nineteenth century believed that he had in his possession the head of the Protector and spent a good part of his life in endeavoring to persuade the rest of the world that this was the fact, the question would not have assumed the importance it achieved in the literature of the subject.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>218</sup> For a full bibliography of the controversy regarding Cromwell's head see Abbott, *Bibliog. of O. C.* Index under "Head," "Wilkinson," etc., and for the burial and burial place see "Burial" and "Burial place." The most elaborate and exhaustive study of the question of the head is in *Bionistica*, no. 26 (1934), pp. 269-378, of the question of the body see *ibid.*, no. 27, pp. 928-947. The conclusions are that Cromwell's body was buried under Tyburn, and that the "Wilkinson" skull may be that of the Protector, though it is impossible to prove it, chiefly owing to the fact that the most recent and best study is by F. J. Varley,

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE FAME OF CROMWELL

One question remains concerning Oliver Cromwell, and that the most frequently asked and perhaps the most important of all questions about him. What kind of a man was he? What was his true character? What, behind all this facade of war and politics, this costume and scenery, was the *real* Cromwell? That question has had many answers. It will have as many as the number of those who interest themselves in his career, and each will be certain that his answer is correct, however much it may differ from his neighbor's. It may, therefore, by way of conclusion, be fitting to indicate what some of those answers have been—if for no other reason, to disabuse us of the

It is now nearly three hundred years since Oliver Cromwell died. No great space of time to those who deal in eternities and immensities, a quarter of a millennium is none the less a substantial period in human affairs, and especially in the last two centuries and a half men have traveled far. They have done much and they have forgotten much. Among the rulers of the Protector's day few, even of the greatest, are still remembered. But from that time to our own a stream of biographies has kept Cromwell's memory alive. They are numbered now by hundreds, they continue to appear, and that circumstance, were there no other, bears witness to an extraordinary and continued interest, almost "Bewildered, interminable rubbish heaps," contributing another stone to the pile—"the dreariest perhaps that anywhere exist still visited by human curiosity," "stupid, worthy of oblivion, of charitable Christian burial," they represent no less the permanence than the changing fortunes of Cromwell's memory. And, poor as most of them are, they have their uses. They help to answer the question of how and why the great Protector's memory has been preserved. "What can be more extraordinary," said his contemporary, Cowley, "than that a person of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, nor shining qualities of mind, which have often, raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt and the ability to execute so great a design as the subverting one of the most ancient and best established mon-

archies in the world?" He had accomplished the impossible. He had been granted that "marvellous distinction of breaking through the charmed circle which among European nations hems in the private man." In an age of divine right, this English squire became the ruler of three kingdoms, wielding an authority which had no precedent and no appropriate name. Pretenders based their claims on royal blood, Italian despots exercised at best a petty tyranny. Cromwell thus seemed a prodigy of superhuman, if not supernatural, powers, so great that no merely mortal explanation seemed credible. The superstitious declared that he had made a compact with the devil, who carried off his soul in the great tempest which accompanied his death, while he and his followers believed his success was due to divine influence. Yet neither his opponents nor his followers could have dreamed that, however great this achievement, it would have provided him so great and so shifting an immortality.

What, then, is the peculiar character of this immortality? The first stage in the evolution of his reputation is the opinion of a man in his own country. "What in Cromwell's case. From the beginning he impressed his fellows as more than an ordinary man. The rector who recorded the death of Cromwell's son notes the father 'than a simple gentleman, as well known and to be honored.'

speaking in Parliament as a "gentleman and a soldier" in a plain and not very . . . with no hatband, a mar-

nance, sharp and untuneable voice," yet, he admits, of "fervid eloquence." This was the man he lived to see, "by multiplied escapes, and a real but usurped power, having had a better tailor and more converse among good company appear of great and majestic deportment and of comely presence." And, though the tailor may have played too great a part in this great transformation in Sir Philip's mind, it is apparent, even from his words, that more than apparel went to make the man.

Those intervening years while Cromwell grew from a country gentleman to European stature, brought reputation with it in a hundred curious forms. From its first peculiar product, a satirical "Panegyrick" published while he was still lieutenant-general, to the elegies which followed his death, the Revolution literature was notably swelled by the pamphlets relating to this new Star of the North. Strange words were invented to describe him, like "Tyranipocrit"; strange titles were devised for tracts concerning him—*A Sad Sigh with some Heart-Cracking Groans, Jonah's Cry out of the Whale's Belly; the Dutch Student beseeching the English Professor in the Great School at London*. A splendid German folk-song, a symbolic dialogue between

Cromwell and Charles, sounded democracy's challenge to divine right; and, at his death, the elegists burst forth into verse, and the historians began to commemorate his deeds. Waller and Dryden were rivaled by Carrington compared him

Grown to such greatness, he was admired rather than loved by his immediate followers; hated and feared, even when most respected, by his enemies. What his soldiers thought of him, what those voiceless thousands whose banner he bore believed, we can only surmise from their actions. His cofferer, Maidstone, declared that to him the Protector's head "seemed a storehouse and a shop of a vast treasury of natural parts, his temper fiery but kept down . . . compassionate, fearless, a larger soule hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay; religious, yet his temptations . . . had grace enough for . . . treasure that he had being but an earthen vessel and that equally defiled with original sin as any other man's is"—an appreciation which the Protector might well have read with mingled amusement and humility.

Of whole-hearted literary defense by writers of first rank he had little enough in his own time, save that the greatest pen of Christendom was on his side. That counted for much, indeed,—more in our day, perhaps, than in his own. To Milton at the outset of the great experiment of the Commonwealth he was

Cromwell our chief of men, who through a cloud  
Not of war only, but detractions rude,  
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,  
'To peace and truth thy glorious way hath ploughed.

Yet even here the warning does not fail, already fear—or is it doubt?  
—intrudes

. . . much remains  
To conquer still. Peace hath her victories  
No less renowned than war, new foes arise—

Two years later, when that experiment had failed, Milton's prose appeal to Cromwell to take the supreme power touched the high level of English eloquence. Yet when Commonwealth and Protectorate alike were over and the Protector dead, the great Puritan's pen was still. Not so that of the splendid sycophant, Dryden, who sang at the Protector's funeral—



His grandeur he derived from Heaven alone,  
 For he was great ere fortune made him so;  
 And wars, like mists that rise against the sun,  
 Made him but greater seem, not greater grow—

Even when royalty was restored Dryden spoke of him as that

. . . bold Typhæus . . . who had scaled the sky,  
 And forced great Jove from his own Heaven to fly.

Yet, on the whole, that candid friend, Andrew Marvell, perhaps best expressed the more moderate view of his own party.

And well he therefore does, and well has guessed,  
 Who in his age has always forward pressed,  
 And knowing not where Heaven's choice may light,  
 Girds yet his sword, and ready stands to fight.

He seems a king by long succession born,  
 And yet the same to be a king doth scorn,  
 Abroad a king he seems and something more,  
 At home a subject on the equal floor.

In the main, however, the recorded judgments of his contemporaries, when not mere libels or panegyrics or, as in Milton's case, identification of the Protector with a cause, were hostile or extremely critical. Nor is this surprising. His enemies were numerous, able, and gifted in . . . years, a middle ground, he . . . the Presbyterians, who damned him with faint praise "He meant honestly in the main," wrote Baxter, "and was pious and conscionable in the main course of his life till prosperity and success corrupted him. Then his general religious zeal gave way to ambition, which increased as success," though, he adds, with somewhat labored fairness, "it was his desire to do good in the main, and to promote the interest of God more than any had done before him"

Fiercest of all were the Republicans, who felt themselves betrayed by this apostate to the Commonwealth, who had led them to the borders of the Promised Land only to seize it for himself "In all his changes," declared Ludlow, "he designed nothing but to advance himself, sacrificing the public cause to the idol of his ambition" To such men England seemed about to enjoy the millennium; "to attain in a short time that measure of happiness which human beings are

capable of, when, by the ambitions of one man, the hopes and expectations of all good men

of the personage, said Reresby, Cromwell would have ranked as "one of the greatest and bravest men the world ever produced." To Clarendon he had, it is true, "all the wickedness against which damnation is pronounced and for which hell-hre is prepared." Yet he had, too, "some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated"; he was a tyrant, but not "a man of blood"; he had a "wonderful" spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution; he was, in short, "a brave, bad man."

Such were the judgments of the great Protector passed on him by the men of his own time. And if it may seem that of the three opposed to him, the Royalists, whom he harmed the most, held him in higher esteem than the Republicans, we must remember that though he had destroyed their power he had, at worst, not taken away their dreams.

Meanwhile to Continental minds he loomed huge, portentous, threatening, "the boldest enemy Europe ever had." Little loved even by those Protestants he championed, less by Mazarin, who sought the useful if unholy aid of the heretic regicide, he was hated and feared as much by Calvinistic Holland as by her recent mistress and antagonist, Catholic Spain, since on each, for trade or empire or religion, or all three, his blows had fallen impartially. To each of these he wore a different guise, to none of them the same he took to friend or enemy at home. The Dutch represented him as an ogre, the French as a bravo, the Spaniards as a fiend. But, for the most part, while England sought parallels for his career in Waibeck and Simnel at the best, and Wat Tyler and Jack Straw at the worst, the Continent found apter analogies in the ancient world, or, where men dared voice the comparison, in those tyrannies for which the Sforzas, the Borgias, and the Medici furnished more recent and more striking examples.

To Europeans he seemed less a popular champion or a fanatical enthusiast than an aspiring regicide, a tyrant in the older sense, who by his arts, ambition, and ability, raised himself to power on the ruins of a monarchy, and ruled his country, not, perhaps, to its great harm, in some measure for its good, certainly for its glory; by surpassing skill in statesmanship. To them, especially to their rulers, his power rather than his personage expressed their admiration and regard for him, and to the boy Louis XIV, dreaming of the despotism he was to build and wield, he seemed "the greatest and happiest prince in Europe." Thus, under such widely

varying auspices, the first stage of Cromwell's reputation came to an end with his death; and his fame, under such different aspects, set forth upon its long and chequered career

Its first adventure was with the returned Royalism of the Restoration period, and scarcely had Church and Crown come to their own again when the long-pent flood of execration burst upon the tyrant's memory. The first biography of any worth, Fletcher's *Perfect Politician*, indicated its character by its title, and might well have taken for its motto the pungent line of the *Iter Borcale*—"That meteor Cromwell, though he scared, gave light" It was soon followed and largely superseded by that "chief fountain of lies concerning Cromwell," Heath's *Flagellum*. This, long the most widely read of his

... .. cency

It found echo abroad; for there, no less than in England, the demand was for unlimited invective. At home Cowley's *Pistion concerning his late Pretended Highness*, and Perrinchauff's *Agathocles, or the Sicilian Tyrant*, its frontispiece a caricature of Cromwell crowned with twisted snakes instead of laurel, typified the spirit of the time. Abroad the Latin *Comparison of Cromwell and Tiberius*, and the German *Narrative of the Meeting of Cromwell and Master Peter in Hell* strike the same note. Of these one voice may speak for all, that of Winstanley's *Loyal Martyrology*, with its characterization of Cromwell as "the English Monster, the Center of Mischief, a shame to the British Chronicle, a pattern for Tyranny, Murder and Hypocrisie, whose bloody Tyranny will quite drown the name of Nero, Caligula, Five Persons"

Now that reviling had become not only safe but profitable, it was small wonder that many lesser spirits were inspired. While the lighter-minded of the Royalists vented their feelings in a famous tavern-song which commemorated his fabled origin as a brewer and the splendid copper color of his nose, we may judge the hatred he inspired when even sober gentlemen like John Evelyn could record: "Died that arch-rebel called Protector . . . the joyfullest funeral I ever saw, for there were none that cried but dogs . . . This day (O, the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcasses of those Arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshaw and Ireton dragged . . . Look back and be astonished! and fear God and honour the King! but meddle not with them who are given to

change." "And yet," said Pepys, prophetically, "it do trouble me that a man of so great courage as he was, should have that dishonour, though otherwise he might deserve it well enough"

This period of unchallenged invective was to last but six years. Then the Dutch fought the English on nearly equal terms, the English government by maladministration, extravagance, war, plague, and fire, was brought close to bankruptcy and put up its fleet, the Dutch sailed up the Thames, the unprotected English men-of-war were sunk or burned, London heard the thunder of Dutch guns, and every English port felt their insulting presence. And "It is strange," wrote Pepys, "how everybody do nowadays reflect upon Oliver and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbors fear him, while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and lost all so soon." Thus his courtship of death, which he was while he was alive, had begun to protect his memory once he was gone; for within a year the first defense of his rule appeared in print.

That reaction found no echo on the Continent. There, meanwhile, a Cromwell legend had arisen. It is significant that the most considerable writers who essayed his life were all Italians. The spirit in which they wrote is best expressed in the title of a later German work *Arcana Dominationis*—the secrets of governing. To Machiavelli's countrymen this was the chief appeal of the English Puritan, his mastery of men and of the "mysteries of state." Dear to the heart of earlier, empiric statesmanship, versed in the arts of management, and the means by which individual fortunes were advanced and subjects kept submissive, these were the lessons to be learned from this master of statecraft. In such spirit Galardi wrote his *Tyrannie Heureuse, ou Cromwell Politique, avec ses Artifices et Intrigues*. Thus Modena's secretary of state, Giattani, composed his most popular *Tragedia*, "The Tragedy of Cromwell." It was reflected in Fanon's *Notes of Mazarin and Cromwell*, and was summed up in the most famous of this group, Gregorio Leti's *Life*, the longest account of the Protector which had yet appeared, and the one which largely determined the Continental conception of him for a century.

The author was no less notable than his book. A bishop's nephew, bred to the church, but turning Calvinist, he lived successively in Rome, Switzerland, England (where he became royal historiographer), and in Amsterdam. The historian of Geneva, the foe of the Papacy and of Louis XIV, he would have seemed the ideal biographer. But he was obsessed by Cromwell's regicide and tyranny, and his

gy, conceiving and executing

the subversion of royal authority, and the compelling fortune by which he was enabled to achieve his fiery, subdued the most obstinate. None knew better how to assume a mask of hypocrisy to conceal ambition, to make the barbarous, unjust, and violent maxims of his rule recognized, respected, and loved, for no prince ever had such great talents, nor better understood the art of governing. Now assuming the fox's skin, now the lion's, no friend was ever so false, no enemy so true. He gave us order and peace, but he also gave us a tyrant. He reversed the order of the world, and made the people free. He was faithless and suspicious, vindictive, bloodthirsty, and a hypocritical demagogue. He abused Parliament, destroyed the upper house, drove out the bishops, overawed the council, and sustained himself only by a powerful army wholly under control.

But Leti was not content with depriving Cromwell of all human virtues. He declared that the Protector was that rare thing in the world, a tyrant without vices, save those of state,—ambition and the love of power. He declared that the men lived in England as in a cloister. He declared that the men, destroyed the Oxford libraries, sacked the universities, and destroyed the education, let the persecuted Vaudois among his "red brethren." Such was the character of an English tyrant which did duty for Cromwell's portrait on the Continent for more than a hundred years, and with which Catholic Europe, "seeing in him a scourge and anti-Christ," rested for the most part content.

Leti's book appeared three years after the Revolution of 1688. Whether publishers are right in their contention that popular interest runs in cycles of about thirty years, so that each generation sees a "revival" of historic characters, or whether, as Charles declares, the Revolution gave rein to "the spirit of the age,"—though the latter would certainly be true. The most astute of men, on every occasion to bring out a little life whose success in England rivaled that of Leti abroad, and ushered in a new school of Cromwellian biography destined to last for half a century.

"Richard Burton," born Nathaniel Crouch, was a tailor's son. He was a "tailor's son," and a "tailor's son." Chapman, whose narrative of the Revolution is a masterpiece, he became one of the great writers of the day. Being a pub-

lisher nothing human was alien to his pen. The works he wrote as Richard Burton and published as Nathaniel Crouch ranged from *A Devout Soul's Daily Exercise in Prayer* to *A Winter Evening Entertainment of Relations and Riddles*. Twenty-second in the list of forty-five volumes credited to his industry, his *History of Oliver Cromwell* appeared about the same time as Leti's book.

Burton's life was not, indeed, a defense of the Protector's memory, but it challenged those who invaded "the Almighty's province of judging the Hearts and thoughts of Men, attributing all to Hypocrisy and Ambition." "The calumnies of Heath regarding Cromwell's . . . ig "every Man to his own Opinion," he "thought it not unacceptable to his Country men to give a plain and impartial Account of Matters of Fact." He quoted documents, Cromwell's own words, including his pathetic death-bed prayer, and an elegy of him "whose Valour mounted him to that height by which he raised the Nation to that Glory that Foreign Princes feared and envied him."

The numerous editions of this little book testify to Crouch's prescience as a publisher. Opinion was changing. Within three years one writer reckoned the advantages of Cromwellian rule, and, upon the appearance of Ludlow's memoirs, another published a *Modest Vindication* of Cromwell's character and actions. Then, four years after Ludlow, *Cromwell's Rebellion* first saw the light of print; and there was thus projected into the literary field that Royalist-Republican antagonism which . . . With this the stream of Cromwellian opinion perceptibly divides, yet not to his advantage. United in nothing else, they were at one in denouncing him. To both, in Pope's words, the Protector was "damned to everlasting fame." Rejected by the Tories, who condemned him as a usurper of authority, and by . . . obnoxious

ansports of Fancy, a crafty understanding, deep thought, resolute, aspiring Temper, ready to head any faction, a radical original Hypocrisy, mighty genius, prodigious Address, having usurped three Kingdoms, governed by councils of Rapine and courts of Murder, by the severest Vengeance of Heaven he died impenitent, hardened and raving mad, with the Curses of the present and the Detestation of future Ages." Echard quoted Cowley, his Whig rival, Oldmixon, repeated Baxter, . . . "hypocrisy, treason to Par- . . . ade, glorious," and Leti's phrase, "a Tyrant without Vice, a Prince without Virtue." Surely

where Whig and Tory so agreed it would have seemed enough to dispose of the Protector's fame forever.

On the Continent, indeed, as yet undisturbed by revolution and dominated by the ideals of the Grand Monarque, this was in a measure true, and, save for the advance of skepticism and common sense, Leti's portrait remained unchallenged. Though the lofty spirit of Bossuet, sensing something of Cromwell's religious feeling, rejected it, Voltaire found it not incredible. To him Cromwell remained tyrant, "the most terrible of charlatans," who "undoubtedly been hanged, under Charles II ridiculed." Thus the saint saw deeper than the cynic. In England, meanwhile, the new revolution had provided perspective; the rule of Charles II and James II had provided comparison. The generation which had felt his power had passed, and religious feeling as expressed in Dissent, with a conception of the "people" unknown on the Continent, permitted the rise of another school of thought.

In consequence, thirty years after Burton, one Isaac Kimber, a "General Baptist" minister, "impartially collecting material from the best *Historians* and several *Original Manuscripts*," produced for the first time a frankly favorable biography. He reproduced Cromwell's own words; he adduced documents, he enumerated the sources and examples of the Protector's greatness. Above all, he replaced the repulsive effigy of a tyrant with the image of a man among his fellows. He recorded the human traits, the humor, the tenderness, the clemency, the strength and weakness of Cromwell's character, restoring those qualities which, denied by earlier biographers, cut the Protector off from human sympathy.

On the Continent, indeed, this creature of flesh and blood could not compete with Leti's monster, but in England it evoked response. Fifteen years later John Banks, in a new biography, added two contributions of his own. The one was a defense of the doctrine that a "private man" might hold the sovereignty; the other was a shrewd attack on those who had denied Cromwell the very qualities which alone he might have risen to eminence. It is, however, to try "to persuade us that a man without the capacity requisite in a common justice of the peace should be not only too hard for the royal family but even for his own masters and all the ministers and crowned heads with whom he had anything to do." There echoes the doctrine of eighteenth-century Englishmen.

Beginning but to the end of an era. For three-quarters of a century after Banks no life of Cromwell of any note appeared, and the four Cromwells—Leti's, Ludlow's, Clarendon's, and Banks'—contended in men's minds for mastery.

Not that men had lost interest in the Protector; on the contrary they were never so busy investigating his character and career. For his fame, as its next adventure, had fallen among a very different kind of folk, the antiquarians. A long succession of them drew from the archives of the seventeenth century a mass of historical material

tured the first of English plays based on Cromwell

Midway of this antiquarian period, *1777* of *Cromwell* in his *Stuart* series, wrote

A curious manner it was, ancestor of a later and pretentious school of scholarship, whose soul, even today, it might well fill with envy, not unmixed with awe. Its first hundred pages contain less than two hundred lines of text, the rest is fine-print notes. Page after page has but a single line, some—triumph of editorial art—have no text at all. Characteristically, his opinion is contained in the last lines of his final note. "Time," he says, "the great friend of truth, has, in some measure, cleared up his character and done justice to his abilities—if he cannot be ranked among the best, he is undoubtedly to be placed among the greatest princes."

As the climax of this antiquarian school, in the year after the American Revolution, Mark Noble issued his *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*. Wholly uncritical as it was, it did no small service in clearing up that "cloud of distractions rude" by which the real Cromwell had been hidden from the world. His reward was small. Few writers have been more used, and more abused—especially by him who used him most. "Devoid of imagination, style, philosophy, good-sense and sagacity," "imperfectly educated, vulgar-minded, puerile, silly," as he was described by later writers, Carlyle's "reverend, imbecile friend" has had his share of contumely. Yet while judgment was not the worthy parson's strongest point; while truth and error were often confounded in his pages, while he regarded Cromwell as "an exercise in archaeology," pursuing his career with an industry which did not even overlook the shape of the windows in his house, he brought together a huge, if undigested, mass of material, and laid the foundations of future study.

Lamely enough, he takes Smollett's character as his own. "An amazing conjunction of enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and ambition, courage and resolution, penetration and dissimulation, the strangest compound of virtue and villainy, baseness and magnanimity, absurdity and good-sense, we find in the annals of mankind" There spoke the representative of eighteenth-century common-sense, and we must admit that its opinion scarcely kept pace with its knowledge. Between the liberal Huguenot refugee historian, Rapin, who wrote in the first quarter, and the skeptical Scotch Jacobite, Hume, who



wrote in the middle of the century, there is less difference than might be imagined from the difference in time and temperament. Each admitted the now commonly accepted opinion of Cromwell's great ability, denied by earlier writers; but the one denounced him for faithlessness, regicide, and usurpation, and the other, seeing nothing remarkable in his career once in command of the army, declared that he was a "frantic enthusiast at bottom, an unequal and irregular genius, defective in no talent save elocution, praiseworthy for his tempered absurdity with penetration, ambition, and ability, whose foreign policy was harmful to English interests, while his usurpation was probably necessary and unavoidable."

It is hard to see why later writers have resented such a character so much. When the concurrent portrait drawn by the female Republican historian, Mrs. Macaulay, compounded as it is of the worst of Heath and Leti, Holles and Ludlow, heightened by her own considerable gift of invective, it uses almost to the dispassionate dignity of Thucydides. Goldsmith was not so severe, and even Dr. Johnson, who gave up his project of writing a biography of Cromwell because "everything worth saying about him had been said," seems to have disliked him as a fanatical tyrant less than he admired him as a great Englishman. It would have been well for Johnson's editor, Murphy, had he followed the Doctor's example, in that highest-paid piece of literary mediocrity of the century where he declares that the Protector, "guilty of deserting every honest principle, acted the tyrant and with vile hypocrisy told the people that he consulted the Lord and the Lord would have it so." The pole declared, characteristically, that Cromwell had been no more despotic at the height of his power than Pitt, and that he had not lost the head of the state, when the King lost his head and the Colonel his rest.

It could not be supposed that political leaders would commit themselves to such a delicate subject as an opinion of Cromwell; and we scan the Parliamentary debates of the eighteenth century almost in vain for reference to his name. Not till the century was far advanced, and the Revolution and revolution had done their work, do we find Shelburne, indeed, under whose patronage Noble worked, declared that "justice had not been done his career, he was not always a hypocrite, and though he had not been able to settle government at home, England had never been so respected abroad, nor ever revealed so many talents, and he had set more things forward than any English king" not excepting William III. Such sentiments may help explain why Shelburne was looked on askance by the

silken barons of the Whig oligarchy; but his dictum sums up the conclusions reached by the end of the century.

Then, emerging from the antiquarians, his fame suddenly met with another and thus far its greatest adventure. It fell among a new generation of revolutionists. Twice since his death had it been affected by the vicissitudes of politics, both times to its advantage. Now, even while Noble and his patron Shelburne wrote, the American colonies threw off the English yoke; the French people overturned monarchy; the new world and the old were convulsed with war, great popular movements made way in the world; new revolutionary leaders made their appearance on the stage, and for the first time it seemed that an adequate basis of comparison with Cromwell and his times was available.

Nothing would, then, have seemed more probable than that his character and career would find able and eloquent defense. But what happened? When Patrick Henry strove to rouse his countrymen to resist, he invoked, indeed, the spirit of Cromwell. But when, the Revolution over, the Americans turned to frame a constitution, proposals to increase the power of the executive brought prompt protest from those who feared the danger of "a Cromwell or a Catiline." In France, however much the early agitators invoked his great memory, once the movement neared success the fear of the usurper replaced the inspiration of the revolutionary leader. Against Marat, bent on Girondin overthrow, Gaudet cited the dissolution of the Long Parliament, "whose crimes served . . . as a warning to the people," pleading for respect for the

that "Cromwell respected royalty but conspired against Charles." Robespierre, who adduced him as an example of "tyrants who sacrifice their equals not for the people but for their own ambition," was taunted with attempting to use Cromwellian methods to bring himself to power. Danton, in a famous burst of eloquence, denounced . . . with cries of "Cromwell," and . . . resemblance. Through all their fiery . . . in its

son; for in the crisis of his fortunes at Brumaire, amid the shouts of his opponents, Bonaparte was heard to mutter brokenly of Caesar and Cromwell.

Yet, incredibly, there stood forth a great champion—Edmund Burke. However great his reverence for social order, his hatred of French revolutionary excesses proved greater still. Against them he invoked a famous parallel between their leaders and the Puritans, "men of great civil and military talents, at once the terror and the

ornament of their age, who advanced the fortunes of their country no less than their natural place in so leaders disavowed resemblance to Cromwell, and on the other Burke disavowed their resemblance to him, agreeing on this point, though no other, only did men publish lives of the Great Protector England was too busy with the new revolution and the new usurper to hark back to her own dictator, and for the time being the fame of Cromwell languished among his countrymen.

Yet whether Continental wars roused England to revive the glories of the past, or whether the influence of eighteenth-century antiquarians remained untouched by war, the era of Napoleon gave fresh impulse to the collection of materials for history. A new and better Parliamentary history embodied the debates; new collections of State Trials and of the Statutes of the Realm; the Journals of the Lords and Commons, and a whole regiment of memoirs, served to illumine the darkness of the past, and with it the figure of its greatest character.

Its first effect was not on England but the Continent. There it was heightened by another circumstance. Among the incidental results of Napoleon's career doubtless none had he known of it, than his effect on

the French been more than justified; for they had seen a private man rise to dictatorship. That served in some measure to explain Cromwell to the Continental mind too obvious to be missed and, from the first year of Waterloo, pamphleteers were busy in pointing it out.

Then, with Napoleon's fall, the streams of knowledge and of experience combined. Within five years appeared Villemain's life of the Protector, the first of any consequence since Leti, which revealed Cromwell to the Continent. But in what a different light! The scholarship of the preceding century, the events of the preceding generation, Banks' views, Noble's notes, Hume's "inexact eloquence," the papers of Thurloe and Milton, the memoirs of Ludlow, Whitelocke, Newport, Hutchinson, the official documents, even the opinions of Voltaire and Bossuet, all contributed to his pages. And if his work echoes as much of the "penetration of genius" as of scholarship, the "sagacity of a high investigation of facts," this was not which read and even or a century it Victor Hugo's

drama of Cromwell, whose difference from Gratiani's measures a whole world of thought

Meanwhile, in England, Byron had declared that

Sylla was the first of victors; but our own  
The sagest of usurpers, Cromwell; he  
" . . . . . ved the throne  
See  
What crimes it costs to be a moment free  
And famous through all ages.

of a century and a half with a biography and a selection from its archives. With them began a new crop of Cromwelliana, for while Villemain ruled the Continent some seven biographies contended in the new English heptarchy—Salisbury, Edinburgh, Manchester, Glasgow, and London's three; and it is notable that Scotland had its share for the first time.

no  
posed that the most industrious of English literary men-or-all-work, Southey, could restrain his pen. Least of all could it be hoped that he . . . . . Yet, even so, when summing up the career of "the most fortunate and least flagitious of usurpers" he might have spared quotation from the Litany against heresy and schism and his pious conclusion that "in the world to come—but it is not for us to anticipate the judgments, still less to limit the mercy of the Almighty"

That marks the early Victorian at his worst, and Cromwell, if not the Almighty, would doubtless have felt appropriate gratitude for his biographer's magnanimous restraint . . . . . courteous refusal to influence that final . . . . . that, under the pressure of the oncoming wave of liberalism, opinion was changing rapidly. It was apparent in the work of the sane and able essayist, John Forster. Though Landor said that Cromwell lived a . . . . . traitor; though Lodge declared that "not even yet tried to varnish his name with eulogy nor the fierceness of democracy to bedaub with coarse, plain-spoken praise the career of a subtle, treacherous, bloodthirsty, ambitious tyrant", though Hallam drew his parallel between Cromwell and Napoleon,—

model for such action. "The great man," with his usual acuteness, summed up the case. "He," he declared, "ever carried to the throne so large a portion of the best qualities of the middling order. . . . Cromwell's virtues very kind, and to his faults a little blind

The hour and the book were now at hand. Planning for years to write a life of Cromwell, Thomas Carlyle finally, and no doubt wisely, joined the antiquarians—on his own terms—and in 1845 reprinted Cromwell's own words, with Carlylean comment to provide a connected narrative. He undertook the task in the spirit of Banks; he carried it out in the spirit of Harris and Noble. It was received by nineteenth-century England in the spirit in which Europe received Leti. To Carlyle's generation, which had seen two revolutions and a reform, and which was within three years of 1848; which was in a ferment of social, political, and literary activity; which hoped all things, which believed all things, Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* came like the revelation it professed to be.

It is apparent now that Carlyle claimed and received more credit than he deserved. His book contained no great amount of material not already published, save the editor's volcanic comment, which was not always good. His treatment of his predecessors was, at least, ungenerous. He used them and abused them. He condemned as worthless some books which it is charity to assume he had not read. He misquoted Noble and vilified him for his stupidity. And he did all this in the strident Carlylese, combining "the singularities of Richter, the caprice of Hoffmann, the obscurities of Swedenborg" in a commentary which is a "series of hymns and apotheoses," not un-mixed with billingsgate. But, withal, he did two things of consequence. He collected a heap of valuable material in one place. He blew away much of the chaff and dust which had obscured it, he purified the rest, and danced and sang, and shouted and objugated over the result till the world came to see. Having seen, they believed. This was the service which he rendered to Cromwell's memory. It was a great service and brought reward to both. One may not venture to reckon how many editions his book ran through, nor compute its influence. Carlyle did not, as Acton said, invent Cromwell, he did not even discover him; but thenceforth the Protector stood forth clear of extraneous matter. Called to the bar of history, his own words won for him the favorable verdict of democracy, and when

Sanford and Forster had quieted forever the libels of Heath, Leti,

Whatever else it did, Carlyle's *Cromwell* inspired a small host of followers. First in France, reinforced by the Revolution of 1848, able writers entered the Cromwellian field. The Academician, Charles, the

lish Revolution and Oliver  
ence with revolution The

tion, full of contradiction and mystery and paradox as he was.

Thus was introduced a long line of biographies in half a dozen languages, all variations on the same theme. Yet in their collective effect they grew. Forster revised his earlier work, and in 1848 he hailed him as the hero of Puritanism; Goldwin Smith as the hero of democracy. And little, though where genius, Napoleon III now beheld only the skilful pilot of a revolutionary storm and Disraeli ranked him still lower in the scale, this stage of the long pilgrimage began with a triumphal strain.

One thing remained  
setting in his period

had done imperfectly, if at all. Godwin, Dahlmann, and Guizot had contributed something. Now, at last, his fame fell among modern historians. Of these the greatest were Professor Gardiner and his co-workers. The first volumes of Gardiner's *History of England from the Accession of James I* appeared in 1863, years or more, the great secrets of that much-vexed period. Before its revelations the Royalist conception of the brave, bad tyrant gave way, with that of the Republican, and those of their successors.

And what was his conception of Cromwell? "It is mainly this combination of interests—social and religious reform, commerce and empire—," he declares, "which has raised Cromwell to the position of the national hero of the nineteenth century. Like him modern Britain has waged wars, annexed territory, extended trade, and raised her head among the nations. Like him, her sons have been unable to

find satisfaction in their achievements unless they could persuade themselves that the general result was beneficial to others besides themselves. It is inevitable that now as then such an attitude should draw upon itself the charge of selfishness; too, that in the eyes of foreign nations the English themselves have been more conspicuous than those we have conferred upon the world at large."

Here, then, we have the force which made for Cromwell's rehabilitation, the feeling that, for good or ill, he stood somehow for the English people, that he was a symbol of the race from whence he sprang. But there was another force which was of still greater strength. It was the development of popular sovereignty. For, as Professor Gardiner's work has shown, the English people began to see in the Cromwellian revolution a new principle of government. The effect was immediate and profound. The long search for a formula to explain him seemed at an end. The result was, indeed, no formula, but an appreciation of great underlying forces too long ignored; and Cromwell rose to view no longer the strange, isolated figure of an earlier day, the ambitious, earth-compelling prodigy, but a product of his time, the expression of its spirit, moved often by powers outside himself towards ends which he and his fellows saw dimly if at all.

Once this was grasped, the conclusion was obvious. The work of great scholars from Ranke to Firth contributed to it, and with the concurrent advance of democracy and scholarship the stature of the Protector grew. Matthew Arnold's *Heroic Poem* at Oxford. The *Century Dictionary*, written almost simultaneously just before 1890, quoted approvingly Milton's splendid panegyric at the outset of the Protectorate: "You alone remain, the sum total of affairs has come back to you, and hangs on you alone. In human society there is nothing more pleasing to God, more agreeable to reason, nothing fairer and more useful to the State than that the worthiest should bear rule. . . . To you our country owes its liberties. . . . you have not only eclipsed the achievements of our kings, but even those which have been fabled of our heroes."

The ensuing decade and a half saw the culmination of the apotheosis thus begun. In England and America scarcely a year but saw a new and increasingly favorable biography. German thesis-writers investigated the minuter points of his career, after the manner of their kind, military critics, chiefly German, studied that phase of his activities, after the manner of *their* kind. An American president and an English statesman published biographies, at opposite ends of the

scale of biographical value, but alike extolling his virtues and his policies. His place in history was determined by Gardiner's final dictum that "with all his conscientious and spiritual yearnings, in the world of action he was what Shakespeare was in the world of art, the greatest and most powerful Englishman of all time."

In such fashion his fame reached the end of its journey—for the time. Gladstone, indeed, declared he could not love him, but admitted he was "a mighty big fellow" but "intolerant," which is, perhaps, as much a contribution to our knowledge of Gladstone as to that of Cromwell. . . .

to him in . . .  
for his memory prevented its being placed there, the generosity of a Liberal prime minister provided for its erection in Palace Yard—so that though he was not, as the wittiest American said, to be counted among the sovereigns, he could at least be reckoned among the half-crowns.

Thus, as once none dared to praise him, so, as the tercentenary of his birth approached, no voice save that of Ireland was raised to blame, and that may be, perhaps, some measure of his fame. The old Republican opposition was turned to democratic praise, and Royalist denunciation was as feeble as the royal power, only a few sparks of it remaining to reinforce the long-smouldering Irish hate.

dable and . . .  
from the . . .  
of action; a great captain, but off the field seeming, like a thunderbolt, the agent of greater forces than himself, no hypocrite, but a defender of the faith, the raiser and maintainer of the Empire of England."

In as lofty phrase Morley concluded "Political ends miscarry and the revolutionary leader treads a path of fire. It is our true wisdom to learn how to combine sane and equitable historic verdicts with a just value for those eternal qualities of high endeavor, on which amid all changes of fashion, formula, direction, fortune, in all times and . . . Finally, Firth, in completing words to his son, which might well apply, not alone to Richard Cromwell, but to those schools and spirits that have inherited the fruits of the Protector's work.

To thee it shall descend with better quiet,  
Better opinion, better confirmation,  
For all the soil of the achievement goes  
With me into the earth.



He might have gone on in that son's words, voicing in them what Cromwell would have wished.

Therefore still bear the balance and the sword  
And I do wish your honours may increase  
That the great body of our state may go  
In equal rank with the best governed nation.

Yet to this, as to all things human, there is an epilogue. When this essay was first written it included one passage of prophetic character. It ran somewhat as follows: "It is not too much to anticipate that with a further shifting of ' ' ' ' and practices, the popular opinion of the Protector will again be revised. Now he appeals to ' ' ' ' to royalty, and as he must, in all ages, to masters of statecraft. But there may come another age; and fame, like times, may change with it. We have had hostile Royalist biographies in an age of monarchy; friendly biographies in an age of democracy; should the newest of popular political schools triumph, we shall have again, no doubt, at least a less favorable appreciation from the intellectual heirs of those Levellers and Diggers, whose projects, which seemed so visionary to him, the Protector so unsparingly repressed. For, however heroic the 'undemocratic hero of democracy' has appeared to the democrat, it is too much to hope that we shall not have a new Cromwell from the hand of the Socialist."

It is not often that prophecy is so justified of its early fruits. The Socialist has already invaded the field of history—and of Cromwell appreciation. To its latest prophet, Mr. Hyndman, the Protector wore another and a different guise. To him Cromwell was the representative of the "highly respectable, if sometimes hypocritically ascetic Puritans," the "powerful profiteering class." He had a "curiously complex, crafty and ruthless character," behind his fanaticism. "He was able to gratify his ambition and determination to be master of them all because, in direct contradiction to what he said of himself, he knew quite early in his career of self-aggrandizement where he was going and how he would get there." He "never at any time had any scruples whatever." "Brutal and merciless," "the thorough representative of the English well-to-do landowning, farming and profiteering class . . . sympathy with democracy and freedom he had none." "From the moment he discovered that none of his possible rivals possessed the politico-warlike qualities that were combined in his person, he threw overboard every opinion and was false to every pledge that might encumber him in his upward climb."

So, through the revolving years, we come back to Heath again, in twentieth-century dress. But with a difference—we now know the facts, though they beat on Hyndman's intelligence in vain. It may be that this is the last and final adjudication; but if we judge the future by the past, it obviously is not. Only—and this, as Cromwell would have said, is the real test—what thought is left; what can

Since the last recension of this essay was published some ten years ago that question has been answered. Within that period scarcely a year has not seen the appearance of a new life or a study of it chronicles, it changes from generation to generation; like those who live that life it alters its point of view and reviews its judgments in accord with its experience and the times. It has not been so long ago the "undemocratic hero of democracy." It has not been many years since he was acclaimed as the

as in religion. And what a change have we seen within a decade! If it be true that an interest in his career has been revived by the appearance of this new crop of biographies, it is a significant fact. For Carlyle's hero of liberty has somehow been transformed into Ashley's "conservative dictator." His struggle in behalf of religious freedom has been metamorphosed into Miss Blauvelt's Dictator's Tragedy. Dr. Church's comparison of Cromwell with Lincoln and Washington has come by some miracle of sea-change into Professor Barker's comparison between the Independents and the Nazis, and so, by implication, between Cromwell and Hitler. So the circle has come round full again, from Leti's tyrant without vice through the hero of liberty and democracy to the sad and conservative dictator—though all dictators are of necessity conservative and we have yet to hear of a merry one. For dictatorship, however acquired, is by its very nature never radical, and it is always tragedy, never comedy. Yet, however they differ from each other, all, or nearly all, of these latest evaluations of Cromwell have somewhere concealed within them the concept of dictatorship, whether "unwilling," "reluctant," "melancholy" or "sad" or whatever phrase is used to break the force of that unpleasant phrase which has become too common within the past two decades. The ablest of living publicist-political philosophers has not hesitated to draw a parallel between the Puritans of seventeenth century England and the Nazis of twentieth century Germany, without, apparently, giving much offence to either

side, which must be regarded as something of a literary-historical miracle. And it is not without some interest to note that from a German pen has come a study of the "rod of iron" in English affairs, which echoes something of the same spirit.

It is no mere change in terminology which has produced this transformation. It is far deeper than that. It goes to the very root of political action, to the deepest foundations of political existence. The emergence of the word "dictator" from its long seclusion merely reveals another phase in the development of the government of men. It has been long since the phrase "tyrant" was in common use, not as a term of condemnation, as it became a century and a half ago, but as the description of a particular form of administration. It has taken some fifteen hundred years or more for the word "dictator" to be revived, and it has taken incalculable suffering and loss to give it a meaning which it did not originally have. The events of the past twenty years were required to . . . to fit the position which Crom . . .

other, apart from their contents these latest contributions to an appreciation of Cromwell have peculiar interest. They reveal not merely how the world has changed and is changing. They not merely . . . They . . . more accident that the past dozen years have seen an extraordinary number of books and articles about Cromwell in German. It is no mere accident that for perhaps the first time there have appeared such contributions in Russian. It is no mere accident that comparisons have been made between Cromwell, Hitler and Mussolini.

In the same fashion that Napoleon's rise to power helped the people of the continent to understand Cromwell better, so the rise of an Austrian house-painter to the headship of the German Reich, of a newspaper editor-agitator to the leadership of Italy, and of a Georgian bandit to the domination of Russia, have modified our concept of Cromwell's achievement, and perhaps our concept of his place in history. It may well be that, as in the past, another generation may see him in an even different light. Looking back over the years since he died, reflecting on the changes which his reputation has enjoyed, nothing seems clearer than that such a reputation depends not only on what he did and what we know of it than on the temper of the world in which his reputation played its part. Nothing is clearer, except perhaps one thing, it is that it seems impossible to define once and for all the character of such a man as he was, for before that definition is framed and accepted, some alteration in the spirit and temper and circumstances of the world may alter that concept, as it has been altered so many times since he died. Such a man will always have his champions and his opponents. In him many and very different

parties may see their ideal. But one thing seems certain, such a man contends not only with his own times but with succeeding generations; once he has entered his tomb he has only begun his struggle for his place in history.<sup>1</sup>

the character of the Protector



## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX I

### 1. *Additional Article to Treaty with France*

... of the United Provinces of the Netherlands Done at Westminster the 23d of November O.S. and the 3d of December N.S. 1655.

It is agreed and concluded on both sides, That the States General of the *United Provinces of the Netherlands* shall be comprehended and included in ... *Westminster* ... comprehended and included, with all and every the Dominions and Territories to them belonging As are also all the Allies and Confederates of both ... Space of ... whereof ... m'd these Presents with our Hand and Seal. Done at *Westminster* the 23d of November O.S. 1655 And the said Article was accordingly sign'd

DE BORDEAUX<sup>1</sup>

### 2. *Treaty with Sweden, July 17, 1656*

A. Treaty between Charles Gustavus King of Sweden, and Oliver Cromwell Protector of England, whereby the Treaty of Alliance made between those two States the 11th of April 1654, is confirm'd and explain'd. Done at London, 1656

I Christiern Bonde, Free Baron of Layhela, Lord of Ymfisholm, Bordsoo, and Springestadt, &c Senator of the kingdom of Sweden, and of the most Serene and Potent Prince and Lord, the Lord Charles Gustavus, by the grace of God King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, Great Prince of Finland, Duke of Esthonia, Carelia, Bremen, Verden, Stetin, Pomerania, ... and Wismar, also ... rs, Cleves, and Mons, ... the most Serene and most High Oliver Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereof, and to the republic of England, do hereby make known and testify to all and every one whom it concerns, or whom it may in any measure concern, That whereas in the treaty made at Upsal, the 11th of April 1654, between the most Serene and Potent Princess Christina, by the grace of God Queen of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, Great Princess of

<sup>1</sup> *Collection of Treatys* (1732), iii, 161; digest in *Jenkinson* (1785), i, 86.



Finland, Duchess of Esthonia, Carelia, Bremen, Verden, Stetin, Pomerania, Ingria and Wismar, and of the republic of England, &c certain affairs, relating as well to the establishment of mutual friendship, as to the advantages of commerce and navigation, were deferred to a more convenient time And whereas it hath seemed good to his said most Serene Royal Majesty of Sweden, to send me over to England, vested with sufficient powers to transact the same, and the other affairs which follow, therefore, after a conference with the Lords Commissioners of the said most Serene Lord Protector, viz the most noble Lord Nathaniel Fiennes, one of his Highness's Counsellors, Sir [blank] of his Highness's Treasury, and Constable of Windsor Castle, and Walter Strickland, Esq, both Members also of his Highness's said Privy Council, furnished with sufficient powers and commands for this purpose,<sup>2</sup> and after we had mutually imparted our opinions, and maturely considered the following points, we agreed as is clearly and perspicuously expressed in the words of the under-written articles

I It shall be lawful for either of the confederates to raise any soldiers and [blank] of either; the following conditions

1 Whichsoever of the confederates desires to have a muster, he shall notify his intention to his ally, and specify the places in which he thinks such levies may most conveniently be made, and if the condition of the other ally will not permit that the levy should be made in that place, then the other, [blank] consent for his purpose,

2 As to the number of soldiers to be raised, or of ships to be hired, regard shall be had to the affairs and circumstances of that confederate in whose kingdoms and dominions the musters are to be made, lest if a greater number of forces be required than is fitting, the other should find the want of them, or be disappointed of them for his own occasions

3 When soldiers are raised in that country, they shall not take arms, nor so much as on board the ships, till they come within twenty leagues of the place where they are to be set ashore

4 [blank] into the colours

5. The soldiers, sailors, and ships, raised or hired, as above, in the kingdoms and countries of either of the confederates, shall not be raised against the friends or allies of the other, to the violation of the treaties concluded and now subsisting between one another and their allies

II Whereas in the XIth article of the treaty lately made at Upsal in 1654, betwixt England and Sweden, it was agreed and specified what goods and merchandize should hereafter be declared contraband, now by virtue of the said article established, [blank] shall be reckoned prohibited, and consequently not to be disposed of

<sup>2</sup> By commission July 15/25, 1656, *supra*, p. 208

to the enemies of either, viz. bombs with their fuses and other appurtenances, fire-balls, gunpowder, matches, cannon-balls, spears, swords, lances, pikes, halberts, guns, mortars, petards, granadoes, musket-rests, bandaliers, salt-petre, muskets, musket-balls, helmets, head-pieces, breast-plates, coats of mail, cuirasses, and the like kind of arms; soldiers, horses, with all their furniture, pistols, holsters, belts, and all other warlike instruments; and also ships of war. Money shall also be reckoned among the goods with which the enemies are not to be supplied, and which it shall not be lawful to carry to the

of the confederates. Nor shall either of the confederates permit that the enemies or rebels of the other be assisted by any of their subjects, or that their ships be sold, lent, or in any manner made use of by the enemies or rebels of the other, to his disadvantage or detriment.

III. But it shall be lawful for either of the confederates, and his people or subjects, to trade with the enemies of the other, and to carry them any goods whatsoever, which are not excepted as above, without any impediment: Provided they are not carried to those ports or places which are besieged by

11th of April, 1654, between Sweden and England, it was agreed, that although it was precautioned and prohibited by the preceding articles, that either of the confederates should give aid and assistance to the enemies of the other, yet it ought not to be understood, that that confederate who is not involved in war with the enemy of the other, shall not be allowed to carry on trade with the said enemy of that confederate: but it was only provided

to the enemy of the other, without danger of being made prize, and without hopes of redemption, if they are seized by the other confederate. In like manner, whereas by the XIIth article of the said treaty, for the evading of all suspicions, lest the navigation or commerce of one of the confederates, whether by land or sea, should be carried on during war to the prejudice of the other confederate, or lest the goods of enemies should be carried under the disguise of the goods of friends, it was stipulated and concluded, that all ships, carriages, wares, and men, belonging to the other of the confederates, should be furnished in their journey and passage with safe-conducts, commonly called passports, and certificates, signed by the chief governor or magistrate of that province and city from whence they came; and that those forms of the passports and certificates were to be observed on which the confederates should mutually agree on both sides, and when the merchandise, goods, ships, men of either of the confederates, and his subjects and inhabitants, shall meet or be met by the ships of war, public or private, or

shall come together, after producing only their safe-conducts and certificates nothing farther should be demanded of them, no inquiry whatsoever should

be made into the ships, goods, or men, much less should they be injured, damaged, or molested but should be freely let go to prosecute their journey

was stipulated, that the said treaty and confederacy should derogate nothing from any preheminance of right and dominion whatsoever of either of the confederates, in any of their seas, straits, and waters whatsoever, but that they should have and retain the long enjoyed them, fitting draught of such certificates and passports may be formed and observed, which may be answerable to the meaning of the aforesaid articles, it is agreed and concluded that for avoiding all frauds and concealments whatsoever of and all occasions of quarrels as to any certificates and passports, such forms as are underwritten verbatim shall be observed, and subscribed and signed by the chief magistrate of that province and city from whence they come, that then the true names of the ships, carriages, merchandize, and masters of the ships be specified, as also the punctual days and times, without are expressed in

fore, if any person who shall declare upon the oath by which he is bound to his king, state, or city, that he has given in a true account, be convicted by sufficient proof of having concealed any fraud by his permission under his said declaration, he shall be severely punished as a transgressor of the said oath

We *N N* governor or chief magistrate of the province or city of *N*. (the title or office of the respective government of that place being added) do make known and certify, that on the day of the month of A° *NNN* citizens and inhabitants of *N* and who are engaged and bound as subjects of his most Serene Royal Majesty of Sweden, and to our Protector of England, just as it shall happen) and declared to us, that the ship or vessel called *N* of about lasts or tons, belongs to the port, city, or town of *N* in the dominion of *N* and that the said ship does rightfully belong to him most Serene Royal Majesty of Sweden, or of the that she is now the port *N* laden with the following merchandized the goods, with their quantity and according to the path to the aforesaid *N* that the said goods or of his most Serene Royal Majesty of England, or expressing to whatever other nation they belong, and that *NNN* have declared upon their said oath that the said goods above specified, and no others, are already put on board or are to be put on board the abovenamed ship for the said voyage, and that no part of those goods belongs to any one whatsoever, but the persons abovementioned, and that no

goods are disguised or concealed therein by any fictitious name whatsoever, but that the merchandize abovementioned is truly and really put on board,

examination by us the abovementioned (governor or chief magistrate of the city aforesaid) it fully appears that the goods on board the said ship or vessel are free, and do truly and really belong to the subjects of his most Serene Royal Majesty of Sweden, or of the most Serene Protector, or to the inhabitants of other nations abovementioned, We do most humble and earnestly

officers and governors of ports, and all others to whom the custody of any harbour or sea is committed, which meet this ship in her voyage, or if she pass through their squadrons, or to stay in their the treaties and friendship which subsist respectively between them, or whoever are his superiors, and the most Serene King of Sweden, or the most Serene Lord Protector our most gracious Lord, they will not only permit the said captain with the ship N. and the men, goods, and merchandize to her belonging, to prosecute her voyage freely

of the most Serene Lord Protector, as they shall in like manner experience the same from our most Serene King, or our most Serene Lord Protector, and all his ministers and subjects in the like or any other case. In witness whereof we have taken care that these presents signed by our hands be sealed with the seal of our city Given at our court

V Neither of those confederates shall suffer the ships, vessels, goods, or merchandize of the other, or of his people or subjects, which are taken at sea

or elsewhere, shall be carried into the ports or countries of the other by any enemy or rebel of the confederates, or either of them, that confederate into whose harbours they shall be carried, shall not suffer the same or any part thereof to be sold in that port, or any other place in their dominion, but shall the vessel so taken, as also the manners arrive, be immediately set at liberty,

to stay in that harbour, but shall command the said ship, with her goods, merchandize, and lading, immediately to leave the harbour Provided nevertheless, that nothing in this article be turned to the prejudice of the treaties formerly entered into by either of the confederates with other nations, and where these things do not interfere, the above article shall remain in full force

VI It shall be free for the men of war and guard-ships of either of the confederates to enter into the ports, havens, or rivers of the other, where

such ships use to repair, and there to cast anchor, stay, and to depart from thence without any injury or molestation, provided these conditions are observed

1. That it shall not be free to carry into the harbours of the confederate any squadron, exceeding five or six ships, without giving some notice thereof beforehand

2 That the commander of the squadron and ships shall without delay exhibit his letters of safe-conduct to the governor of the castle, fort, city, or province, or acquaint the magistrate of the place where he arrives with the reasons of his coming, and for what end, and how long he designs to stay in that port or haven

3 That such ships shall not come or stay nearer to those castles or forts than is convenient

4 That the mariners, ships companies, and soldiers shall not go ashore in bodies above 40 at a time, nor in any number that may give suspicion

5. That while they are there they shall not do any damage to any person, not so much as their enemies, and shall not obstruct the

gation of any nation whatever.

7 That they shall in all respects live and behave modestly, quietly, and

to the true meaning of the words, it either confederate to keep upon the coasts, and continue in the harbours of the other confederate, whether for avoiding tempests and enemies, or for rendezvousing and assembling merchant ships, or any other just causes But if either of the confederates shall think it advantageous or necessary to enter the ports of the other confederate with a greater number of ships, and to enjoy the conveniences thereof, he shall signify the same to his confederate two months beforehand, during which time the ways and means of admitting the same shall be settled

VII Whereas it is provided by the aforesaid treaty at Upsal, that satisfaction should be given for the losses which either of the confederates or his

commissioners above-mentioned, so chosen and deputed on both sides, shall have power to take all those things into their consideration which shall be exhibited or proposed as well concerning

the satisfaction for losses sustained by the detaining of the ships of either of the confederates, which are already or shall hereafter be released, or if it can be conveniently done in any other manner, they shall judge of them summarily, according to right and reason, without any appeal or forms of law, and both parties shall make it their chief business and endeavour that what is just and right be transacted in the controversies aforesaid without any de-

lay, and that what is taken be restored and satisfaction performed made fully and really for the XIIIth article of the aforesaid treaty at Upsal. But if the said commissioners cannot agree in any reasons or foundations whatsoever of the proofs relating to such restitution or satisfaction, then those differences shall be left to another convention of the confederates. And that thus may be done with the least loss of time, they shall use their endeavour to finish the cognizance of all these matters in question within six months after the first meeting, and the restitution and satisfaction for those losses shall be made and performed fully and without delay, within the space of a month after sentence is passed, by that king or state whose subjects shall be doomed to perform the satisfaction.

VIII. The subjects of the said most Serene Lord Protector and the said the dominions of the said most Serene King of Sweden, which they enjoyed

privileges than the abovementioned, in Poland and Prussia, to any nation besides, or people enjoy such larger

have desired it or his as that have been published since 1650, happen to be burdensome to the English and Scots, dwelling or trading in Poland and Prussia, the same shall after this time be of no force, as far as it can be rendered so in the dominions of the most Serene King of Sweden; but the subjects of the said Lord Protector shall hereafter be entirely free from those burdens.

IX. As to the commerce to be carried on in America, it is expressly provided by law, that the subjects of no republic besides shall be impowered to trade there in common without a special licence: but if any of the subjects of the said Lord Protector, furnished with his recommendations, shall the Lord Protector to trade to any of those with the desire of his most ate of his affairs and of the

X. It shall be free for the subjects of the most Serene King of Sweden, to

any ways hindered or molested, nor shall any charges be demanded on the account of the fishing by the men of war of this republic, nor by those who are commissioned privately to trade at their own expence, nor by the fishing vessels on the northern coasts of Britain, but all persons shall be treated courteously and amicably, and shall be allowed even to dry their nets on the shore, and to purchase all necessary provisions from the inhabitants of those places at a fair price.

XI. It is also agreed and concluded, that the present treaty, and all and

singular the things therein contained and included by the aforesaid ambassador of

months next ensuing (or sooner if possible) by the letters patent of the said King and Protector, sealed in due and authentic form with their great seal, and that the mutual instruments shall be exchanged on both sides within the term aforesaid<sup>3</sup>

In witness of all and singular the premises, we the commissioners of the most Serene and the most High Protector of the republic of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c by virtue of our aforesaid commission, or full powers, have signed the present treaty, consisting of eleven articles, with our hands, and sealed it with our seals. Done at Westminster July 17, Anno 1656<sup>4</sup>

B A Convention relating to the second Article in the Treaty betwixt Sweden and England. Done at Westminster July 17, Anno 1656

WHEREAS in the second article of the treaty concluded at Westminster,

ambassador of the most Serene King of Sweden, that only the goods, merchandise, and other things mentioned in that article, should hereafter be deemed as contraband, and publicly prohibited. And whereas the most Serene Lord Protector has proposed by his commissioners, and has stipulated with the aforesaid ambassador extraordinary, that as long as the war continues betwixt the English and the Spaniards, none of the goods and merchandise following shall, under a penalty to be hereafter expressed, be carried from the dominions of the most Serene King of Sweden, to any part of the Spanish dominions, and whereas to the intent that this might be granted with the more ease, it has been also proposed that a conference should be held for ascertaining the price to be given by the English merchants, for all those goods which shall come from the Swedish dominions, and whereas the aforesaid ambassador said he could not give his consent to the said demand, because he had it not in his instructions from his most Serene King, and there-

ratified upon this condition, That as long as the war continues betwixt the republic of England and the Spaniards, neither his Swedish Majesty, nor any of his people, shall carry pitch, tar, hemp, cables, sailcloth, or masts, to any places in the dominions of Spain, but on the contrary, the said King's any such merchandise shall be carried liable to be seized by, and forfeited to the pressly provided, that if the said King shall not consent to it, then all the said second article relating to contraband goods (as also the third article

<sup>3</sup> At this point are included Cromwell's commission of July 15/25, 1656 (p. *supra*) and Charles X Gustavus' commission of June 15, 1656

<sup>4</sup> Chalmers, i, 29-43, also in *Collection of Treatys* (1732), iii, 162-174, and in Columbia Milton, no. 170.

which depends thereupon) shall immediately become of no force, and the

Nathaniel Fiennes  
Bulstrode Whitlock  
Walter Strickland<sup>6</sup>

### 3. *Treaty with France, March 13, 1657*

Cum certis argumentis constat Hispanos sua perpetuo fovendis in orbe Christiano discordis, consilia ducere; et quo libet eisdem tempore - - - - -  
sertim elapso proximé anno

num de Lionne a secretioribus consiliis ipsi Catholico Regi et in ejus usque Aulam proponi offerique curaverat, cumque post indignam hanc repulsam non sit sperandum posse unquam amicâ negotiorum tractatione iniri Pacem, donec fortiori armorum facinore adacti Hispani sententiam mutant, sumantque moderatiora consilia et quieti publicæ accommodatiora, Sacra Chris-

Potentissimi Domini Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ Protectoris, ejusdem que Domini Legatum Commissarium Procuratorem et Deputatum, suam Celsitudinem eâ etiam esse mente atque animo communem ambobus

omnimodam dicto Domino Guilielmo Lockart dedisse potestatem et auctoritatem deliberandi, consulendi, et statuendi cum iis quos Christianissima - - - - -  
quo proximâ expeditione bellicâ - - - - -  
ducerentur, ut unione virum et

runt induci, tum de strictiore inter utrumque statum amicitia, commodo - - - - -  
utrinque, et cæteris quæ ad publicæ

Christianissima Majestas ipsa pro se in hunc finem delegit, commiseritque D<sup>nm</sup> Comitem de Brienne suorum ordinum commendatorem, ab omnibus consiliis, primumque à secretis et à mandatis actuarii et D<sup>nm</sup> de Lionne, Marchionem de Fresne, D<sup>nm</sup> de Berny, Præfectum Magistrumque ceremoniarum eorundem ordinum, et a

<sup>6</sup> Chalmers, i, 43-44



tiari postquam multoties unâ convenissent, sequentes demum Articulos v dictarum potestatum statuerent, quarum apographum ad finem præsentium inscribitur.

1<sup>o</sup> Gravæ, et marique successivè obsidebantur eo qui sequitur modo

2<sup>o</sup> Anglia præstabit dictis prædictis obsidionibus successivis Gravæ, classem magnorum navigiorum, numero et formâ parem ocludere Portus prædictarum munitionum,

minoresve suppetias ferant, tum impediunt, quas aut hostis, aut quisvis, alius, quibus istæ obsidiones sibi interesse videntur, in obsessa oppida tentarent inducere, et Gallia viginti hominum præsentium millia, tum peditatus, tum equitatus

3<sup>o</sup> Præterea Anglia præstabit pro dictis obsidionibus sex millia peditum

ducent decem, quatuor comites ultra centurionem, se turionem et signiferum, milites centum, milia parte scolopetarios, alterâ sarisophanos, habebit, omnes Anglos absque Scotis aut Hibernis, quorum tria millia, dictorum sex millium multum, conscribentur in mandato seu commissionibus sua Christi inissimæ Majestatis, et deferentur in Galliam sumptibus dictæ Majestatis, scilicet triginta septem libris Turonitis et decem assibus, monetâ sarissis curabit, et alia tria millia conscribentur, armabuntur et transferentur in Galliam sumptibus Angliæ, Regia interea Majestas pollicetur ut primum appulerint ad Cæthi litora, aut Flandiæ, dare operam ut ipsis stipendia solvantur et suppeditentur alimæta, donec prædictæ obsidiones duraverint,

se convenerint, cur quos excedentibus ab integro

ad hoc commiserit, pecuniâ quos dictus Dominus Protector advectione trium millium

librarum semis pro milite, sua Celsitudo in se recipiet, curabit que transferri

ie tempore, et si fieri possit etiam prædictis Dominus

navium classem, aliasque minores scaphas et navigia in conspectum dictarum munitionum ocludendis earum portibus die indictâ, penes consilia que vicissim sumuntur de illarum obsidionis tempore

5<sup>o</sup> Casa quoque, præter communicatus quos Regia Christianissima Majestas de suo paraverit, promovendo firmandoque felici harum obsidionum successu, opus habeat in eundem finem re aliquâ quam ex Angliâ ducere posse judicaverit facilius commodius aut minime pretio, ut parte pabulorum pro

Equitatu, avenâ, tritico, armis, globia tormentariis, pulvere, (funiculis  
 et aliis necessariis)

Protector sese astringit, et pollicetur daturum operam, ut ea Exercitus

(qui merito sperandus videtur) Dunkerqua et Mardickum Angliæ cedet et Gravelinga Galliæ, spondet in præsentia Majestas sua, casu quo Dunkerqua in dedicationem pacisci cogatur, arma Angliæ in eam se inducturum, non sua, et in manus suæ Celsitudinis aut eorum quibus ejus recipiendæ munus dederit, oppidum traditurum.

7° Cum difficillimum videatur (salva armorum communium famâ) ab obsidione Dunkerquæ incipere, quamvis optandum id maxime esset, quod Gravelinga sit a reliquis abscinderetur, ut hoc modo unitâ obsidione ambo oppida capta esse viderentur, si tamen prudentiâ et bellicis rationibus constat, primo impetu tam procul in hostilem regionem progredi tutum non

commercium Galliam inter et suscipiendam obsidi  
 servandum, Regia Majestas Christianissima quo omnibus modis dicto Do-

Dunkerqua locus sit perficiendi quod continetur in articulo immediate præcedenti, quod nempe Dunkerqua et Mardickum Angliæ cedent, Gravelinga Galliæ, hæc que Dunkerquæ cum Gravelinga commutatio bonâ fide fiet, captis ambobus oppidis sumptis, tunc scilicet securitatibus vicissim necessariis, uti fieri assolet. Interdum, ut supra dictum oppidum Gravelingam si primum obsidatur et capiatur, Regia Majestas inducet non sua quidem arma, sed Angliæ, inde non discessura priusquàm capta Dunkerquâ prædicta commutatis absolvi possit.

8° Prædictus, Dominus Protector, componendo præsidio oppidi quod ei supra dicto tradetur in manus, uti poterit, si ita è re videatur, ut officialibus militibus que quos ex illo trium millium Anglorum numero, suis quamdiu libuerit, exceptis solummodo ut quos propugnandæ urbi captæ (ut superiori articulo dictum est) sua Celsitudo deligerit, dictaque Majestas

dictum Anglorum numerum cui libet et suis Exercitibus poterit adjungere, eorumque uti ministerio, quocumque immiserit, cum tamen ipsi gratum sit dictas copias

Christiani orbis tranquillitas, obviata quavis sibi utilisima conditione assentire nunquàm voluisset, ut id agerent Exercitus sui ut in Flandriæ oppido arma Angliæ

ponerentur, absque plenâ integrâ et sancta fidentâ Religionem Catholicam  
obstringit, dabit que præterea suæ Majestati diploma eâ de re singulare  
quod Dunkerqua, Mardicko aut Gravelingâ in  
supra dictum est, omnia ibi quod ad  
linquet in eodem statu quo ea repeierit

poteit in usum Religionis Protestantis, nec ulla tandem Religioni Catholicæ  
quovis prætextu mutatio probuit adferri

12<sup>o</sup> Dictus Dominus Protector pollicetur in præsentia nihil quidquam  
aliud in posterum in Flandriâ intendere quam quoad possessionem spectat  
hæc possint in manus suæ Celsi-  
tantum sibi excipiens, ut ditiones

si ita pro rerum suarum bono  
un aut alia quevis loca que hostes  
Quæ loca casu quo cedant Galliæ,  
libera immediatè erunt à supradictarum contributionum onere

13<sup>o</sup> Præterea conventum est, quod præsens tractatus atque omnia et  
singula quæ in eo continent litteras, sigillo  
majori munitas, debitâ et proximè inse-  
quentem (aut citius si fieri potest) confirmabuntur et ratificabuntur, mu-  
tuaque instrumenta, inter prædictum tempus, hinc inde traduntur.

#### ARTICULUS SECRETUS

Quo facilius ad stabilendam in orbe Christiano securam diuturnamque  
Pacem aditus patiat, utque præcaveatur ne invidie utrinque suboriantur  
æmulationes et si Angliam  
inter et Galliam peculi-  
ari Fœdere, in id unum sedulò intenti, ut, illâ quæ inter ambæ intercedit  
unione diductâ, earum damnum lucro apponant, ut illis jam antea successit  
isdem circa Galliâ et Hollandiâ artibus, conclusum est inter prædictos  
vigorem sortietur,  
hujusque articuli  
mutua etiam ratificatio commutabitur quod neque Angliâ neque Gallia  
Pacem, indutias, aut quovis aliud pactum cum coronâ Hispanicâ icele  
poterunt, spatio anni completi ab hac scilicet die vicesimâ tertîâ Martii, anno  
reparatæ salutis millesimo secentesimo septimo, nisi com-  
muni consensu id fiat, quòd etiam, pluri tempore, nulla  
pacis aut induciarum propositio cum Hispanis audietur, de quâ illico vicissim,  
anno, Galliâ, im-  
pro publicâ pace  
at, eâ id tantum  
erit conditione, quòd Rex Catholicus det suos salvos conductus bonâ et  
honorificâ formâ pro Angliæ Plenipotentiaris, ut possint eidem congressui

Actum Parisius die XXIII<sup>mo</sup> Martii anno reparatæ salutis millesimo sexcentesimo quinquagesimo Septimo \*

3a *Secret Articles with France, Apr 29/May 9, 1657*

*issimum inmolabile Pædus*, qui seront dresséz & signez par les Alliez, dont la teneur est telle

I Le Roi Tres-Chretien & le Seigneur Protecteur promettent l'un l'autre

ment on aura a traiter avec ses ou leurs Ennemis, ou avec ceux des deux Royaumes

II Au cas que l'un ou l'autre des Alliez fut nécessité d'entrer en guerre & l'autre, d'agir hostilement contre celui qui entrera en guerre contre la France ou l'Angleterre, afin que ladite Partie puisse recevoir du dommage par tous les moyens, couvertelement ou ouvertement.

III C'est pourquoy promettent sa Majesté T C & le Tres-Invincible Seigneur Olivier, Protecteur d'Angleterre, Ecosse & Irlande, de s'assister

de l'un & de l'autre

IV Et comme les Seigneurs Etats des Provinces-Unies des Pays-bas ont beaucoup nui au Roy T C & l'ont affronté dans la Méditerranée par leur Vice-Amiral Ruyter, qui par trahison & tromperie a attaqué & pris deux

eur Protecteur, dont les forces com-

V C le Seigneur Protecteur enverra un bon nombre de gros  
éviter toute dispute, seront pris.

Seigneur Protecteur pourra en avoir affaire, ils seront dechargz du serment prêté à sa Majesté, & repasseront au service dudit Seigneur Protecteur

VI Le nombre de ces Vaisseaux sera par provision de 36 a 40 tous biens

\* Guizot, *Cromwell*, II, 481-86, French translation in the French edition, *Histoire de la République*, IV, 597-605

de la Ouessand, afin que tous les Vaisseaux Hollandois & Zelandois qui passeront par le Canal jusques par delà Ouessand, soient dirigés & envenimés par le T C. au besoin d'un plus grand nombre de Vaisseaux qui servira d'avantage, & elle sera obligée de faire fournir & payer tous les trois mois au Receveur que le Seigneur Protecteur constituera à cet effet, les deniers, comme les gages des Vaisseaux.

la guerre que la France fait à l'Espagne puisse avoir un bon succès, le tres-invincible Seigneur Olivier, Protecteur d'Angleterre, Ecosse & Irlande, sera obligé de faire passer en France une Armée de (pour le moins) 12000 bons Soldats Anglois & bien exercés, qui prêteront serment à sadite Majesté de France, & y demeureront jusques à ce que sadite Majesté de France leur en ordonne. A moins que lesdits Soldats ne fussent utiles, dans quel cas ils seront renvoyés, & rentreront au service dudit Seigneur Protecteur.

IX. Sa Majesté T C & le tres-Invincible Seigneur Protecteur promettent de s'assister l'un l'autre de tout ce qui sera nécessaire pour la conquête des Villes de Nieupoort, & Gravelines, pour quoy sa Majesté fournira une puissante & suffisante Armée de terre, pour assiéger lesdites Villes ou quelques unes d'icelles & les obliger à se rendre. Auxquelles fins le Seigneur Protecteur fournira un bon nombre de vaisseaux, savoir si lesdits Vaisseaux ne sont pas suffisants, de tellement bloquer lesdits Havres qu'il n'y puisse rien entrer ni en sortir.

X. Et pour partager les Places que les deux Allies conquerront & gagneront, le susdit Roi T C promet de laisser au susdit Seigneur Protecteur la jouissance & souveraineté paisible & en pleine propriété, desd. Places, Havres & Villes, avec tous leurs droits, franchises & juridiction, en la manière que le Roi d'Espagne les possède à présent.

XI. Les Provinces des Pays-bas, nulles exceptées, qui qui en sont ou en ont été Possesseur.

XII. Ce partage étant fait de la sorte, & quelques Villes étant ainsi occupées par le Roi de France ou par le Seigneur Protecteur, en sorte que l'un ou l'autre ait obtenu sa portion, ou fut d'accord avec celui sur lequel la conquête a été faite, pas de la guerre.

Comme semblablement le Seigneur Protecteur ne la cessera point contre l'adverse Partie de la France, jusques à ce qu'elle ait aussi obtenu sa portion à son contentement.

XIII. Et comme le Roi de Dannemarck, selon qu'il le laisse assez apercevoir, commence à se déclarer ouvertement contre le Roi de Suède, le menaçant de lui tomber sur les bras avec une Armée, sadite Majesté T C & ledit Seigneur Protecteur se proposent audit R.

Suède dans les siens & de le défendre, & de lui aider aussi dans son entreprise contre la Ville de Dantzic & le Roi de Pologne.

XIV Semblablement promet aussi ledit Seigneur Protecteur d'employer tous les moyens imaginables, afin que l'Election d'un Empereur des Romains tombe sur le Roy T. C. ou du moins d'empêcher qu'elle ne se fasse en faveur

XV Sa Majesté T. C. promet de son côté de fournir de l'argent par le moyen de quoy la Ville de Dantzic puisse être conquise, & soumise au Roy de Suede En consequence de quoy sa Majesté promet de procurer de l'argent

pour des moyens  
XVI convenables en troupes & en argent pour occuper & prendre tous les Forts

& sans empêchement

XVII Si l'on peut conquérir quelque Pais, Villes, Châteaux ou Forts du Roy de Dannemarck ou de quelque autre Prince de cette Partie dans ou sur le Sond ou Mer Baltique, il sera libre au Seigneur Protecteur seul d'en disposer selon son bon plaisir, comme s'ils étoient des biens propres & patrimoniaux, pais Villes ou Forts de sa Serenité

XVIII Mais le Seigneur Protecteur promet, que s'il arrivoit que les sujets du Roy de France vinssent à vouloir passer dans la Mer d'Est, en

faire & repasser librement sans empêchement, de la même manière que les sujets dudit Seigneur Protecteur même, en sorte que personne qui que ce

chacun d'eux se comportera convenablement & avec discrétion

XIX Le Seigneur Protecteur promet encore à sa Majesté T. C. de l'assister & aider par tout

reprenant sur le Roy

situés de delà & des environs, à l'effet dequoy ledit Seigneur Protecteur fournira un bon nombre de Vaisseaux, des troupes, munition & toutes sortes d'appareils de guerre, à ce nécessaires.

XX Lesquelles Villes, places, forts, Havres, & forteresses ainsi conquises

XXI Tous les Vaisseaux qu'on prendra aux ennemis seront à celui qui les aura pris, & les sujets du Roy T. C. quand ils auront pris quelques Vaisseaux sur leurs ennemis, ils les pourront avec leur charge venir librement vendre dans les Havres d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse & d'Irlande, sans payer d'autres droits que ceux que payent les sujets dudit Seigneur Protecteur & vice versa

XXII Au cas qu'il arrivât que pendant la présente ou future guerre, quel-

ques Provinces, Princes, Seigneurs, ou Villes, spirituels ou temporels, de quelque etat ou condition qu'ils soient, vinssent sincerement a se joindre dans cette presente veue & dessein dudit Roy T. C. & dudit Seigneur Protecteur pour la ruine & destruction de l'orgueilleuse &

œuvre tout ce qui sera possible Princes, Seigneurs, Villes &c.

ayent sujet de se rejour de l'effect de cette Negociation; promettant de les comprendre dans toutes les autres Traitez, aussi bien proteger contre tous & uns chacun dès le moment qu'ils se seront declarez de

quelques Provinces des ennemis ou Villes Neutres vinssent a se rendre ensemble ou l'une ou l'autre en particulier, ou conjointes pourront garder un Etat libre ou former une Republique, & seront alors agreees & reconnues pour telles

avec plus de commodite & moins de peril aprocher de plus pres les Ports

AAV. Scavoir que quand le Marechal de Camp, ou les Marechaux de Camp ensemble, auront conquis quelque Ville ou quelques Villes comprises dans la portion du Seigneur Protecteur, elles seront aussi tot pourvues d'une Protecteur a envoyé en France, & d'un Marechal de Camp le jugera à propos, le même sera aussi

secrets, ainsi que les desseins du Roy T. C. & du Seigneur Protecteur ne soient revelez et c. ceci que lesdits articles n'au été ratifiez, jurez & signez de part & d'autre Lesquelles ratifications & signatures devront etre faites qu. exhibez

Majeste ou le Seigneur Protecteur vint a recevoir quelque satisfaction de ses ennemis, ou de ceux avec qui ils ont quelques differents, ou qu'il vint a

s'accorder avec son adverse partie, le Traitte a l'egard de telle partie avec qui on sera reconcilié sera nul & de nulle valeur, & ne sera point autrement considéré que s'il n'avoit point été fait ou qu'on n'eut point traité

Ainsi traité, accordé & conclu a Paris entre les Ambassadeurs du Seigneur Olivier Protecteur & les Commissaires du Tres-Chretien Roy de France le 9. May stile nouveau 1657<sup>7</sup>

#### 4 *Treaty with Tituan, August 9, 1657*

Articles of peace made with the King of Asowia and Governour of Tituan, August 9, 1657, by the honourable John Stokes, Esq, Admirall of the Fleete belonging to the Commonwealth of England, etc, at present upon the coast of Spaine, in the name of His Highnesse, Oliver, Lord Protector of the said Commonwealth

1) That all former aggrievances, losses or other pretencions between both

King of Asowia, Tituan, Alcazer, Ayilla and the dominions and territories

shall have free liberty to exercise their religion in the dominions of the above said King without any disturbance or annoyance, and that no Englishman shall be called out of his house upon any pretence on the Lords day

3) That there shall be no seizure of any of the shippes belonging to either party when they meet at sea, that they shall quietly passe without any molest

4) be cast away upon any coast belonging unto either of the said dominions, the persons shall be free

of the said King, nor Moores captives in the dominions and territories of the said Lord Protector, and of time hereafter inhabite in the towne of Tituan or any other the dominions of the said King shall have free liberty to transport themselves with their families and children, though borne in the dominions of the said King

6) That the subjects of either party shall not be abused with ill language or otherwise evill intreated, but that all parties so offending shall be punished severely according to desert

7) That all ships of warre belonging to either party shall have free liberty to buy and ship whatever provision or other necessaryes they shall have occasion of, from any part belonging to the said dominions

<sup>7</sup> *Recueil des Traitez*, iii (1700), 709-10



time hereafter bee lawfull to adde or alter any article, according as both parties shall agree

Signé: Abdola Razoine,  
Mahum<sup>d</sup> Bembucar, Rey de Asowia,  
Abdoerim Noxeris, Governador,  
Alhisona El-Hedi, publique notary.<sup>8</sup>

5. *Treaty with Tunis, February 8, 1658*

Articles of Peace concluded by Jno Stoakes, Commander-in-Chief of the English fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, in the name of his Highness the Lord Protector, with Seignior Musa Xerife Bassa, the Duana of Tunis,

1657-8

thereunto belonging, and the ships of either party shall have free liberty to enter into any port or river belonging to the dominions of the other party, paying duties only for what they shall sell, transporting the rest without trouble or molestation  
and the late exaction  
the Goletta and Mainne shall be reduced to the ancient customs in those cases

2. That there shall be no seizure of any of the ships of either party at sea or in port, but that they shall quietly pass without molestation, they displaying the  
us, do  
prevention of all inconveniences the ships of Tunis are to have a certificate, under the hand of the English consul there, that they belong to that place, which being produced, the English ship shall admit 4 or 5 men to come on board them peaceably, to satisfy themselves, and although they have passengers of other nations on board them, they shall be free, both they and their goods

3 That if any  
gers belonging to  
them and their goods so far as lies in their power, and not deliver them to the enemy

4 That if any of the ships of either party shall, by accident of foul weather or otherwise, be cast away upon any coast belonging to the other party, the persons shall be free, and the goods saved, and delivered to the proprietors

5 That the English that do at present or shall at any time hereafter inhabit in the city or kingdom of Tunis shall have free liberty, when they please, to transport themselves with their families and children, although born in the country

<sup>8</sup> *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, ser. I, III (Paris, 1936), 588-90

6. That the people belonging to the dominions of either party shall not be abused

Tunis

8 That the consul or any other of the English nation shall not be liable to be taken or detained by any person of the nation, unless obliged thereto

9 That all the ships of war belonging to the dominions of either party shall have free liberty to use each other's ports for washing, cleaning, and repairing any of their defects, and to buy and ship off any sort of victuals, alive or dead, or any other necessaries, at the price the natives buy it in the market, without paying custom to any officer

10 That in case any ships of war belonging to Tunis shall take, in any of their enemies' ships, any Englishmen serving for wages, they are to be made slaves, but if merchants or passengers, then they are to enjoy their liberty and goods, free and entire

11 That if any ship of war belonging to the kingdom of Tunis, fighting

standing the peace

12 That in case any slave in the kingdom of Tunis, of any nation whatever, shall make his escape, and get on board any ship belonging to the dominions of the said Lord Protector, the English consul shall not be liable to pay his ransom, unless timely notice has been given him to order that no such be entertained, and then if it appear that any slave has so got away, the consul is to pay his portion the price for which he was sold in the market, and if no price be cut, then to pay 300 dollars and no more

These articles are to remain firm for ever without any alteration<sup>9</sup>

### 6 *Treaty with France, March 18/28, 1658*

In the preamble the contracting parties recall that often military undertakings and especially sieges of fortified places cause delays which it is impossible to avoid. Thus, the previous year, 1657, the treaty which "the most serene and powerful prince Louis XIV, most Christian King of France and Navarre, had concluded with the most serene and potent Protector of England" for the siege of the cities of Dunkirk and of Gravelines, could not be executed as anticipated, because the enemy had protected these two places, with incredible diligence, from all attack. Meanwhile His Most Christian Majesty and His Highness, persevering in their project and having resolved to use all their forces to ensure the execution of it, have approved the following

<sup>9</sup> *Cal S. P. Dom* (1657-8), pp. 308-10, there was also a "list of 72 captives redeemed at Tunis the 8th of Feb. 1657-8, including 3 women"

<sup>10</sup> Chéruel, *Histoire de France sous Mazarin* (Paris, 1882), III, 132-33

Article I And first of all, that the treaty made last year between his

day that the foregoing treaty was to expire. in such manner that all that is written, and hereby agreed and promised, shall be executed *bona fide*, and with the same security as if all the articles of the said treaty were here recited *verbatim*, and especially every thing relating to the Catholic religion shall be observed so sacredly and inviolably, that it may receive no damage nor prejudice, nor shall any alteration or innovation be introduced or suffered, for any reason, plea or pretence whatsoever, in the state of religion, or the church, as is more expressly stipulated by the foregoing treaty <sup>11</sup>

Six new articles are added and agree :<sup>11</sup> The siege of Dunkirk shall be laid by sea and to next (n.s.). The army of France will attack the place by land, and the English fleet from the coast This fleet will serve at the same time to supply the French and English troops with munitions of war and supplies of food, in a word with everything they will need. In case the siege of Dunkirk should not take place, whether because of the delay of the English fleet or because of the absence of the army of the King of France, the party injured would have the right to claim reimbursement for the expense it had undertaken for this expedition

siege of Gravelines England will be obliged to observe these conditions only The siege of Gravelines is to be undertaken mber 1658, nor later than March 20, 1659

uted among them, for six weeks, and, to avoid the complaints and discussion to which the distribution of this present might give rise, it has been decided that it shall be made by the leader of the English troops Finally, it was stipulated that the present treaty be ratified, in the course of the next month, by letters patents of both parties, with the great seal of the state <sup>12</sup>

### 7. Terms for Dunkirk, June 1658

A. Contract of the French King and M. de Turenne to the Sieur de Bassecourt, who Commanded in the Town of Dunkirk for the Catholic King, and to the Clergy and Societies of the said Town, when it was delivered up to the King.

That the townsmen, as well the clergy as others, of what quality or condition soever, shall be preserved in their religion, estates, priviledges and

<sup>11</sup> The contract is in French, in the original of the treaty (1732), iii, 183.

<sup>12</sup> The contract is in French, in the original of the treaty (1732), iii, 183.

franchises, which they have enjoyed hitherto, without any new burden or imposition.

alteration or innovation in the priviledges and immunities of the clergy, and without any injury done to them or their churches in any respect whatsoever

sh<sup>e</sup>  
prerogatives, revenues, priviledges and liberties, without any hindrance or molestation

of :  
done hitherto

None of the relics and miraculous images of the glorious Virgin, and the other saints, shall be taken away and carried elsewhere, nor the ornaments and bells of the churches, cloysters, or other convents and public places.<sup>12</sup>  
[June 14/24, 1658]

B  
25th of June, 1658

We William Lockhart Knight, a Member of the Privy Council of Scotland for the most Serene and most Potent Lord Protector of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and Ambassador from the said Lord to the most Christian King *Lewis XIV* make known, That by virtue of the Commission granted to us by his Highness, the Town of *Dunkirk* with all the Forts belonging to it, was this day, immediately after its Surrender, put into our Hands, by Order of the most Christian King, with all the Artillery, Ammunition and Provisions therein found, in pursuance of the Treatys made between his Sacred most Christian Majesty and the said Lord Protector, in pursuance of the said Treatys, we promise his Royal and most Christian Majesty,

our Dominion, that it shall receive no Damage from us, and that the Ecclesiasticks, Regular and others (provided they make no Attempt against the Government to which they have submitted) shall securely enjoy their Revenues, and the Possession of their Churches, none of which shall be

Colour, or Pretext whatever, but it shall always continue in the same State as now We promise moreover, and solemnly engage our Faith, to produce and deliver in a Month's time into the Hands of his most Christian Majesty, a particular Declaration from his Highness, sign'd by his own Hand, which shall be of the same Tenour and Force as the present, by which the Conditions granted to the Inhabitants of the said Town of *Dunkirk* on the 24th of this

<sup>12</sup> This form also in *Collection of Treatys* (1732), iii, 224

... 25<sup>th</sup> of *June*, shall also be confirm'd by his Highness In Witness  
undoubted Proof of it, we have made and sign'd these  
Presents, at the Fort of *Mardyke*, the 25<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1658 and have caus'd our  
Seal to be thereunto affix'd.

Sign'd,

WILLIAM LOCKHART.

And seal'd with the Seal of his Arms <sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Collection of Treatys* (1732), pp 184-85, also in *Jenkinson*, 1, 95-96

## APPENDIX II

### I To Frederick III of Denmark

SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMIQUE REX.

Ea est Vestra in decernendis rebus Justitia, inque Amicitia colenda fides, ut nihil non Nobis, quod cum ab aequissimo Rectore, tum Amico benivolo justè possit expectari, de Ma<sup>te</sup> Vestra polliceamur. Atque eapropter est quod Mercatores quorundam causâ, cum eorum postulata justissima sint, Ma<sup>te</sup> Vestram his Literis Nostris interpellare haud gravati

Libertas tunc temporis interruptae essent, ad eas denuo restabiliendas Tractatus utrimque initus et conclusus est. In quo inter alia conventum est ut dictarum Navium Proprietatis juxta Leges quasdam in rationum tabulas relatas de Navibus et bonis suis ita occupatis satisfaceret. Et demum in An 1648 sex Syngraphae a Rege dictis Proprietariis datae sunt, quibus se ad persolvendam ipsi certam summam thalerorum Imperialium sex solutionibus obligavit, quarum tamen non nisi una praestita est, caetera summa quae pars longe maxima est involuta etiam nunc manet, elapso interea tempore intra quod totum debitum juxta Syngrapharum fidem evolvendum erat. Verùm frustra in locutionibus inter utramque Gentem solenniter ictis de Libera mercatura utrimque e circula cavetur, cum Mercatores<sup>1</sup> pecunijs suis, ob defectum solutionis, desistant sine quibus commercari minime possunt. Nobis citi<sup>2</sup> scuti nihil antiquius est, quam ea omnia et singula versùs Subditos Vestros praestare atque adimplere, quibus praestandis data fide adstringimur. ita aequum est ut paria Nobis, ipsique qui sub Ditione Nostra sunt vicissim referendi spectare expectemus. Rogamus itaque Ma<sup>te</sup> Vestram uti Regas Syngraphas quamprimum Labrare velit, numerosque debitos, habita etiam juxta bonis ratione, veraciter evolvendos curet. De caetero in Ma<sup>te</sup> Vestrae ex Animo vovemus. Dab. à Palatio

23<sup>ra</sup> die Novembris An 1655

Vester bonus Amicus

OLIVIER<sup>us</sup> P<sup>ater</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The scribe here wrote "ant. pecunias."

<sup>2</sup> with address "Serenissimo Potentissimo Dei Gratia Daniae Norvegiae Vandalorum Gothorumque Regi Duci Slesvici Holstiae Stormariae et Ditmarsiae Comiti in Oldenburgh et Delmenhorst."

2. *To Frederick III of Denmark*

SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMEQUE REX.

Litteras ad Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestram nuperrimè dedimus de certa  
nummorum Summa mercatoribus hujus Reipub: juxta stipulationem factam  
a Ma<sup>te</sup> Vcstra solvenda, in satisfactionem damnorum, quae ex Navibus  
bonisque suis tam in Albi fluvio, quàm in freto Oresundo detentis et occupatis  
sustinuere

pulverem n  
virtute Recessûs An 1646 conclusi dimissa et liberata. Verùm de illius onere,  
ut ejus loco sexies  
tis Dominis tribus  
it a Patre Vestro  
Christiano gloriose memoriae primum facta, ita a Ma<sup>te</sup> Vestra deinceps

vendae duorum, um fides adstricta esset. Et licet prae-  
dictae summae, numeranda erat, tertia pars nondum  
exoluta sit, attamen pro Regia  
lati acqutate, Speramus nihilqu  
his Literis Nostreis ea de re certior facta fuerit, residuam summam adhuc  
debitam unâ cum foenore inde crescente Mercatoribus quorum interest,  
quamprimum numerandam curabit. Quod quidem Majestatem Vestram

damnosa mora effectum dederit, Nos grato et ad omnia verae Amicitiae  
Officia

sumus

Nostro Westmonasterij 28<sup>to</sup> Novembris An 1655

Vester bonus Amicus

OLIVER<sup>us</sup> P<sup>ater</sup>3 *To Louis XIV of France*

SERENISSIMI POTENTISSIMIQUE PRINCEPS

Postquam Dominus Antonius de Bordeaux Dou<sup>s</sup> de  
Neufville Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestrae ad Nos Legatus, post pacem inter utramque Gentem  
feliciter confectam, sibi, atque ali-  
quando illic haerendus, nem haud  
silento praeternittendam duximus, quin Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestram certiozem faciamus,  
Nobis in Amicitia quae benedicente Deo inter hanc Rempublicam et Galliam  
nuperum sanc[t]ita est, plurimum satisfactum esse. Et quemadmodum ei

<sup>1</sup> Original in the Danish Archives in Copenhagen, with address "Serenissimo Po-  
Dño Dño Friderico Tertio, Dei Gratia Danicae Norvegiae

Rex, 1655, 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Original in the Danish Archives in Copenhagen, with address "Serenissimo Po-

tudinem ulterius promovendae, Nos haud minore studio affuturos Qua in

ut pia utriusque partis vota et studia ad tam prosperum Exitum perducta  
quae inter  
avit Adeo

Regij Vestri favoris et benignitatis Augmentis dignum iudicaturam non  
dubitamus De caetero Mat<sup>m</sup> Vestram Divinae benignitatis praesidio  
commendatam cupimus Dab e Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij 4<sup>to</sup> Decem-  
bris An 1655

Vester bonus Amicus<sup>1</sup>

#### 4 To Cardinal Mazarin

EMINENTISSIME CARDINALIS,

Sicuti nihil conducibilius, et veris utriusque Statûs

Amicitiae sic contractae id propriissimum et maximè necessarium consequens  
est, ut utraque pars sincero studio connitatur, quo in strictiorem adhuc  
Unionem, atque intimiorem in rebus communis utilitatis necessitudinem  
coalesceret Cui tam laudabili proposito sicut Ipsemet impensè faveo, deque  
mediis eò spectantibus deliberare paratissimus sum futurus, ita et Eminen-  
tiam Vestram idem

et conatus suos una cum ungeri mihi persuasissimum est. Verum cum  
Dominus Antonius de Boidaux Dom<sup>us</sup> de Neufville reditum suum parat,  
mihi hanc gratiam fecit has Literas ad Eminentiam Vestram perferendi,  
Eidem relinquo sincera Nostra Studia huiusmodi hac in parte propositum  
pluribus corâ explicare, Nec non et propensam Nostram in Vos et res Ve-  
stras Voluntatem testari, quibus inveniendi occasione libentissimè fruar, atque  
hujus Eminentiam Vestram plenariò persuasam volo Id solummodo superad-  
dam, quod sicuti Rex Virum majoris prudentiae aut praestantioris judicii,  
quàm praedictum Dom<sup>us</sup> De Neufville, huic tam grandi muneri designâsse  
nequivit, quive solertius aut felicius eo perfunctus esset, ita nec Eminentiam  
Vestram quempiam eo fidiorem aut rebus et rationibus Vestris prioniore  
affectu studentem seligere potuisse Quod testimonium ejus prudens rerum

Vestri in Eum favoris  
rementa bene meruit.





clementia et Justitia nihil minus expectare Nobisque indubitanter polliceri

habeant, qui Civitati Vestrae a longo retroacto tempore amicissima semper

mento graventur, neve ad cujuscunque belli consortium adigantur. Verùm  
si necessitas postulaverit, uti ipsi alio ad tempus commigrandi, bonaque et  
Mercimonia sua secum transferendi libera facultas detur, nec capropter aut

excuset cura inpraesenti monendus duximus, omnia  
cussimi animi officia Vobis Vestratibusque prout occasio tulerit vicissim  
praestituri De caetero Deum opt. max. precamur ut Concilia et Conatus  
Vestros dirigere et secundare velit Dab. ĩ Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij  
1<sup>mo</sup> Februarij An. 1658

Vestri bonus Amicus,  
OLIVER<sup>us</sup> P.<sup>er</sup>

## 7 To Zealand

CELSI AC POTENTES DOMINI,

Cum plurimum cujusque Rei-pub. intersit ad Amicitiam  
cum vicinis et Confœderatis suis consolidandam, mutuamque invicem con-  
fidentiam fovendam, ut in omnibus causis et Litibus quae coram tribunalibus  
indigenis  
Thomae  
Qui ab  
wer de-

functi debitis, involutis Iegum Ambagibus et Conquisitis per ex adverso  
Litigantium potentiam dilationibus adhuc arcantur Qua de re Literas non  
Comitis instituta  
Vestram translatâ  
Celsi ac Potentes Vestras Dominationes eorum causâ peramicè rogamus, uti  
de praedicta Lite  
Principalè Testamentum scilicet, quo Jus suum ad dictam haereditatem  
nititur, absque ulteriori temporis et fortunarum suarum dispendio proceda-  
tur Et licet id quod petimus res debiti sit non beneficij, quod non minus

<sup>1</sup>Original in Staatsarchiv der Freien Stadt Danzig, Abt. 300,53, Nr. 627, with  
address "Magnificis Dominis Spectabilibus Viris Praeconsulibus Consulibus totique  
Amplissimo Regi u. Civitatis Gedanensis Senatui"

exigere quàm rogare possumus, cùm id solummodo sit ut Jus aequum et apertum citra moram administretur, adeoque Legitimi haeredes suam haereditatem juxta testamentariam donationem Lege probatam consequendi facultatem habeant, attamen si hoc Negotij ex rogatu Nostro Auctoritatis Vestrae interventu maturius conficiatur, Nos grato et ad omnia verae Amicitiae officia vicissim accepturi sumus Dab. è 1655.

Vester bonus Amicus,  
OLIVER P<sup>s</sup>

### 8 To Frederick III of Denmark

SERENISSIME REX, AMICE ET FOEDERATÆ CHARISSIME

Scripsimus ad Ma<sup>te</sup>m Vestram 3<sup>to</sup> ultimi Martij de binis Navibus Scotis a Dunkirkana intra Portum publicam atque apertam Securitatis Pacisque vestrae Portuum injuriam et Violationem, qui quidem loci et Amicis tutam semper stationem atque asylum praebere habent Ab illo tempore Gulielmus Adamson et Johannes Robertson ambo e Scotia oriundi, et Navium the Greyhound et Comfort dictarum ad Nos per conquesti sunt Se, postquam dictas Naves circa ultimum Julium in Norvegia lignis onerassent vela Scotiam versus fecisse, Verum ob imminetium hostium metum cursum mutasse Portumque Castell in Norvegia redyisse, Navesque suas eo Loci in terram prope Telonium Ma<sup>te</sup>m Vestrae impigisse Spondentibus ejus Loci Officialibus se praesidio ipsi futuros ad hostium vim siquam intentarent arcendam, nihilominus postquam quatuordecim dies illic haesissent praedictas Naves una cum onere suo a duobus Ostendens captas et abductas esse, spretis insuperque habitis Legum Auctoritate Portuumque Ma<sup>te</sup>m Vestrae privilegijs quidem Amici et Foederat.

exercentes, Portuumque Vestrorum auctoritate et reverentia fleti, spoliati, atque futurum Exemplo si hujusmodi audacia impunita, idque postquam portoria et tributa pro bonis a se exportandis debita persolvissent adeoque in Ma<sup>te</sup>m Vestrae fidem peculiari quodam jure recepti essent, ut ipsi aqua clamorum compensatio et satisfactio ex Hispaniae subditorum bonis quae in Ditoniis Vestris reperiantur, reddatur Quod ut quamprimum fiat Ma<sup>te</sup>m Vestram cum pro rei aequitate rogamus, tum pro solenni quae Vestrae in Stationibus et Portibus Nostris commercantes complectimur benevolentia De caetero Ma<sup>te</sup>m Vestrae diutina incoluntatem precamur Dab. e Palatio Nostro Westminsterij Majj 12<sup>mo</sup> An. 1657

Ma<sup>te</sup>m Vestrae  
Bonus Amicus  
OLIVER P<sup>s</sup>

"Serenissimo  
Januae Norve-  
giae Vandalen - Goshen - R - H - Stormariae et Dith-

### 9. To the States General

CELSI AC PRAEPOTESTES DOMINI

Decimo ultimi Septembris literas ad Celsas ac praepotentes Dominationes vestras dedimus, quibus causam Guilelmi Cooper Londinatis, verbi ministri, recommendavimus, de debito, quod ob annuum trium milium florenorum salarium ei debetur, quodque interventu gratiae nostrae se facilius atque expeditius impetraturum speravit. Verum cum relatio nondum facta sit a Commissarijs, quibus ea res delegata erat, multumque exinde temporis effluerit, dictusque Guilelmus in jure suo recurrendo damnos dilationis hujus adhaerens. Ejus re et nomine postulata

haud gravati sumus, ut causae suae aequitati nostrae gratiae superpondium  
accedat Rogamus itaque ut quod ei ex insoluto ab aliquot annis salario  
debitum exurgit immediate exolvatur, nec non ut eadem stipendia sibi in  
posterum continuentur. Quae licet quoad ipsum res debiti sit, si tamen  
rogatu nostro mature concedatur Nos beneficii loco habituri sumus, et ne  
pereat haec ager- cupimus et speramus Dab. e  
Palatio Nostro 1657

1 1657

Vester bonus Amicus

OLIVER: P 10

10. *To Frederick III of Denmark*

SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMÉQUE PRINCEPS.

Acceptis Maj<sup>is</sup> V<sup>re</sup> Literis, inter Eam et Serenissimum Suecorum Regem bellum nuper coortum esse non sine gravi dolore intelleximus. Cum quod uterque Princeps Nobis Amicitiae foedere conjunctus, tum quod inter se invicem ejusdem Religionis communione et vinculo colligatus Neque enim Protestantium Religionis hostibus quicquam gratus aut optatus accidere potuit, quam duos Potentissimos Principes ejusdem fautores bello inter se commisisse, quo mutuis vulneribus conciderent, ijque interea his eorum malis securi fruerentur. Id quod Nos induxit, ut priusquam hoc

Atque capropter misimus ad Serenissimam vestram  
fidelem et dilectum Philippum Meadowe Ablegatum  
Nostrum Extraordinarium qui Nostria redintegranda utrinque Pacis officia  
Maj<sup>tas</sup> V<sup>ra</sup> offerret. Cui igitur ut benignam Audientiam concedere, atque  
indubitata fidem ijs quae a Nostria Nostri<sup>us</sup> est adhibere velit  
Maj<sup>tas</sup> V<sup>ra</sup> peramice rogamus, ut Nostri<sup>us</sup> Max idemque Princeps  
Pacis ducat et conservet. Dab<sup>at</sup> ē Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij Augusti  
vicesimo Anno 1657.

Majlis Vrao

bonus Amicus

OLIVER: Pu

<sup>10</sup> From photostatic copies of the original manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> Latin original, *serenissime*. R. D. D. address, "Serenissime."



commendamus Dab. è Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij 17<sup>mo</sup> Decembris An  
1657.

Vester bonus Amicus,  
OLIVER<sup>s</sup> P.<sup>13</sup>

### 13. *To Charles Gustavus of Sweden*

SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMEQUE REX,

Quum Tres Commissarij vestri de damnis, tempore Belli  
Ordines utrinque Matis, iuxta  
Foedera constituti, cum Nostis convenerint, et post debitam earum Cau-  
sarum ventilationem, Negotiationi suae finem imposuerint Visum est,  
Nobiles Viros Commissarijs,  
Officij sui partes implerint, et cā fide prudentiā, et Integritate in munere  
suo se gesserint, ut nihil addi potuerit. Quorum igitur spectatae fidei et  
vel potuisse  
vel debuisse videatur. De caetero recentes Maj<sup>a</sup> vestrae victorias gratu-  
lamur, et eundem perpetuum ei faelicitatis cursum comprecantes, Maj<sup>tas</sup>  
vestram divinae benignitati commendamus Dabatur e Palatio Nostro  
Westmonasterij 1<sup>o</sup> Martij An<sup>o</sup> 1657<sup>7</sup>

Vester bonus Amicus  
OLIVER<sup>s</sup> P.<sup>14</sup>

### 14. *To States General*

CELSI AC PRAEPOIENSIS DOMINI

Petrus Tyson ex Ostendā Mense Junio Anno 1657<sup>o</sup>  
Navem Londinensem The Speedwel Merces Gottenburgo Londinum com-  
portantem cepit et ea in judicata et indemnata Amstelodami divendidit.  
Quae cum Johannes Taylor et Lucas Luc detinuissent, lite contestata, acquisitis  
raverunt Adversarius tamen Tyson provocatione interpositā hactenus  
impedire potuit quo mi  
supplicem Libellum a  
petimus ut hac in causā,  
quod justum est pro Solito facere velitis, utque Subditis hisce Nostis octo  
Mensium tactio et impensis vexatis plene satisfieri jubeatis, Adeoque  
Dominiones Vestras divinae benignitati commendamus Dab. è Palatio  
Nostro Westmonasterij 12<sup>mo</sup> die Martij An. 1657<sup>7</sup>

Vester bonus Amicus  
OLIVER P.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The original is in Algemeen Rijksarchief, St Gen 6916, at the Hague, received  
Jan 28

<sup>14</sup> Latin original in Riksarkivet in Stockholm

<sup>15</sup> From photostat of original in Hague archives, copy also in Downing's *Diary*, pp  
55-56.

15 To [William, Landgrave of Hesse?]<sup>16</sup>

SERENISSIME ILLUSTRISSIMÉQUE PRINCEPS.

Uti laudatissimos Duraei Nostri conatus in conciliandis inter Se Evangelicorum animis dignissimos judicavimus quos Nostrâ Autoritate promoveremus, ita postquam gratissimas Celsitudinis Vestrae Literas humanitatem et pietatem verè Christianam undequaque Spirantes accepimus cum luculentissimâ Voluntatis Vestrae ad eundem finem directae declaratione, quamvis ad studium eâ in re Nostrum quod sanè summum est, nihil addi potuerit sensimus tamen Nos haud mediocriter eo Vestro consensu in eâdem Nostrâ Sententiâ confirmavi Et quod semper de pacificatione Evan-

Novimus quâque jam inde ab initio n<sup>o</sup> . . . . . effecerit, pugnantâ recusaverit et anti . . . . . pietatem in Celsitudine Vestrâ cumulatam agnoscimus et celebramus Et si pari animorum inclinatione, quod etiam Speramus, cacteri etiam Principes Protestantes communibus Ecclesiae rationibus velint invigilare, de facillissimo hujus incepti Successu omnia expectare et promittere Nobis possumus Deus aliquando pro summâ suâ misericordiâ, eam . . . . . positus in . . . . . Adversarijs suis non solum ad solidum Pacis et . . . . . firmamentum tandem perveniamus Nos sanè, ad eum præcipuè Scopum collucantes, sicuti intercessione inter duos

quis ita Duraei tum etiam Vestrâ consensu Ne hoc motu . . . . . qui nullam omnino Occasionem præteremittere velimus quâ Deo et Ecclesiae Suae officium Nostrum approbemus Celsitudini interim Vestrae pro summo suo affectu literis testato gratias agimus Deum laudantes qui tam firmum Reipublicae Christianae praesidium ipsi in partibus collocaverit cujus Divinae benignitati Celsitudinem Vestram . . . . . Dab è Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij 18<sup>mo</sup> . . . . .

Vester donus Amicus

OLIVER<sup>o</sup> P.<sup>17</sup>

## 16 Commission for Dr. Gerbrand Zas

OLIVIER P.

Olivarius dei gratia Protector Reip<sup>ae</sup> Angliae Scotiae & Hiberniae &c: omnibus . . . . . Uniti Belgii Provincias

<sup>16</sup> Recipient's name has been cut away, leaving only "Serenissimo et Illustrissimo Principi ac Domino D<sup>no</sup> Principi . . ." *Magg's Bras Catalogue* 565 (Autumn, 1931), p. 41, no. 778, says it was to one of the Northern Princes

<sup>17</sup> . . . . . ke of Kettering, Northants, to whom

Commorantibus et Commerciam exercentibus e re visum sit ut vir prudens et

mentio esse potest Sciatis quod nos de fide solertia et prudentia Gerbrandi  
Sas Juris Civilis D<sup>ni</sup> bene persuasi necnon de illius experientia et aptitudine  
ad id muneris abundum Nominavimus fecimus et constituimus ipsum dictum  
Gerbrandum Sas Advocatum Mercatorum et Popularem hujus Reip<sup>re</sup> intra  
dicta domina commorantium, adtenendum exercendum et exequendum dic-  
tum munus et officium Advocati sibi dicto Gerbrando Sas durante bene pace  
nostro idque tam amplis modo et forma eademque potesta[te] et autoritate  
qua cujusvis nationis quicumque Advocati illic Residentes dictum munus  
exercent, Necnon ad habendum et precipiendum omnia debita Jura proficia,  
et emolumenta eo spectantia et pertinentia Nunc etiam ab his Regentibus et  
concedentes plenam potestatem et autho-

ritatem ad causas mercatorum et populares eorumque institores et  
quacunque occasione prout con-  
silio ejus opus eis fuerit tam in mercatura et commercio suo faciendo quam in  
causis eorum coram Tribunalibus Justitiae dicendis. Dab: sub sigillo nostro  
in Palatio Nostro Westmonasterii 26 Majj [Martij] 16[58].<sup>19</sup>

### 17 To Frederick III of Denmark

SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMIQUE PRINCEPS

Ablegatum Nostrum Extraordinarium cujus opera et officio ad eam pacem  
Nostrâ intercessionem conciliandam hactenus usi fuimus, revocare. Ut tamen  
aliquis ex Nostrâ parte semper Vobis adesset benevolentiae erga Ma<sup>tem</sup>  
Vestram Nostrae interpretes Mandavimus in praesentiarum dilecto Nobis et  
fidei Isaaco Fries ut Vobiscum maneret et summum Nostrum affectum et  
Studium erga Ma<sup>tem</sup> Vestram et res Vestras exponens omnia Sua Officia

Nostro Nomine Vobiscum agat plenam Fidei et eandem quam Nobismet  
Ipsis adhibentes Adeoque Ma<sup>tem</sup> Vestram Deo Opt Max commendantes  
ut omnia Vobis ex auctoritate Vestri Sententiâ fluant et succedant comprecamur.  
Dab: è Palatio Nostro Westmonasterii 26<sup>to</sup> Martij Anno 1658.

Ma<sup>tem</sup> Vestrae

Bonus Amicus

OLIVER<sup>us</sup> P<sup>ater</sup>

Comiti in Orléansburgh et Dänemhorst &c.



18. *To Cardinal Mazarin*

EMINENTISSIME DOMINE

Non satis commendatus Nobis videtur Johannes Drum-

Quem quidem Nobiscum libenter retinuissemus, a quibus omnia honorum et  
auspicia transire cupivisset. Quam quidem Voluntatem Suam Nos adeo non

Eminentiam Vestram rogamus, ejus perfectissimo judicio placere inprimis  
Virtutibus delaturi estis, id ei ab ipso  
principio vestra gratia attribuere vultis. Neque verò hæc ab Eminentia  
Vestrâ tam libere petitemus, nisi magis cuperemus occasiones ab Eminentia  
Vestrâ Nobis suppeditari quibus Nos etiam affectum et Studium erga  
Eminentiam Vestram singulare testari et declarare possimus. Dab. è Palatio  
Nostro Westmonasterij 29<sup>mo</sup> Martij An. 1648

Eminentiae Vestrae Studiössimus

OLIVER P<sup>21</sup>19. *To Cardinal Mazarin*

EMINENTISSIME DOMINI

Quum ex copijs Nostris quæ Vestris Stipendijs in

actiones ad munera Sua redirent, ex  
quo necessario a castris abfuerunt, a  
simam quidem Militae Vestrae condi-  
tionem esse affirmant Si aegrotatio inter delicta Militaria numeretur et in-  
firmi tanquam pro exauctoratis habeantur. Eminentiam igitur Vestram  
rogamus ut quocunque illis debetur exolvj Vestrâ auctoritate efficere

Cujus quidem armis invictissimis uti prudentissimis Eminentiae Vestrae  
Consilij laetissimos et parcos Successus ex animo comprecamur. Dab. e  
Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij 1<sup>mo</sup>

OLIVER P<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> From photostat of original in Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, cor-  
pol Angleterre, v. 69, f. 288

<sup>21</sup>  
pol  
Mazarini "

20 *To Charles X Gustavus of Sweden*

Olivarius Dei gratiâ Protector Reipub: Angliae Scotiae et Hiberniae &c.  
 Carolus Gustavo Dei  
 Magno Principi Fin-  
 landiae, Duci Esthoniae, Careliae, Bremæ, Verdae, Stetini, Pomeraniae,  
 Cassubiae et Vandaliae, Principi Rugiae, Domino Ingriae et Vismariae,  
 Nec non comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariae, Juliaci, Cliviae et Montium  
 Duci &c

SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMÆQUE REX, BONE AMICE ET FOEDERATE.

Quo magis de repentino illo belli incendio quod inter  
 Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestram et Regem Daniae exarserat doluimus, eò solidiori voluptate  
 Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestrae Literis, pacem quae ad  
 aceret redintegratam esse accepti-  
 mus. Quum enim ipsi omnibus quae ad communes Republicae Christianae  
 utilitates spectant non secus ac Nostris afficiamur, illis verò quae cum Ma<sup>tes</sup>  
 Vestrae gloriâ conjunguntur pro amicitia, quae Nobis summa Vobiscum inter-  
 ratos vestros reconciliatione iucundius aut exoptatius accidere potuisset. Et  
 constantiam quidem et fortitudinem Vestram vel ipsi inimici agnoscant,  
 quam hoc bello districtam et occupatam tenere satagebant. Nos autem  
 Vestram celebramus quâ tam  
 ex acerrimo hoste fidissimum  
 Vobis amicum comparare. Quam quidem Amicitiam sinceram et diuturnam  
 fore confidimus uti inter eos qui mutuò Se experti, quanto majori suo et com-

Nostris qualescunque conatus in hoc tam pio et Sibi acceptissimo Opère  
 Vestrae gratias agimus quae  
 traordinarium oblatam boni  
 consulerit, et tantum auctoritati Nostrae et intercessioni hac in re detulerit.

interim Vestrae gratulantes quod hoc hæcenus ex Voto ei successerint, et  
 eandem felicitatem in cæteris etiam Vestris inceptis stabilem usque et  
 immotam Vobis conprecantes. Dab. è Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij  
 secundo Aprilis Anno 1658

Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestrae  
 Bonus Amicus et Foederatus  
 OLIVER<sup>us</sup> P  
 Per mandato Celsitudinis Suae  
 Jo Thurloe<sup>us</sup>

<sup>20</sup> From photostat of original in Stockholm Archives

21 *To Charles X Gustavus of Sweden*

Olivarius Dei gratiâ Protector Reip<sup>ae</sup> Angliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae &c.  
Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi ac Domino D<sup>no</sup> Carolo Gustavo Dei  
gratiâ Suecorum Gothorum Vandalorúmque Regi, Magno Principi Fin-  
landiae, Duci Esthoniae, Curliae, Bremenae, Verdae, Stetini, Pomeraniae,  
Cassubinae et Vandaliae, Principi Rugiae, Domino Ingriae, et Vismariae,  
Nec non Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariae, Juliaci, Cliviae et Montium  
Duci &c

SERENISSIM<sup>VS</sup> POTENTISSIM<sup>VS</sup>QUE REX, BONI AMICE ET FOEDERATE

Renovatâ faeliciter et confirmatâ inter Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestram

et R<sup>ex</sup> Angliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae &c. et D<sup>ux</sup> Esthoniae, Curliae, Bremenae, Verdae, Stetini, Pomeraniae, Cassubinae et Vandaliae, Principi Rugiae, Domino Ingriae, et Vismariae, Nec non Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariae, Juliaci, Cliviae et Montium Duci &c.  
revocavimus. Simul autem mandavimus sincerè Nobis dilecto et fideli  
Philippo Meadow ut statim ad Vos transiret et eodem Ablegati ad Ma<sup>tes</sup>  
Vestram Extraordinarij munere fungeretur. R<sup>ex</sup> Angliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae &c.  
et rationum utriusque populi conjunctio, et affectus, et Evangelicae causae studium cum Vobis commune, ut satisfacere  
Nobis acquiramus, nisi ex Nostriâ set qui ipsam mentem  
Nostram et intimos Animi sensus communicaret. Hunc  
igitur Ablegatum Nostrum Extraordinarium ut benignè accipiatis rogamus  
de ius fide non magis quam de Nostriâ benevolentia erga Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestram  
dubitantes. Quam Nos post Divinam protectionem propriae Suae Virtuti et  
faelicitati commendamus, omnia tamen Nostra Officia pro Occasione datâ  
Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestrae deferre et praestare paratissimi. Dab<sup>at</sup> è Palatio Nostro West-  
monasterij nono die Aprilis Anno 1658

Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestrae

Bonus Amicus et Foederatus

OLIVER<sup>VS</sup> P

Ex Mandato Celsitudinis Suae

Jo. Thurloe<sup>us</sup>

22 *To Charles X Gustavus of Sweden*

Olivarius Dei gratiâ Protector Reipub<sup>licae</sup> Angliae Scotiae et Hiberniae &c.  
Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi ac Domino D<sup>no</sup> Carolo Gustavo Dei  
gratiâ Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorúmque Regi, Magno Principi Fin-  
landiae, Duci Esthoniae, . . .

SERENISSIM<sup>VS</sup> POTENTISSIM<sup>VS</sup>QUE REX, BONI AMICE ET FOEDERATE,

Multa quidem sunt et egregia quae in Ma<sup>tes</sup> Vestra sus-

Nemo enim adeo imprudens est et temerarius qui turbas excitare nequeat qui  
autem eas sedare et comprimere novint paucissimi. Proprium hoc quodam-

<sup>24</sup> from photostat of original in Stockholm archives

quicquid autoritate aut gratiâ valemus hujusmodi studijs libenter impendi-

Ma<sup>te</sup> Vestrae

Bonus Amicus et Foederatus.

OLIVER<sup>us</sup> P.

Ex Mandato Celsitudinis Suae

Jo. Thurloe<sup>us</sup>

### 23 To Cardinal Mazarin

EMINENTISSIME DOMINI,

Quum nuntiato serenissimi Gallorum Regis in Castra  
Duynekana adventu, charissimum Generum Nostrum Vicecomitem Fal-  
conbrigium cō iniscimus, ut Maj<sup>estatem</sup> suam nostro nomine salutaret, utque Ei  
vires nostrae affectum significaret et officia deferret.

ut Eminentiam quoque vestram pro eâ parte quam in

monasterij 20 die Maij Anno 1658.

Eminentiae vestrae

Bonus Amicus

OLIVER<sup>us</sup> P.

Ex Mandato Celsitudinis suae

Jo. Thurloe<sup>us</sup>

### 24 To Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany

SERENISSIME PRINCEPS,

Quod in literis nostris sexto Maij ad Celsitudinem Ve-  
stram datis de aliâ navî Anglicâ ab eodem Cardî captâ significavimus, id jam  
ipsius Longlandij, qui mandata nostra apud Celsitudinem vestram exequitur,  
supplici libello confirmatur.

pecunijs emptam, cum mag  
maximi pretij Alexandriâ redeuntem, a duabus praedicti Cardî Navibus

pol Angleterre, v 66, f. 59.

armatis, in ostio sinus Theimaci sive Thessalonicensis, interceptam et spoliatam esse Navis autem Praefectum Petrum Whiting, cum omnibus socijs navalibus in Portu aliquo maris mediterranei secretissimâ in custodia detineri, ut ne haec quidem nisi ex ipsorum praedatorum indicijs emanare et resciri potuerint Quod quum contra commerciorum jura, foedera, et amicitiam (toties nupër, nec frustrâ, uti speramus repetita nomina) factum fuerit, petimus ut ipsa Celsitudo vestra Captivos liberari, ablata restitui, in praedatores verò animadverti quamprimum velit curare Ne mutuae nostrae benevolentiae, multis haud potuitendis utrinquè officijs confirmatae, fructus

vestrae et Justitiae erit quominus id fiat pro vestra divinae benignitati commendamus Dab è Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij duodecimo die Junij Anno 1658

Celsitudinis Vestrae

Bonus Amicus

OLIVER P

Ex Mandato Celsitudinis suae

Jo Thurloe<sup>22</sup>

## 25. To Cardinal Mazarin

EMINENTISSIMI DOMINI

Petrus Pett cuius Officio et Arte in Classis Nostrae aedificatione et apparatu utimur, per supplicium libellum Nobis exposuit Navem the Edward, propius sumptibus oneratam, Anno 1646 a quodam Baston, Gallo Natione, in ostio Thamisii captam, inde in portum Bononiensem abductam et cum mercibus suis venditam fuisse Quum autem Rex Christianissimus in Concilio suo status 4<sup>to</sup> Novembris Anno 1647 decreverit et mandaverit ut, postquam ejusmodi damna coram Concilio suo liquidò probata et aestimata essent, participes praedae certam pecuniae summam, prout Concilium cerneret, ad eorum satisfactionem conferrent, Petit illi ut sibi huius elicti fructum in taxatione et solutione damnorum suorum, percipere liceat Quod Nos pro rei aequitate Eminentiae vestrae commendamus, quod etiam studiosis faciemus, si minus perspecta esset Eminentiae Vestrae erga Nos voluntas, aut Petitoni munus faciemus Quicquid autem Nostrâ gratiâ in hoc Negotio facere dignum, apud Nos summi benefici loco habebitur Dab è Palatio Nostro Westmonasterij 23<sup>o</sup> die Junij Anno 1658

Eminentiae vestrae

studiosissimus

OLIVER P

Ex Mandato Celsitudinis suae

Jo Thurloe<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> "Serenissimo Principi" Original in the Tangye Collection, now in the London Museum Facs of second page in the Tangye Catalogue (1905), p. 10

26 *To States General*

CELSI ET PRAEPOTESTES DOMINI,

praedictam, Bantamiensem Oram, quò cursus erat, tenuisse, et in Portum Bantamiae intrasse, ante quem Naves aliquot ad societatem Indiarum Orientalium Belgicam pertinentes, quo consilio ignorabatur, ad anchoras stabant

mense Majo Anno 1657 captam fuisse, Praefectum etiam ejus in custodie adhuc Vestri inimicitias sibi esse cum cã Uibe idem modo quo Nobis exponuntur oculis belli exemplum literis hisce nostris inclusim Vobis iuxta ac Nobis ingratum accidat sub publicae amicitiae nducia privatorum quorundam

bus de damnis et injurijs quibus contra foederum fidem affecti sunt, quam-

25<sup>to</sup> die Junij Anno 1658Dominationum<sup>28</sup> Vestrarum

Bonus Amicus

OLIVER<sup>29</sup> P

Ex Mandato Celsitudinis Suae

Jo Thurloe.<sup>28</sup>27. *To Cardinal Mazaria*

EMINENTISSIMI DOMINI

Reditae nobis unà cum Regis literis per nobilissimum Virum Dominum Sanguin magistrum Palatii ordinarium vestrae literae de capta ube Dunkirka nobisque tradita gratulatoriae, non solùm gratissimae fuere, laetitiamque nostram reddidere cumulationem, verùm etiam singulares gratias Eminentiae vestrae imprimis referendas à nobis meruere, cujus Consilium atque auctoritas cum summo erga me studio conjuncta, ipsa mihi praebeuit materiam gratulationis suae Haec enim omnia quantà cum fide ac benevolentiae summà significatione à vobis peracta sint, quanquam Eminentia vestra hoc confirmante ita mihi satisfactum est, ut nihil amplius desiderem, tamen legatus apud regem noster accuratè ad me singula scribendo

<sup>28</sup> De Witt objected to this, saying "it should be *celsitudinum* (Downing to Thurloe, July 9/19, Thurloe, vii, 252, cp same to same, [July 14], *ibid*, p 271)

<sup>29</sup> From photostat of original in Hague archives, Latin also in Downing's *Diary*, ff 50-50<sup>r</sup>.

nihil praetermisit quo aut me facere certiores, aut vestrae de se respondere opinioni possit. Ad nostra promissa quod attinet sicuti ex his quae hactenus fecimus constare poterit quantâ religione foedera nostra colamus, ita in posterum siquid suae existimationis Eminentia vestra in nostrâ fide reposita

confidat  
viderint  
omnes rem Gallicam

atque auctam, etiamsi inimicorum virtutes ac ingenuitas suae comitem Eminentia Vestra extinguere fortassis non poterit, calumnias tamen omnes facile comprimat, fructusque uberrimos consiliorum suorum nobiscum initorum percipiat. Dab e Palatio nostro Westmonasterii 10. die Juli Anno 1658

Eminentiae Vestrae

Bonus Amicus

OLIVER<sup>o</sup> P

Ex mandato Celsitudinis Suae

Jo. Thurloe<sup>30</sup>

### 28 To Charles X Gustavus of Sweden

dalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiae, Duci Esthoniae, Careliae, Bremae, Verdae, Stetini, Pomeraniae, Cassubiae, et Vandaliae, Principi Rugiae, Domino Ingriae et Vissmariae, Necnon Comiti Palatino Rheno, Bavariae, Juliaci, Cliviae, et Montium Duci, &c Salutem et prosperos rerum successus.

SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMQUE REX, BONE AMICE ET FÖRDERATE

Ex Majestatis Vestrae Literis, 24<sup>o</sup> Junij datis, libenter intelligimus Nostras, 4<sup>1</sup> M.

agnoscimus enim inimicorum inter se contra purioris Religionis assertores coeuntium vires atque consilia, et quantâ arte etiam illos de quibus meliora sperare potuimus ad perversis suis inceptis obsecundandum circumflectant: ut necessarium esse videamus ut utrinque Nos qui, si non soli, minus tamen, quam in tali causâ expectandum erat, comitati, ex Sua quisque parte communem hostem urgemus, actioni foederis nexu sociaremur, utque mutuam opem inter se fructu

quâm Nost angustias minus adhuc efficere aut conferre potuimus quam communis rei necessitas postulasse videatur, nihil est quod propensissimae Nostrae voluntati atque affectui magis contrarium aut molestum accidere potuisset. Quamvis neque istud sine gratâ beneficij divini commemoratione praeterire queamus, quam solidos fructus ex ipsâ istâ voluntate mutuâ invicem perceperimus, et quantum illa alterius amicitiae existimatio alterum in successuum suorum cursu

et sine autoritate non exercitum aliquo loco deponere. Nos  
 etiam ad id, ut si quid in hac parte fieri possit, revocandum  
 Quod si efficere possumus, haud leve momentum ad  
 videamur Ad quem finem Philippo

potius esse plurimum interesset, parati sumus consilia Nostra atque autori-  
 tatem conferre ad Eum adversariorum artibus captum et fascinatam, si fieri  
 possit, revocandum Quod si efficere possumus, haud leve momentum ad  
 videamur Ad quem finem Philippo  
 tram nostro mandata necessaria dedi-  
 mus, quamvis ex Majestatis Vestrae prudentiâ et acquiranimitate maxima  
 pars istius negotij dependeat De caetero sicuti tractatum arctioris inter  
 duas Nationes confederationis incepimus, ita in eodem lubentissimè pro-  
 grediemur, donec ad optatum finem perducatur, nihil usquam recusantes  
 quod mutuae utilitatis, et intra Nostram potestatem esse, censeatur Adeo-

onem succumbat, aut ad ea consilia confugere necessum habeat quae minus

ab alteris nihil inde timere, ab alteris omnia expectare possitis. Novimus

et causam communem affectus, quae verò praesens  
 rerum Nostrarum conditio, quam quo magis Deus indies explicabit et in  
 melius promovet, eo lucu lentiora istius affectus indicia et fructus uberiores  
 Majestas Vestra percipiet  
 officiosissimè commendamus

Julij Anno 1658<sup>o</sup>

Majestatis Vestrae

Bonus Amicus

OLIVER<sup>s</sup> P

Ex mandato Celsitudinis Suae

Jo Thurloe<sup>us</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Latin original in Swedish Archives in Stockholm.



## APPENDIX III: ADDENDA

### Volume I

#### *Instructions to William Rowe*

Instructions to Mr Wm Rowe concerning the letters which he is by order of the Houses to carry into Scotland

He is taking copies of the same letter, one to the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, one to the Council of Scotland, and one to the Committee of Estates of that kingdom

He is to deliver them at Edinburgh or elsewhere, and wait at Edinburgh till he hears that the Scotch army is landed, at which place, where the army is concerned, will return home

14 days' pay may be given to them If the answer is ambiguous as to the return of the Scotch army, he is to send it to the Committee

(Signed by) Earls of Northumberland and Manchester,  
Lord Wharton, and Armyne  
Hensrige, Guard, Vane, St. John,  
Wallop and Oliver Cromwell<sup>1</sup>

Sept 15, 1647.

#### *To James Standish*

Directing payment "unto Captain George Drury of my Regiment of foot upon account the sume of four hundred and fifty pounds for the present supply of my sd Regiment"<sup>2</sup>

Jan 29, 1649

### Volume II

#### *To Navy Commissioners*

Finds it of very great importance to the Commonwealth that the "Fleet for this Summer service were out at Sea especially that for the Irish squadron where ye Enemy is like to be very strong & active," etc

Derby House

March 5, 1648-9

OLIVER CROMWELL,

praeses protempore.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ire.* (1647-1660), p. 764

<sup>2</sup> *Pedigree Register*, II, 77.

<sup>3</sup> Description in Sotheby's sale cat. for Apr 4, 1938, item 115

*[To St. Thomas' Hospital in Southwark]*

GENTLEMEN,

I am glad itt falls in my way to accommodate both you & soe good a friend of mine as ye bearer hereof, Mr Barth Lavender, with ye same motion, for <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> 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<sup>791</sup> <sup>792</sup> <sup>793</sup> <sup>794</sup> <sup>795</sup> <sup>796</sup> <sup>797</sup> <sup>798</sup> <sup>799</sup> <sup>800</sup> <sup>801</sup> <sup>802</sup> <sup>803</sup> <sup>804</sup> <sup>805</sup> <sup>806</sup> <sup>807</sup> <sup>808</sup> <sup>809</sup> <sup>810</sup> <sup>811</sup> <sup>812</sup> <sup>813</sup> <sup>814</sup> <sup>815</sup> <sup>816</sup> <sup>817</sup> <sup>818</sup> <sup>819</sup> <sup>820</sup> <sup>821</sup> <sup>822</sup> <sup>823</sup> <sup>824</sup> <sup>825</sup> <sup>826</sup> <sup>827</sup> <sup>828</sup> <sup>829</sup> <sup>830</sup> <sup>831</sup> <sup>832</sup> <sup>833</sup> <sup>834</sup> <sup>835</sup> <sup>836</sup> <sup>837</sup> <sup>838</sup> <sup>839</sup> <sup>840</sup> <sup>841</sup> <sup>842</sup> <sup>843</sup> <sup>844</sup> <sup>845</sup> <sup>846</sup> <sup>847</sup> <sup>848</sup> <sup>849</sup> <sup>850</sup> <sup>851</sup> <sup>852</sup> <sup>853</sup> <sup>854</sup> <sup>855</sup> <sup>856</sup> 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<sup>923</sup> <sup>924</sup> <sup>925</sup> <sup>926</sup> <sup>927</sup> <sup>928</sup> <sup>929</sup> <sup>930</sup> <sup>931</sup> <sup>932</sup> <sup>933</sup> <sup>934</sup> <sup>935</sup> <sup>936</sup> <sup>937</sup> <sup>938</sup> <sup>939</sup> <sup>940</sup> <sup>941</sup> <sup>942</sup> <sup>943</sup> <sup>944</sup> <sup>945</sup> <sup>946</sup> <sup>947</sup> <sup>948</sup> <sup>949</sup> <sup>950</sup> <sup>951</sup> <sup>952</sup> <sup>953</sup> <sup>954</sup> <sup>955</sup> <sup>956</sup> <sup>957</sup> <sup>958</sup> <sup>959</sup> <sup>960</sup> <sup>961</sup> <sup>962</sup> <sup>963</sup> <sup>964</sup> <sup>965</sup> <sup>966</sup> <sup>967</sup> <sup>968</sup> <sup>969</sup> <sup>970</sup> <sup>971</sup> <sup>972</sup> <sup>973</sup> <sup>974</sup> <sup>975</sup> <sup>976</sup> <sup>977</sup> <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> <sup>980</sup> <sup>981</sup> <sup>982</sup> <sup>983</sup> <sup>984</sup> <sup>985</sup> <sup>986</sup> <sup>987</sup> <sup>988</sup> <sup>989</sup> <sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup> <sup>1001</sup> <sup>1002</sup> <sup>1003</sup> <sup>1004</sup> <sup>1005</sup> <sup>1006</sup> <sup>1007</sup> <sup>1008</sup> <sup>1009</sup> <sup>1010</sup> <sup>1011</sup> <sup>1012</sup> <sup>1013</sup> <sup>1014</sup> <sup>1015</sup> <sup>1016</sup> <sup>1017</sup> <sup>1018</sup> <sup>1019</sup> <sup>1020</sup> <sup>1021</sup> <sup>1022</sup> <sup>1023</sup> <sup>1024</sup> <sup>1025</sup> <sup>1026</sup> <sup>1027</sup> <sup>1028</sup> <sup>1029</sup> <sup>1030</sup> <sup>1031</sup> <sup>1032</sup> <sup>1033</sup> <sup>1034</sup> <sup>1035</sup> <sup>1036</sup> <sup>1037</sup> <sup>1038</sup> <sup>1039</sup> <sup>1040</sup> <sup>1041</sup> <sup>1042</sup> <sup>1043</sup> <sup>1044</sup> <sup>1045</sup> <sup>1046</sup> <sup>1047</sup> <sup>1048</sup> <sup>1049</sup> <sup>1050</sup> <sup>1051</sup> <sup>1052</sup> <sup>1053</sup> <sup>1054</sup> <sup>1055</sup> <sup>1056</sup> <sup>1057</sup> <sup>1058</sup> <sup>1059</sup> <sup>1060</sup> <sup>1061</sup> <sup>1062</sup> <sup>1063</sup> <sup>1064</sup> <sup>1065</sup> <sup>1066</sup> <sup>1067</sup> <sup>1068</sup> <sup>1069</sup> <sup>1070</sup> <sup>1071</sup> <sup>1072</sup> <sup>1073</sup> <sup>1074</sup> <sup>1075</sup> <sup>1076</sup> <sup>1077</sup> <sup>1078</sup> <sup>1079</sup> <sup>1080</sup> <sup>1081</sup> <sup>1082</sup> <sup>1083</sup> <sup>1084</sup> <sup>1085</sup> <sup>1086</sup> <sup>1087</sup> <sup>1088</sup> <sup>1089</sup> <sup>1090</sup> <sup>1091</sup> <sup>1092</sup> <sup>1093</sup> <sup>1094</sup> <sup>1095</sup> <sup>1096</sup> <sup>1097</sup> <sup>1098</sup> <sup>1099</sup> <sup>1100</sup> <sup>1101</sup> <sup>1102</sup> <sup>1103</sup> <sup>1104</sup> <sup>1105</sup> <sup>1106</sup> <sup>1107</sup> <sup>1108</sup> <sup>1109</sup> <sup>1110</sup> <sup>1111</sup> <sup>1112</sup> <sup>1113</sup> <sup>1114</sup> <sup>1115</sup> <sup>1116</sup> <sup>1117</sup> <sup>1118</sup> <sup>1119</sup> <sup>1120</sup> <sup>1121</sup> <sup>1122</sup> <sup>1123</sup> <sup>1124</sup> <sup>1125</sup> <sup>1126</sup> <sup>1127</sup> <sup>1128</sup> <sup>1129</sup> <sup>1130</sup> <sup>1131</sup> <sup>1132</sup> <sup>1133</sup> <sup>1134</sup> <sup>1135</sup> <sup>1136</sup> <sup>1137</sup> <sup>1138</sup> <sup>1139</sup> <sup>1140</sup> <sup>1141</sup> <sup>1142</sup> <sup>1143</sup> <sup>1144</sup> <sup>1145</sup> <sup>1146</sup> <sup>1147</sup> <sup>1148</sup> <sup>1149</sup> <sup>1150</sup> <sup>1151</sup> <sup>1152</sup> <sup>1153</sup> <sup>1154</sup> <sup>1155</sup> <sup>1156</sup> <sup>1157</sup> <sup>1158</sup> <sup>1159</sup> <sup>1160</sup> <sup>1161</sup> <sup>1162</sup> <sup>1163</sup> <sup>1164</sup> <sup>1165</sup> <sup>1166</sup> <sup>1167</sup> <sup>1168</sup> <sup>1169</sup> <sup>1170</sup> <sup>1171</sup> <sup>1172</sup> <sup>1173</sup> <sup>1174</sup> <sup>1175</sup> <sup>1176</sup> <sup>1177</sup> <sup>1178</sup> <sup>1179</sup> <sup>1180</sup> <sup>1181</sup> <sup>1182</sup> <sup>1183</sup> <sup>1184</sup> <sup>1185</sup> <sup>1186</sup> <sup>1187</sup> <sup>1188</sup> <sup>1189</sup> <sup>1190</sup> <sup>1191</sup> <sup>1192</sup> <sup>1193</sup> <sup>1194</sup> <sup>1195</sup> <sup>1196</sup> <sup>1197</sup> <sup>1198</sup> <sup>1199</sup> <sup>1200</sup> <sup>1201</sup> <sup>1202</sup> <sup>1203</sup> <sup>1204</sup> <sup>1205</sup> <sup>1206</sup> <sup>1207</sup> <sup>1208</sup> <sup>1209</sup> <sup>1210</sup> <sup>1211</sup> <sup>1212</sup> <sup>1213</sup> <sup>1214</sup> <sup>1215</sup> <sup>1216</sup> <sup>1217</sup> <sup>1218</sup> <sup>1219</sup> <sup>1220</sup> <sup>1221</sup> <sup>1222</sup> <sup>1223</sup> <sup>1224</sup> <sup>1225</sup> <sup>1226</sup> <sup>1227</sup> <sup>1228</sup> <sup>1229</sup> <sup>1230</sup> <sup>1231</sup> <sup>1232</sup> <sup>1233</sup> <sup>1234</sup> <sup>1235</sup> <sup>1236</sup> <sup>1237</sup> <sup>1238</sup> <sup>1239</sup> <sup>1240</sup> <sup>1241</sup> <sup>1242</sup> <sup>1243</sup> <sup>1244</sup> <sup>1245</sup> <sup>1246</sup> <sup>1247</sup> <sup>1248</sup> <sup>1249</sup> <sup>1250</sup> <sup>1251</sup> <sup>1252</sup> <sup>1253</sup> <sup>1254</sup> <sup>1255</sup> <sup>1256</sup> <sup>1257</sup> <sup>1258</sup> <sup>1259</sup> <sup>1260</sup> <sup>1261</sup> <sup>1262</sup> <sup>1263</sup> <sup>1264</sup> <sup>1265</sup> <sup>1266</sup> <sup>1267</sup> <sup>1268</sup> <sup>1269</sup> <sup>1270</sup> <sup>1271</sup> <sup>1272</sup> <sup>1273</sup> <sup>1274</sup> <sup>1275</sup> <sup>1276</sup> <sup>1277</sup> <sup>1278</sup> <sup>1279</sup> <sup>1280</sup> <sup>1281</sup> <sup>1282</sup> <sup>1283</sup> <sup>1284</sup> <sup>1285</sup> <sup>1286</sup> <sup>1287</sup> <sup>1288</sup> <sup>1289</sup> <sup>1290</sup> <sup>1291</sup> <sup>1292</sup> <sup>1293</sup> <sup>1294</sup> <sup>1295</sup> <sup>1296</sup> <sup>1297</sup> <sup>1298</sup> <sup>1299</sup> <sup>1300</sup> <sup>1301</sup> <sup>1302</sup> <sup>1303</sup> <sup>1304</sup> <sup>1305</sup> <sup>1306</sup> <sup>1307</sup> <sup>1308</sup> <sup>1309</sup> <sup>1310</sup> <sup>1311</sup> <sup>1312</sup> <sup>1313</sup> <sup>1314</sup> <sup>1315</sup> <sup>1316</sup> <sup>1317</sup> <sup>1318</sup> <sup>1319</sup> <sup>1320</sup> <sup>1321</sup> <sup>1322</sup> <sup>1323</sup> <sup>1324</sup> <sup>1325</sup> <sup>1326</sup> <sup>1327</sup> <sup>13</sup>

*To John Seeley Captaine*

Oliver Cromwell Esq Leut Genll of all the Forces under the Commaund of his Excie the Lord Genll Fairfax and Leut Genll and Governour Genll of the Dominion of Ireland under the Parliamt to England, and Cap<sup>a</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup> of all their Forces in Ireland

By vertue of the power and authoritie to mee derived from the Parliamt of England I doe constitute and appointe you Cap<sup>a</sup> of a Company of Foote in the Regiment whereof Coll Roger Femicke is Collonel You are therefore immediately to repaire unto the same . . . and takinge charge thereof as Captaine duely to exercise the inferior officers and sold<sup>m</sup> of the said Company in Armes, And to use yo<sup>r</sup> best care and endeavor to keepe them in good order and disciplinc Commaundinge them to obey you as their Cap<sup>a</sup> and you are likewise to obserue and follow such oid<sup>m</sup> and direccions as you shall from tyme to tyme receive from my selfe and the superior offic<sup>rs</sup> of the said Regim<sup>t</sup> and army accordinge to the discipline of warre Given und<sup>r</sup>. my hand and seale the twyntith day of Septemb<sup>r</sup> anno domini 1649

O. CROMWELL.<sup>8</sup>

*To Council in Ireland*

Order 1<sup>st</sup> . . . of Kilsalg . . . to Protestant army in Dublin, i.e. £948/4/- with interest from February 1642-3, is paid in full<sup>9</sup>

May 6, 1650

*Warrant*

Pay George Downing £84 for three weeks' pay as scoutmaster-general, to begin Nov 1-21, 1649

[November, 1650]

O. CROMWELL.<sup>10</sup>

*To Warwick County Council*

Recommending allowance for Magdalen Vernam of Birmingham, widow, whose husband died in commonwealth service<sup>11</sup>

ca Dec. 1650.

<sup>8</sup> Blank, not filled in, [company?]

<sup>9</sup> *Rawl Mss*, A 1, f 717

<sup>10</sup> . . .

<sup>11</sup> . . .

L . . .

To [?]

(page 394 and note 47)

MY DEAR FRIEND!

I perceave that I am a  
foole, indeed I am, and hate jealo  
cause, howbeit I may say I should bee much turned aside to crooked wayes,  
if my hart should envie the dispensations of the Lord's free favour to any  
good to his people especially con-  
me to bee where I am but lett this  
bee sub sigillo betweene you and mee

You know my late honor from Oxford I knowe not what itt meanes but  
that I improve itt for good It's thought Dr. Reynolds Doct<sup>r</sup> Wilkinson  
Mr Cunnett and others whoe are outed about not takinge the engagement,

but especially Sir H. v<sup>th</sup> w<sup>th</sup> both ireely about itt and if any good may be  
done lett me heere from you wherein I may be att all Instrumentall My  
deere friend I had a letter lately from some judicious Christian friends intimat-  
tinge danger of retaliation [?] upon my family by reason of . . . worldly

the aptnesse of flesh to bee abused, and to abuse it selfe, lett it bee a deete  
and friendly engagement between us to overlooke one anothers interests and  
although my present condition prompts mee to beginn this desien, yett if the  
L<sup>d</sup> give open . . . I shall willingly engage and the Lord assistinge performe.  
I have been very ill, now recoveringe I am scarce stronge enough for this  
letter, but being . . .  
I may be thankfull & raytn full my unrayned . . . to yr dear lady I send  
Yours most aff<sup>ly</sup>

February 18, 1650-51

O. CROMWELL<sup>13</sup>

To Philip Jones

Indenture lease of a tenement in Swansea, signed "O Cromwell."<sup>14</sup>  
May 4, 1651

*Confirmation of Appointment of Samuel Winter as Provost of Trinity  
College, Dublin*

(page 555)

By virtue of the authority unto me given by an Act of Parliament entitled  
An Act for the better advancement of the Gospel and Learning in Ireland, I

<sup>13</sup> Illegible<sup>14</sup> From the Gribbel collection in Philadelphia.<sup>15</sup> *Arch. Cambrensis*, ser. 5, v, 385.

well and faithfully behave himself in the said place and trust. And I do hereby give power and authority to the said Samuel Winter to take into his care and government the said College, together with the Fellows and Scholars there, all whom he is to endeavour to cause to be trained in the study of learning, and in the fear of God ar . . . exercise and put in practice such discipline or other things in or concerning the well government of the said College as any former Provost or Master by any lawful or good constitutions thereof have been accustomed to do or shall be hereafter directed by any Act or Order of Parliament or other directions from myself under my hand or seal. And the said Samuel Winter is hereby authorized to receive for himself out of the public revenues belonging to the said College such allowance or other perquisites as of right belong to the Provost or Master there

June 3rd, 1652

OLIVER CROMWELL,<sup>15</sup>

*To Richard Haughton, gent*

Injunction to stay a suit against Raulph Standish, esq<sup>16</sup>  
1653.

### Volume III

#### *Conversation with Captain John Astwood*

. . . es that . . . with his  
highnes . . . respect . . . tlines  
w<sup>th</sup> way to doe y<sup>m</sup> good, but said w<sup>th</sup>all, that the landes in Ireland were disposed to y<sup>e</sup> souldyers & Adventurers &c so y<sup>t</sup> nothing there could be done, nor can the dutch be remoued (unless by Compositio), since the peace w<sup>th</sup> holland (being p<sup>r</sup>vented as by speciall providence to be done before,) . . . But Capt writes y<sup>t</sup> my Lord asked him whether it would not be better that New England were remoued to some place where they might haue Citytes ready builded & land ready tilled & where staple Comodityes might be raised, than either to remoue the dutch or plant in Delawar, the place he hinted it seemes was Hispaniola, But Captaine Astwood answered at p<sup>r</sup>sent

though the poorer, I nan be remoued farther w<sup>th</sup> more hazard to loose peace, & gaine riches . . . The Captaine saith my lord wished him to Consider further of the matter & come to him againe, when ( I hope) he will bethink himselfe of an answer that may shut up no doore of providence towards us . . .<sup>17</sup>

[ca. Aug, 1654]

“ . . . ” . . . nity College Dublin (L., 1892), pp 58-59, from College Ms.

<sup>16</sup> I. C. Porteus, *Calendar of the Standish deeds* . . . in the Wigan Public Library

Oct. 10, in *N. L. Hist & Gen. Reg.*, 41

(1887), 356-57.

*To Mr. Gualter Frost*

OLIVER P

These are to will and require you out of such moneys as now are, or shall come to your hands for the use of the Councel, to pay unto Mr. John Wigan the summe of three hundred fiftie and seaven pounds, being an arrear of the allowance due unto him as late Preacher of the Gospell at Birch Chappell in the County of Lancaster. And for so doing this shalbe your warrant. Given at Whitehall the second of November, 1654.<sup>18</sup>

*Writ*

To commissioners William Oats, Emanuel Gilby, Richard Wilcocke, Edward Harison and Samuel Lister to take evidence of Mary Tatham and Robert Parncliffe sh. composed confederates in defend of Thomas Lister of

Nov. 28, 1654.

*Warrant*

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England and Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereto belonging To our right trusty and well-beloved Bulstrode Whitlocke, S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Widdrington and John Lisle Lords Com<sup>rs</sup> of the Great Seale of England, Henry Roll Lord Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, Oliver St. John Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and Edward Mountague and William Sydenham two of our Councell Commissioners of our Treasury Greeting

authorise and require you or any

Treasure as is or shalbe remayning in the Receipt of the Exchequer you forth-

ice of Our

sufficient

ury as to all other Our Officers and Ministers of the Receipt of Our Exchequer to whom it doth or shall appertain In witness whereof we have caused this our Letters to be made Patent Witness our Self at Westminster the Twentieth day of february in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty four

By the Lord Protector.<sup>20</sup>*To the Governor and Mayor of Shrewsbury*

Warrant to arrest, among others "Thomas Coke, Esquire, of Westminster, if he can bee found within the saide Towne and Libertyes, to answer for certain contempts and other offences."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Local Gleanings*, 1 (Sept., 1876), 229, from *Rawl. Mss.*, A 328, f. 140.

<sup>20</sup> "in *Economic History*, ii

1 (1941), 45.

*Warrant*  
(page 760)

To the Commissioners of our Treasury Greeting Our will and pleasure is and we do hereby require and command you or any two or more of you that out of such our treasure as is or shall be remaining in the receipt of our Exchequer you pay or cause to be paid to John Worchester or his Assigns the weekly allowance of £3 charged on the Treasury at Goldsmiths Hall) for his better maintenance the said weekly allowance to be continued until we shall give other order to the contrary And our further will and pleasure is that you also pay or cause to be paid out of our treasure remaining in the receipt of the said Commissioners of three pounds by the week from the eighth day of January last past until which days the Treasurers of Goldsmiths hall have certified the same to have been satisfied out of the Treasury there And if the said Treasurers shall be thereof shall be a sufficient warrant and discharge And the said Commissioners of our Treasury as to all others our Officers and Ministers of the Receipt of our Treasury shall not pay or cause to be paid or shall any ways appertain for payment of the arrears thereof as aforesaid Witness the Lord

Protector the six and twentieth of June<sup>22</sup>

Cromwell certainly sat to Lely too, and he is reported, while sitting, to have said "Mr. Lely, I desire you would use all your skill to paint my picture truly like me, and not flatter me at all, but remark all these rough-  
 221  
 221

<sup>221</sup> if the second Marquis of Worcester (L., 1865), 572-73,

<sup>30</sup>

<sup>221</sup> Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (L., 1849), II, 444

## APPENDIX IV

### DIGNITIES CONFERRED BY CROMWELL

#### A "OTHLE HOUSE" OF "LORDS"<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Barkstead	John Lisle
Thomas Berry	
?	
?	
John Claypole	*Edward Earl of Manchester
Thomas Cooper	†George Monk
*John Crew	Edward Montagu
†Henry Cromwell	*Edmund Earl of Mulgrave
Richard Cromwell	Sir Richard Onslow
John Desborough	
George Lord Eure	
Thomas Lord Falconbridge	
John Fiennes	
Nathaniel Fiennes	Sir William Roberts
Charles Fleetwood	†Francis Rous
Sir George Fleetwood	Sir Francis Russell
†Sir Gilbert Gerrard	†Oliver St. John
John Glynne	*William Viscount Say and Sele
William Goffe	Philip Skippon
Richard Hampden	†William Steele
*Sir Arthur Hesclrig	Walter Strickland
?	Sir William Strickland
	William Sydenham
	Edmund Thomas
Charles Viscount Howard	Sir Robert Tichborne
Richard Ingoldsby	†Sir Matthew Thomlinson
†Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston	*Robert Earl of Warwick
John Jones	Edward Whalley
Philip Jones	*Philip Lord Wharton
Henry Lawrence	Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke
William Lenthall	Sir Charles Wolseley

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Mis. Comm. Rpts., House of Lords Mss., n s. 10*, 503-4, from list of persons to whom writs were sent, see also Noble, 1, 370ff., who adds the name of John Clarke, from Thurlow (p. 427).

\* "Did not appear nor any excuse made" (*Hist. Mis. Comm. Rpts., House of Lords Mss.*, n s. 10, 522).

† Apparently never sat, but excused by reason of other duties (*idem*).

‡ Apparently never sat, but excused for illness (*idem*).



B. VISCOUNT<sup>2</sup>

Charles Howard, Viscount Howard of Morpeth      July 20, 1657

## C BARON

Edmund Dunch, Baron Burnel.      April 26, 1658

## D BARONETS

Thomas Beaumont	March 5, 1657-8
Thomas Chamberlain	October 6, 1657
John Claypole	July 16, 1657
William Ellis	August 13, 1658
Henry Ingoldsby	March 31, 1658
Henry Massingberd	ca June 30, 1658 <sup>3</sup>
Edmund Prideaux	August 13, 1658
John Read	June 25, 1656
John Twisleton	March 24, 1657-8
Griffith Williams	May 28, 1658
William Wyndham	August 28, 1658
Henry Wright	March 31, 1658

## E KNIGHTS

Thomas Andrews	November 14, 1657
Thomas Atkins	December 5, 1657
John Barkstead	January 19, 1655-6
William Boteler	
James Calthorp	December 10, 1656
Richard Chiverton	March 22, 1657-8
Richard Combe	August, 1656
John Copleston	June 1, 1655
Peter Julius Coyet	May 3, 1656
Henry Cromwell	
John Dethick	September 15, 1656
Thomas Dickenson	March 3, 1656-7
James Drax	January 6, 1657-8
George Fleetwood	September 15, 1656
Thomas Foote	December 5, 1657
John Hewson	December 5, 1657
John Ireton	March [22], 1657-8
Henry Jones	July 17, 1658
John Lenthall	March 9, 1657-8
William Lockhart	December 10, 1656

<sup>2</sup> Whitelocke refused to accept the offer of a viscounty (*Parl Hist*, xvi, 220)

Lislebone Long	December 15, 1656
Christopher Pack	September [20], 1655
Henry Pickering	February 11, 1657-8
Thomas Pride	January 17, 1655-6
John Reynolds	June 11, 1655
Richard Stainer	June 11, 1657
Robert Tichborne	December 15, 1656
Philip Twisleton	February 11, 1657-8
Gustavus du Vale	July [26], 1656
Thomas Viner	February 8, 1653-4
Edward Ward	November [2], 1657
William Wheeler	August 26, 1657
Bulstrode Whitelocke	[1655]
James Whitelocke	January 6, 1656-7
Thomas Whitgrave	

and John Strode.

## APPENDIX V

### CROMWELLIAN OFFICIALS

#### A. MEMBERS OF CROMWELL'S COUNCILS

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper	Richard Major
Richard Cromwell	Edward Mordaunt
John Desborough	John Mordaunt
Nathaniel Fiennes	Gilbert Pickering
Charles Fleetwood	Francis Rous <sup>1</sup>
Philip Jones	Philip Skippon
John Lambert	Walter Strickland
Henry Lawrence	William Sydenham
Philip Lisle	John Thurlow
Humphrey Mackworth	Sir Charles Wolseley

#### B. COMMISSIONERS

Robert Beake	Admiralty
Robert Blake	Admiralty
Nehemiah Bourne	Navy
William Burton	Navy
John Clark	Admiralty and Navy
John Desborough	Admiralty
Nathaniel Fiennes	Great Seal
Henry Hatsell	Navy
Edward Hopkins	Navy
Richard Hutchinson	Navy
Philip Jones	Admiralty
Thomas Kelsey	Admiralty and Navy
John Lambert	Admiralty
William Lenthall	Great Seal
John Lisle	Great Seal
	Treasury
William Masham	Treasury
George Monk	Admiralty
Edward Montagu	Admiralty
	Treasury
George Payler	Navy
William Penn	Admiralty and Navy
Christopher Pett	Navy

<sup>1</sup> Cp. vol. III of this work, p. 139 n. 11 for discussion as to whether Anthony or Francis Rous sat in Council under the Protectorate.

Peter Pett	Navy
Henry Rolle	Treasury
Anthony Rouse	Admiralty and Navy
Oliver St. John	Treasury
Edward Salmon	Admiralty
Thomas Smith	Navy
William Syderham	Admiralty
	Treasury
Robert Throckmorton	Navy
Thomas Throckmorton	Great Seal
	Treasury
Thomas Widdrington	Great Seal
	Treasury
Francis Willoughby	Navy

## CORRECTIONS

### VOLUME II

- |      |              |  |
|------|--------------|--|
| Page | 397 note 60. | <i>For "Welback" read "Welbeck."</i>                               |
|      | 711          | <i>For "Gillespie, Rev. Samuel" read "Gillespie, Rev. Patrick"</i> |

### VOLUME III

- |     |                          |  |
|-----|--------------------------|--|
|     | 77 line 19.              | <i>For "were" read "was."</i>              |
| 252 | " 7                      | <i>For "Gryphander" read "Gryphander."</i> |
| 255 | note 109                 | <i>For "Colgrave" read "Cotgrave"</i>      |
| 283 | line 16                  | <i>For "Dalrid" read "Dalzell."</i>        |
| 302 | line 20 and<br>note 139. | <i>For "Giffin" read "Giffith"</i>         |
| 423 | line 27                  | <i>For "hetoers" read "hetoine"</i>        |
| 544 | " 19                     | <i>For "Knollys" read "Kinnoull's."</i>    |
| 642 | " 24                     | <i>For "Jannot" read "Jammot"</i>          |
| 651 | note 233                 | <i>For "Reply to" read "Reply in"</i>      |
| 809 | line 12                  | <i>For "sheriffs" read "sheriff"</i>       |
| 863 | " 5                      | <i>For "Barnet" read "Basnet"</i>          |
| 938 | " 20                     | <i>For "Defert" read "Desert"</i>          |
| 938 | last line.               | <i>For "Mussey" read "Massey"</i>          |
| 977 | line 11                  | <i>For "note 336" read "note 36"</i>       |

### VOLUME IV

- |     |          |   |
|-----|----------|---|
| 256 | line 8.  | <i>For "Lufton" read "Tufton"</i>               |
| 398 | " 19     | <i>Whitlocke was pro-kingship</i>               |
| 563 | " 16     | <i>Cromwell was chancellor of Oxford</i>        |
| 624 | " 1      | <i>For "Munster" read "Munster"</i>             |
| 685 | note 199 | <i>For "David Kennedy" read "John Kennedy."</i> |
| 843 | line 18  | <i>For "Croxon" read "Croxtan."</i>             |
| 889 | " 24     | <i>For "Gaudet" read "Gudet"</i>                |

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